

A G E N E R A L  
HISTORY of the WORLD,  
FROM THE  
CREATION to the present Time.

I N C L U D I N G

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVO-  
LUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS,  
CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARN-  
ING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and  
CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

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By W I L L I A M G U T H R I E, Esq;  
J O H N G R A Y, Esq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

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*cui lecta potenter erit res  
Nec facundia deferet hunc, nec lucidus ordo.*

HOR.

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V O L U M E VII.

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L O N D O N:

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M D C C L X I V.

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A

# GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

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## CHAP. V.

*Al Kayen Beamrillah the twenty sixth califf of the house  
of Al Abbas.*

**A**L Kaden, before his death had nominated his son *Abdallah* to be his successor in the califat; and he assumed the name *Al Kayen Beamrillah*. The dispute, between *Janjar*, or as he is called *Abu Calijar*, and *Jalalodawla*, still continued about the post of *Emir Al Omra*. But the latter proved victorious, and the califf, investing him with the robes of honour, gave him the name of *Shahensah*, or king of kings, and ordered his name to be mentioned in the public prayers. He is succeeded by  
*Al Kayen*.

*Masud* the son of *Mahmud Gazna* was at this time, possessed of the *Persian Irak* in virtue of his father's will. But a rebellion breaking out in the city of *Ispahan*, it employed his arms for some time, so that he could not immediately pursue that vast career of ambition; he was meditating; which was no less than to dethrone his brother. The rebellion being suppressed, he left a strong garrison in *Ispahan*, and marched towards *Korasan*, where his brother *Mahmud* resided, under pretext of paying him a visit. *Mahmud* it seems was no stranger to his brother's views, and real intentions. His ministers advised him to prevent any farther differences by



History of coming to an accommodation with *Masud*. But *Mahmud* *Masud*, was ill enough advised, to appoint his uncle *Yusef*, and one *Ali*, another general, to observe *Masud*'s motions. Both of them betrayed *Mahmud*, and voluntarily went over to *Masud*, who detesting them as traitors, ordered his uncle to be loaded with irons, and thrown into prison, and *Ali* to be hanged. But this did not mitigate the fate of the unfortunate *Mahmud*, who falling into his brother's hands, had his eyes put out and was sent prisoner to *Gazna*; his own capital. This event left *Masud* in possession of all his father's vast dominions, and he obliged the inhabitants of *Gazna*, and all his other subjects to take an oath of fidelity to him; he then proceeded to settle his governments. He made *Abu Salem* governor of the *Persian Irak*, and gave the government of *Ispahan*, to *Alaodawla*, the prince of *Hamadan*, after enjoining a strict unanimity between those two commanders. Those dispositions were hardly made, when *Ali Taken*, broke out into rebellion, and made himself master of *Bokhara*, and *Sarmakand*, two of the chief cities of *Masud*'s dominions. *Altun Tash*, the same probably we have already named, the governor of *Kowarazin*, was appointed general, to suppress this rebellion, but being drawn into an ambuscade, he was mortally wounded, and almost defeated. Notwithstanding this, he recovered the fortune of the battle, but found himself obliged to compromise matters with the rebels, and soon after he died. His master, *Masud*, was greatly concerned at his death, and conferred upon his son *Harun*, all the dignities he had possessed. The oriental historians say, that he was slain by an arrow, which entering his eye, pierced his brain.

and *Altun Tash*.

*Masud* inherited all his father's ambition, and carried his arms into *India*; but he was far from observing the maxims of his father in securing his patrimonial territories from insults. The *Seljugian Turks*, by this time were become formidable in the east; and while *Masud* was carrying his arms into *India*, *Togral Bek*, and *Jaasar Bek*, the two leaders of the *Seljugian Turks*, made an irruption into *Korasan*, which they, in a manner, conquered. *Masud* however was extremely prosperous in *India*, where he took seventy thousand prisoners, killed fifty thousand, and acquired one million of dinars. Notwithstanding this all the province of *Kowarazm*, was overrun by the *Seljugian Turks*, and a great many cities of *India*, which had been subdued by the *Sultan Mahmud*, rebelled and revolted.

Hej. 427.  
A. D.  
1037.

We are now insensibly arrived at the 427th year of the Hejra, about which time dyed the famous *Avicenna*. He was an eminent proof of the vast effects which an early initiation in literature can produce. He was born at the village of *Afshina*, and when he was but ten years of age, he understood Euclid, and Ptolemy. The *Indian* method of calculation, which *Europeans* absurdly called the *Arabian* numerals, began

Remark-  
able histo-  
ry of *A-  
vicenna*,



began at this time to be in great reputation amongst the *Moslems*; and *Avicenna* was taught them by an *Indian* gardener. When he was but nineteen years of age, he was looked upon to be the greatest physician of his time; and he made himself master not only of that art, but almost of the whole circle of science. His application was so great that he used to study for whole nights by a lamp. That he was no strict *Moslem* appears by his drinking wine to recover his spirits. But he was not only a great physician, but a great statesman, being first minister to the prince of *Hamadan*. We are told however when he was advanced to the vizirship, in that country; the army was so much disgusted with him, that they plundered his palace, and threw his person into prison; and even endeavoured to prevail with *Shamsamadawla* to put him to death. That prince had so great a regard for him that he preserved him. *Avicenna*, however, was so much out of humour with his quality of statesman, that he shut himself up in an apothecary's shop, where he finished some of his physical tracts, nor could he be prevailed upon by *Shamsamadawla*'s son; to resume his vizirship. Notwithstanding his great learning and acuteness of parts, wine and women delighted him more than any other enjoyments of life; and he went into such excess of both, as baffled even his own skill in medicine. Not being formed for public life, to which he was courted by the greatest princes of his time, the father wrote a private letter, to *Aladawla*, the prince or governor of *Ispahan*, who was, it seems, like himself a man of learning, desiring leave to reside with him. But this letter, being intercepted, he was confined to the castle near *Hamadan*, called *Berdawan*, for about four months, and there we are told, he wrote some pieces of poetry. When he regained his liberty, he made his escape to his friend *Adodawla* in disguise, and was received at *Ispahan*, as if he had been a sovereign prince. His excesses however impaired his health to such a degree, that by the frequent use of clysters, his intestines were excoriated; but with all his irregularities, he never ceased to be admired and esteemed, not only by *Adodawla*, but by all the princes of the east, who were proud of entertaining him. When he was at the court of *Mamun*, king of *Kowarazm*, his fame reached the ears of the great *Sultan Mahmud*, who expressed a vast desire to see him. By a whimsical obstinacy, not uncommon amongst very learned men, he declined all that prince's favours, nor could he even be persuaded to repair to his court, which was a kind of an academy, where all the most learned men of the age, had riches and preferment. *Mahmud* was so disgusted by his pride, that the prince of *Kowarazm*, did not think himself safe, in protecting him longer; so that *Avicenna*, was obliged to fly to *Jorjan*, where *Washmakin* reigned. Upon this, *Mahmud*, having got one of his portraits, ordered a great number of copies of it to be made, and dispersed



His great  
skill in  
medecine.

dispersed all over the east, that *Avicenna* might be seized, and sent to his court at *Korasan*. He however, remained at the court of *Washmakin*, where we are told, he visited the king's nephew, who laboured under a very unaccountable disorder. *Avicenna* soon perceived that it was beyond his reach to cure the prince, and that his malady was love. But his art went no farther for he was ignorant of the object. The king being passionately fond of his nephew desired *Avicenna* to employ the utmost of his art to cure him. The physician, laid hold of the patient's pulse, but privately intimated to the chamberlain of the palace, that he should hold him in discourse, by describing the apartments, where the chief beauties resided. A particular apartment being named, it had such an effect upon the patient's pulse, that *Avicenna* declared that the seat of the prince's distemper was shut up in that apartment. His conjecture being verified by the prince himself, *Washmakin*, who did not know that he had in his court the great *Avicenna*, had the curiosity to order him into his presence; and he no sooner appeared before him, than *Washmakin* knew him, by one of his portraits which had been sent him by *Sultan Mahmud*. But *Washmakin*, who knew as well as his cotemporary princes, the value of a learned man, was far from putting *Avicenna* under any constraint, and entertained him, with the highest marks of esteem and friendship; notwithstanding the formidable power of *Sultan Mahmud*. This generous protection, enabled *Avicenna* to pursue his studies, but it appears that he was too great a philosopher to be an orthodox *Mahometan*. He had published several metaphysical, and moral tracts, which were very stumbling to the *Moslem* doctors. Those at *Shiraz* had a formal meeting, in which they drew up their objections to *Avicenna's* doctrine; and they sent them to him, by a learned man of their own body, one *Karmani*. *Avicenna*, and *Karmani*, charmed with one another's company, spent most of the night together, but when they parted *Avicenna* retired to his study, where he prepared and finished before next morning, an answer to the *Moslem* doctors, and put it into the hands of *Karmani*. This performance, together with the quickness and facility with which it was produced raised *Avicenna's* character of learning higher than ever. But his attachment to pleasure rendered the latter part of his life very uncomfortable. His disregard of all the religions then practised in the east, in a manner, obliged the great princes there to withdraw their patronage from him and then the strict *Moslems* took that opportunity of persecuting him for irreligion and atheism. His irregularities likewise had rendered his life a burthen to himself. His works are now in great esteem in *Europe* where they have been printed, tho' it is said not all of them. He wrote an account of his own life, and we have been solicitous of preserving in our history this memorial of a man whose fame and station were so eminent,



ment, but whose history has, hitherto, been so little known or, at least, attended to.

We now proceed to the history of a period of great importance, but of vast obscurity thro' the disagreement of historians. The denominations of *Turks* which signifies, wanderers, was not local, and was given them on account of their roving unsettled state at a distance from their native countries. Places, however, such as *Turkestan* soon took their names from them. They were formed of a vast number of people, many of them strangers to one another, and generally were headed, by the bravest men of their clan. The *Turks*, who founded the *Seljugian* dynasty from whence the present emperors of *Constantinople* are descended, were headed by one *Seljuk*, a man of great valour, and address, but one whose origin is intirely obscure, some writers making him to be of mean, and others of noble, if not royal, extraction. That he was a nobleman is most probable. Be this as it will, his reputation was so great that he was followed not only by his own clan or herd, but by many others, till, at last, he rose to the dignity of a sovereign prince. His father *Dekak*, was of that tribe whom historians have called *Ararians*, and served as an officer, under *Bigu*, the prince of *Kozar*, with so much reputation, that according to the eastern, as well as the English, customs of those times, he was called the strong bow. His son *Seljuk* succeeded his father in his prince's favour, but soon lost it by his presumption in entering as some say, the most retired apartments of his palace, but most probably by ambition; which drew the prince's displeasure upon him. Having some intimation of his disgrace, he assembled his friends, who, from the rank and reputation he held, were very numerous, and invaded *Sarmarkand*. Having defeated the governor of that city, from thence he marched to *Bokhara*, which he likewise made himself master of. It must not be forgot here, that both *Seljuk* and his father, were zealous *Moslems*, to which they seemed to owe their power in a great measure; being joined by almost all the *Mahometan* *Turks*. They were likewise zealous *Sonnites*, and consequently enemies to the *Fatemite* califfs, and friends to the califfs of *Bagdad*, whom both they and their successors for a long time, looked upon as their natural sovereign. In consequence of those principles, they were perpetually at war with the infidel *Turks*. Before *Saljuk's* death he seems to have been in possession of great part of *Marawalnar*, and he is said to have been killed in battle in the 107th year of his age.

*Seljuk* had several sons, some say three, others four and some say more. According to the best accounts, *Mikael* was the eldest, and dying in his father's lifetime, he was succeeded by two sons, the famous *Togrol Beg*, called by the *Greeks*, *Tangrolipix*, and *Jaffer Beg*. The promising virtues of those princes, encreased the vast following of

History of  
the pro-  
gress of  
the *Turks*.

Rise of  
*Seljuk*.

the foun-  
der of the  
*Seljukian*  
dynasty,

who turns  
Mahome-  
tan.

*Togrol*  
*Beg*.



their family, and, as we have already seen, they became very formidable to the great *Sultan Mahmud*; as they were, at the time we treat of, to his son *Masud*. Their history, at this time, is not to be depended upon, as to particulars; because, being destitute of the use of letters, as there is great reason to believe, we know nothing of it, but from the writings of their enemies. We know in general, however, that they soon became a great people, and were governed by great princes. *Mahmud* at first, was so far from being jealous of their power, that looking upon them as a simple, barbarous people, whom he could easily keep in subjection, and who might be useful against his enemies, suffered them to pass the *Jehun*, and to settle in *Persia*. It was not long, before he repented of his confidence. *Togrol Beg*, and *Jaffer Beg*, by their virtues, and the noble appearance they made, won the hearts, not only of their own followers, but of the *Korassians* and other *Persians*; and *Mahmud* being perpetually engaged in pursuing his *Indian* conquests, never could drive them out of *Persia*.

*Mahmud's*  
haughti-  
ness to  
them,

Hej. 429.  
A. D.  
1037.

*Togrol*  
*Beg* ac-  
know-  
ledged so-  
vereign of  
the *Sel-*  
*juks*.

Upon *Mahmud's* death, the *Seljuks* sent a deputation to his son *Masud*, offering to be subject and obedient to him, provided he would suffer them to continue unmolested in their settlements. *Masud*, elated by the late conquests he had gained, treated the deputies with great contempt, and said, "That though he himself was of *Turkish* extraction, he never had heard any mention of the family of *Seljuk*; and that therefore, it must be ignoble." This answer was extremely impolitic, because *Masud* was at that time upon his departure, at the head of an army, for *India*. The deputies, reporting the opprobrious reception they had met with, the whole nation of the *Seljuks* flew to arms, and taking advantage of *Masud's* absence, they conquered almost all *Korasan*, *Al Ray*, and *Ispahan*; with other parts of *Persia*. In the year of the Hejra 429, *Masud* returning victorious from his *Indian* expedition, assembled a great force to drive the *Seljuks* out of his dominions; but being defeated by *Togrol Beg*, he fled to *Tus*, whence he was driven by *Togrol Beg*, who fortified that city and made it a place of arms. From thence, the conqueror possessed himself of *Nisabur*, and *Masud's* defeat having been so compleat, that he was no longer able to keep the field, *Togrol Beg*, was acknowledged by all the *Seljuks*, to be their sovereign, and that of the countries they had conquered. After this, the *Seljuks* made a prodigious progress, all over *Persia*; where *Togrol Beg* established the seat of his empire, at *Koru*. *Masud* however, having recruited his forces, once more, set out on an expedition, against the *Seljuks*; and was again defeated, as we are told, by *Jaffer Beg*, so entirely, that he was obliged to abandon *Korasan*, and retire to *Gazna*, his capital. Here it is remarkable, that many of *Masud's* soldiers, and almost all his general officers, were *Turks*; but



but he thought himself so ill served by them, that upon his return to his capital, he put great numbers of them to death. It likewise appears, that the *Seljuks* were, at this time, joined by some of *Masud's* own governors, particularly by *Nurtakin*, the governor of *Balk*.

The accounts we have been able to give of those wars, are in the main, as authentic, and well attested, as those given by the *Greek* historians, are vague and fabulous. For tho' the eastern histories disagree in many particulars, but those of no great importance, yet they are almost unanimous, in relating the events in the same manner we have done. As they did not write after one another, but in different places, and at different times, without having an opportunity of hearing of one another's history, that is as strong proof, as can be given of the authenticity of their relations. Notwithstanding this observation, we are not to imagine when we read of all *Korasan*, *Persia*, and other great and rich countries being conquered by the *Turks*, or any other power, that those conquests, remained any longer in the possession, than the next army of their enemies, or other robbers, could take the field. Their chief towns, either had no fortifications, or very indifferent ones, and always followed the fortune of the campaign, of the week, or perhaps the day. Hence it is, that we meet with whole provinces changing their masters, in the space of a few months, and the variation of names, amongst the *Arabs*, *Persian*, *Turkish*, *Greek*, and other historians, is such as introduces prodigious confusion and glaring inconsistencies, into their works.

Critical  
remark.

*Togrol Beg*, after his conquest of *Korasan*, seemed to have seriously applied him to remedy the inconveniencies his government was led into, by the unsettled, wandering manner of life which his subjects led. He fortified cities, laid out plans for government and reformed abuses, so that there is great reason to believe, he was educated, by the care of his grandfather, which we are told was very great, under a *Moslem* tutor, and that some one, or other, of the great philosophers and doctors, who then abounded in the East, was his instructor. He reaped great benefit from the passion which *Masud* still pursued, of continuing his conquests in *India*.

*Togrol Beg's* policy.

*Masud* being still in possession of *Balk*, and other powerful territories, was, notwithstanding his late defeats, in a condition to have pursued the war with effect, against the *Seljuks*. But being infatuated with a vast prospect of wealth, that was to be acquired in *India*, he resolved to march thither in person, and to leave the management of the war against the *Seljuks*, to his son *Madond*, under proper directions. At the same time, that he might entirely secure the peace of his dominions, during his absence, he ordered his brother *Mahomed*, whose eyes he had put out,

His wars  
with *Gazna*.



to be taken out of prison, and to attend him, with all his family into *India*.

The war both in *India* and *Korasan*, seems to have been carried on with various successes. According to the best authorities, *Togrol Beg* was not always successful, but was sometimes defeated in his turn. This probably happened before the last of his expeditions we have mentioned, into *India*. But it is plain, upon the whole, that *Masud* was in which unfortunate. His son, who was attended by his father's *Masud* is vizir, was obliged to keep upon the defensive, against the unfortun- *Seljuks*, who extended their conquests on all hands, so that nate upon *Masud* was obliged to abandon his campaign in *India*, and the whole, to return with his army to cover the important city, and province of *Balk*; while his son acted in *Korasan*, against the same enemy. But it was no wonder, that by this time, a powerful conspiracy was formed against *Masud*, by an eunuch, named *Bus Takin*, one of his generals; and some of the chief lords of the court, in favour of his brother *Mohamed*, whom he had dethroned and rendered fightless. The conspirators made use of *Masud*'s impatience to return to his own dominions to carry their plot into execution. For, arriving on the banks of the *Indus*, he passed with some of his attendants, that great river, leaving his treasures on the other side, with his army. *Bus Takin*, or as he is called by some, *Sem Takin*, made use of *Masud*'s treasures to debauch them from their duty, and producing the fightless *Sultan*, he was immediately recognized as their sovereign. This transaction was concealed from *Masud*, who waited on the other side of the river, till a party crossed to secure him. He received however, notice of what had happened, time enough, to endeavour to make his escape to *Gazna*; but being closely pursued, he was taken prisoner in his turn. Being brought before his brother, the He is de- throned. latter ordered him to chuse for his residence, any place of his dominions, and he pitched upon the castle of *Kabra*, to which he was sent with his family.

*Mahomed* had no great enjoyment of the dignity that was restored to him. Being blind, he was obliged in a manner, to resign the management of his affairs, into the hands of his son *Abmed*, an abandoned prince; and under the direction of favourites. They persuaded him to make use of the imperial signet, with which he was entrusted, to get admittance into the castle, where *Masud* was confined, and where he was put to death, some say, in *Abmed*'s own presence, as well as by his direction. This assassination coming to the ears of *Mawdad*, *Masud*'s son, he immediately abandoned all his operations against the *Seljuks*, and marched His son towards *Gazna*, with his army. Though *Masud*'s character remounts seems to have been exceptionable, in some points of his throne humanity and justice; yet it is on all hands acknowledged, that he was a prince of great abilities, and magnanimity; and



and a most munificent patron of learning and learned men : so that we may easily suppose, he had still a vast number of friends in that empire. In short, *Mawdad* proved victorious in a decisive battle, and *Mahomed*, with *Ahmed*, and his wicked counsellors, being taken prisoners, were put to death, by *Mawdad* ; who, after erecting a noble monument to his father's memory, mounted the throne of *Gazna*.

Those great revolutions seem to have been of some advantage to the califf of *Bagdad*. His name was now pronounced, without that of the *Fatemite* califf, in all places, but *Egypt*, where the *Moslem* religion was professed. *Togrol* *Beg* met with no farther resistance from *Mawdad*, and we are told, that he even conquered *Jorjan*, and *Tabrestan*. Upon this, *Al Kayen*, the califf of *Bagdad*, sent him the robes of investure, as being the supreme disposer of all the places that had been conquered ; with an invitation for him to become the defender of the *Moslem* faith. About the same time, a partition of dominions was made between *Togrol Beg*, and his brother *Jaffer* ; which was honoured with the sanction of *Al Kayen* ; and *Togrol Beg* received from him the honourable appellation of, The Support of Faith and religion ; and while *Jaffer Beg*, as well as his brother, received his robes of investure for *Korasan*, *Togrol Beg*, being contented with the possession of the *Persian Irak*, and the other conquests made by him and his family.

*Al Kayen's* superiority over those great princes, began now to give him some figure. Many of the *Arabs* submitted to his authority, and he was by their assistance, enabled to drive a body of *Gaz* cavalry out of his dominions, after they had surprized *Mawfel*, and committed great ravages, during their invasion. Those *Gaz Turks* were one of those numerous herds of *Turks*, or *Turkmens*, who more than ever, swarmed over all *Asia*, and served as mercenaries in the army of any prince, who was willing to take them into pay. But whenever they were dismissed from the service, they subsisted upon plundering, perhaps the territories of the very last prince that employed them. They therefore, as some authors have asserted, might have once belonged to *Togrol Beg's* army ; but considering *Togrol Beg's* attachment to *Al Kayen*, it is by no means probable that he sent them to plunder his dominions. There may, indeed, be some inaccuracy through the confusion of titles, in this, and other events, which happened in the califat at this time ; for *Jalalodawla*, who still exercised the power of *Emir Al Omra* ; is now by many authors stiled king of *Bagdad*. As to the extent of the califf's dominions, at this period, it is extremely hard to distinguish between those in which he had a property, and those over which he had a superiority. It is plain, that all the executive power in the former, was lodged in the *Emir Al Omra* ; but from certain incidents, which sometimes break out, it appears, that even *Al Kayen's*

The califf of *Bagdad* prayed for.

He defeats the *Gaz Turks*

Account of them.

*Al Kayen* sometimes considerable.

power



power was much more than nominal. As to *Balalodawla*, he seems to have been a firm and an intrepid prince. Having made a compromise with *Ganjar*, who was his rival in the post of *Emir Al Omra*, he applied himself to suppress the insolence of the *Turkish* guards at *Bagdad*, which had risen to a great height. They plundered the palace of his vizir, and several times attempted to set the city of *Bagdad* on fire; as well as to dispossess and put to death *Balalodawla* himself; but they were as often quelled by his intrepidity and wisdom. Upon *Balalodawla*'s death, his son, who was at *Waset*, suppressing an insurrection there, was declared *Emir Al Omra*; but not being able to set out instantly to take possession of his new dignity, and there being an immediate necessity, that that high post should be filled up, it was conferred upon *Ganjar*.

*Ganjar*  
made *E-*  
*mir Al*  
*Omra*.

His administration may be said to have been fortunate, through the fierce competitions of other great powers. *Madud* ascended the throne of *Gazna*, without any opposition, and seems to have been highly applauded, for revenging his father's death as he did, upon *Mahomed*, who was so mean spirited, as to refuse to give his brother any more than about forty pounds sterling, for his own and family's subsistence, in prison. *Madud*, however, was so just as to spare one of *Mahomed*'s sons, who had compassionated *Masud*'s distress. But *Madud* soon found a rival, in the person of his own brother, *Mayudud*, who died suddenly at the commencement of his rebellion. By his death *Madud* was left for some time in peaceable possession of the throne of *Gazna*, and his vast family acquisition in *India*, and a great part, if not the whole of the kingdom of *Mawaralnar*, but he had entirely lost all superiority over the *Seljukian Turks*, who were settled in *Korasan*, and other parts of *Persia*, under *Togrol Beg*, and his brother *Jaffar*. Notwithstanding the bad success of his family against them, he raised an army once more to drive them from those fine provinces. But he was defeated in his attempt by the famous *Alpharsan*, the son of *Jaffar*, Sultan of *Korasan*. He however, found means to prevent the farther inroads of fresh numbers of *Turks*, who broke out of *Turkistan* into his dominions. Those commotions encouraged a number of the *Indian Rajas*, to take up arms and lay siege to *Labor*, the chief seat of his power in *India*. This insurrection might have been formidable, had it been well conducted. But during the siege, the *Rajas* quarrelled amongst themselves, and many of them declared for *Madud*, who thereby obtained time for sending an army to support his own interest, and the rebellion was thereby suppressed.

Insurrec-  
tion in  
*India* sup-  
pressed.

*Togrol*  
*Beg* be-  
friends  
the califf.

While *Madud* was thus necessarily employed in his own dominions, the *Emir Al Omra* at *Bagdad*, entered into strict connections with *Togrol Beg*, and the other princes of the house of *Gazna*, who still owned a profound submission to the



the califf. In consequence of this good understanding, in the year of the Hejra 439, an alliance was entered into between the two families, by *Ganjar's* son marrying the niece of *Togrol Beg*, daughter to his brother *Dawd*, or *David*. Soon after, *Ganjar* died, and was succeeded in his post of *Emir Al Omra*, by the second of five sons he left behind him, called *Firuz*, who received from the califf the proper robes of investiture. But his appointment was disputed, by *Sutun* his elder brother. Both parties took the field with great armies, but that of *Firuz*, who had now taken the denomination of *Al Malec*, being composed chiefly of mercenary *Turks*, they deserted him upon the eve of a general battle. This obliged *Al Malec*, to fly to *Abzwaz*, and from thence, to *Waset*, where he found means for some years to make head against his brother.

Hej. 439,  
A. D.  
1049.

About this time, *Madud*, the *Sultan* of *Gazna*, died, during a new expedition he had undertaken against the *Seljuks*, and left his affairs in great disorder. He left an infant son, whom the *Turks*, who composed his army, refused to obey. *Madud's* brother *Ali*, was therefore declared *Sultan*; but he was soon after deposed by *Abdalrashid* his uncle, who found means to deliver himself out of prison, where he had been thrown, and was proclaimed *Sultan*, upon which *Ali*, resigned all his pretensions to royalty. *Abdalrashid* had a favourite, whose name was *Togrol*, whom he made governor of *Sejistan*, and suffered to exercise many acts of sovereignty there, and in other parts of his dominions. This gave *Togrol* an opportunity of forming a party to dethrone *Abdalrashid*, who was a very weak prince, and of mounting the throne of *Gazna*. *Abdalrashid*, accordingly, suspecting nothing of the matter, was surprized in his capital by the rebel, and obliged to retire to the citadel, which *Togrol* immediately besieged. Finding the place impregnable by his troops, he applied to the governor the force of gold, and thereby gaining admission, he put to death, the *Sultan*, and of all the royal family, only, *Feroxad*, and *Anca*, who were son and daughter to *Sultan Masud*, escaping death; the first by flight, and the latter, by being reserved for the tyrant's bed. He did not long enjoy his ill-acquired dominion. The people who had seen the favours heaped upon him by *Abdalrashid*, detested him, and openly branded him with the appellation of *Kafernemet*, or the Ungrateful. One *Karkir*, was then governor of the *Gazna* family, in *India*, which he preserved in the allegiance of the true sovereign. Encouraged by the universal detestation *Togrol* was held in, he wrote in the most pressing terms to the chief noblemen of the *Gazna* court, and even to the princess *Anca* herself, to rid themselves of the tyrant, and to place the crown upon the head of *Feroxad*, promising to support them in their attempt, with all his power. This letter produced the desired

Death of  
*Madud*  
*Sultan* of  
*Gazna*.

Revolu-  
tions in  
that em-  
pire.



A tyrant fired effect. Ten of the chiefs of the *Gaznan* court agreed murdered. to murder *Togrol*, whom they dispatched with their scimitars, on pretence of paying their obedience to him. Soon after *Karkir*, arriving with an army from *India*, *Feroxad* was declared *Sultan*.

The war still continued between the rival *Emirs Al Omra*, of the house *Buyiah*; but with what success on either side, we cannot say, and *Togrol Beg* was continuing his conquests; when a new revolution brought the califat of *Bagdad* to the very brink of ruin. The affairs of the califat were at that Distress of time, chiefly managed by a vizir. This minister had a dis- the califat ference with a *Turk*, called *Bassasiri*, and, by the Greek by *Bassa-* writers *Pissasirius*, who had been one of *Badadodawla's* siri. slaves; but was now arrived at a principal command amongst his countrymen. The vizir, however, maintained his ground so well, that *Bassasiri* thought proper to retire from *Bagdad*, and put himself under the protection of *Mostansar*, the *Fatemite* califf of *Egypt*. It appears from the complexion of the history, that he undertook to abolish the name of the califf of *Bagdad*, out of the public prayers, and to oblige all the subjects of the *Arabian Irak*, to substitute in its place, *Mostansar's* name. *Mostansar* accepted of his proposal, and furnished him with men and money; with which he made so good a use, that he soon become master of the chief places of the *Arabian Irak*, and continued his incursions to the very gates of *Bagdad*. In this distress, the califf, deprived of all protection, through the dissensions between his *Emirs Al Omra*, wrote in the most moving terms to *Togrol Beg*, whose sister he had lately married, for assistance. The lights of history, at this period, are extremely confused, through the inattention of the eastern historians to chronology; we shall however, endeavour from a review of what has been said, by different authors, and comparing them together, to be able to exhibit the great lines of history in the amazing revolutions that succeeded.

Matters seem, at the time we now treat of, to have been compromised, between the two rival brothers, *Malec*, and his elder brother *Sutun*, and the latter remained in the possession of the post of *Emir Al Omra*, or, as he is called, King of *Bagdad*. But his power, like that of his master the califf, was no more than nominal, through the vast progress of *Bassasiri's* arms; who declared himself *Emir Al Omra*, and caused himself with the *Egyptian* califf, to be mentioned in all public prayers, throughout the *Arabian Irak*. This conduct was extremely disagreeable to *Togrol Beg*, who immediately resolved to employ his arms against *Bassasiri*. He accordingly advanced towards *Bagdad*, at the head of a great army, in which were eighteen elephants. But by all that we can collect from history, (unless he took *Bagdad* twice, which is by no means probable) during his march, *Bassasiri*,  
*Togrol Beg* declares against him in the califf's favour.



*Bassasiri*, found means to engage *Ibrahim*, one of *Togrol Beg*'s brothers, to rebel, in hopes of a crown. *Ibrahim*, accordingly prevailed with that part of his brother's army, which he commanded, to swear allegiance to him; marched to *Al Ray*, and took possession of *Hamadan*. This obliged *Bagdad Togrol Beg*, to divert his arms from *Bassasiri*, and to turn them against his brother. *Bassasiri* availing himself of this event, immediately advanced against *Bagdad*; and made himself master of the western part of it; while the califf found means to escape over the *Tygris* to the eastern, where he had still on foot a body of troops. Some writers say, on the other hand, that he was made prisoner, and even put in chains by *Bassasiri*. But we rather incline to the former opinion, and that he put himself into the custody of the governor of *Haditha*; who kept him as a pledge for his own safety, till he could see what turn the dispute between *Bassasiri*, and *Togrol Beg* might take.

Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that *Bassasiri* entered *Bagdad*, in a triumphal manner, as the general of the *Egyptian* califf, whose standards and titles, were carried in pomp before him, and sending for the chief judges, and noblemen of *Bagdad*, he formally deposed the califf *Kayen*, and obliged them to swear allegiance to *Mostansar*, and himself. He then gave the plunder of the califf's palace, which was very rich to the populace of his army; and it is remarked, that there was now a total cessation of prayers for *Al Kayen*, through all the califat of *Bagdad*; the public worship being performed in the names of the *Fatemite* califf, and of *Bassasiri*. To add to the disgrace of *Al Kayen*'s government, his vizir *Moslema* was whipt on a camel's back, drest in the most despicable habit, through all *Bagdad*; and being sewed up in a bull's hide, was beaten 'till he died. This extinction of *Al Kayen*'s authority, appears to have continued for several months; but we cannot think with some authors, that his person ever was in the power of *Bassasiri*; because if it had, we can scarcely imagine, that that barbarian would have failed to have put him to death.

*Togrol Beg*, was fortunate enough to suppress the rebellion under his brother *Ibrahim*, in the most glorious manner; and he immediately directed the march of his great armaments, to the relief of *Bagdad*. His approach intimidated *Bassasiri* so much that he retreated to *Al Rabah*, a city upon the *Euphrates*; so that *Togrol Beg* met with no opposition in his march to *Bagdad*. That *Al Kayen* was not at this time in prison or in chains, appears pretty plain from *Togrol Beg*, sending a present of a considerable sum of money, and sixty five changes of raiment, for his wife. When *Togrol Beg* drew near to *Bagdad*, he was informed, that the califf of *Bagdad* attended by *Maras* the governor of *Haditha*, was on his way to meet him. Upon this intelligence, *Togrol Beg* ordered a most magnificent tent to be erected for the califf's reception, till

*Bagdad*  
taken by  
*Bassasiri*,

for the  
*Egyptian*  
califf;

but is re-  
taken by  
*Togrol Beg*



## A GENERAL HISTORY

till a suitable disposition could be made, for his entering *Bagdad*. In the mean while *Togrol Beg's* troops, had already entered that capital; which it is said they plundered, but that perhaps may be only mentioned with regard to the houses, and adherents of *Bassasiri*, for *Togrol Beg's* officers, sent to the califf all his magnificent equipages and movables; with his principal favourites. This enabled the califf to re-enter *Bagdad* in a very splendid manner, and the reader may judge of the respect that was paid him, when he is informed that the great *Togrol Beg* himself held sometimes the califf's stirrup and sometimes the bridle of his mule, and walked before him on foot till entering the gate of the city, the califf was most graciously pleased to say to him in *Arabic*, "mount on horseback thou defender of the faith."

who highly honours the califf.

But his soldiers plundered *Bagdad*.

He puts *Melec* to death.

This mark of respect is however, no more than an ambiguous proof of the califf's authority over *Togrol Beg*. It is plain that the latter, as well as the more modern *European* princes, could make very convenient distinctions, between the spiritual and temporal power. In the first capacity, he was all submission, and humility itself; but in the latter, he consulted his own interest. His *Turkish* soldiers, who knew no difference between friend and foe, when objects of plunder were in their view, seeing the riches of *Bagdad*, fell immediately to plundering. *Togrol Beg* with all his submission to the califf, made no secret that he aspired to the place of *Emir Al Omra*, and therefore we may easily suppose, that all *Malec's* interest in *Bagdad* was directed against him. Accordingly vast numbers of the inhabitants of that capital, rose upon *Togrol Beg's* soldiers, and committed a great number of outrages upon them, and seemed even averse to their sovereign's being restored by *Seljuks*. *Togrol Beg*, tho' he still retained the most profound veneration for the califf's religious character, made this a pretext for his establishing his own political interests. He ordered his soldiers to make severe reprisals, which we may easily suppose they did, upon the inhabitants of *Bagdad*. He then repaired to the califf himself; and informed him, that if *Malec* was innocent, of the outrages that had been offered to his troops, he might safely appear in public. This was an insidious proposal. For *Malec*, before *Togrol Beg's* expedition to *Bagdad*, had dispossessed him of *Shiraz*, which *Togrol Beg* had conquered. *Al Kayen*, who knew the true sources, of *Togrol Beg's* animosity, against *Malec*, endeavoured to be a mediator between them; and even endeavoured to shelter him in his palace. But *Togrol Beg* pretending that his absconding was a sign of his guilt, *Malec* was obliged to surrender himself, and he was by *Togrol Beg's* orders sent a prisoner to *Kondemir* where he died.

And declares him self *Emir Al Omra*. By this time, *Togrol Beg* had assumed the title and post of *Emir Al Omra*, and that dignity past from the house of *Buya*;



*Buya*, who had held it for 127 years, to that of *Seljuk*. Both those families were founded by great men and like others in those days, made a very rapid progress, but fell as soon as the sons ceased to inherit the virtues of their fathers. *Togrol Beg* now lived in the palace of the *Emirs Al Omra*, and exercised all their functions. He ordered his own name to be mentioned in all public prayers along with that of the califf, who even crowned him king of *Bagdad*, and adorned him with an imperial collar, bracelets, robes, and other ensigns of majesty. But *Togrol Beg* was far from repressing the rage of plunder that possessed his troops even in the city of which he was now invested with the royalty; for it went so far, that not satisfied with what they could rob from the living, they broke open the sepulchres of the dead that they might strip them even of the shrouds and ornaments in which they were buried. Those excesses occasioned great commotions at *Bagdad* which encouraged *Bassasiri*, who maintained his ground at *Waset*, to advance as far as *Nomania* at the head of an army to repossess himself of *Bagdad*. But he was met, defeated and killed by *Togrol Beg's* generals, and his head was publicly carried about on the point of a lance. He defeated and kills *Bassasiri*,

This victory left *Togrol Beg* without a rival in the *Arabian Irak*. The califf heaped new favours upon him; he made him the master of his household, ordered money to be coined in his name, and renewed to him the appellation of *Rucnoddin*, "or defender of the faith." As we write the history of *Togrol Beg* only as it has a connection with that of the califf, we shall defer, to another part of this work, a detail of the many great exploits and conquests he achieved after he was made king of *Bagdad*. It is sufficient to say here that he gave the califf great appointments and many valuable presents, and at last he arrived at such a pitch of greatness and glory that he aspired to the honour of having the blood of the *Seljuks* mingled with that of *Al Abbas*; that is, of marrying the daughter of the califf, the man who depended upon him for his daily bread, and who owed to him his liberty, if not his life. and is making of *Bagdad*. He courts the califf for his daughter,

*Al Kayen* could not, notwithstanding his own impotence and all the obligations he lay under to *Togrol Beg*, hear of this proposal without indignation, and repeated it with so much firmness, that all *Togrol Beg's* submissions and obliging generosity could not reconcile him to the thoughts of it. At last, he had recourse to menaces, but the califf was even proof against them. The affairs of state and war, obliged *Togrol Beg*, to leave *Bagdad*, which he prepared to do with despondency, in not being able to arrive at the summit of his wishes. He could not help bewailing his misfortune to his favourite *Amid*, whom he had made his vizir, and governor of *Bagdad*. That minister who appears to have been well acquainted with the genius of a proud and a poor court,



## A GENERAL HISTORY

and suc-  
ceeds  
thro' the  
address of  
his vizir.

court, said, that if he would commit the management of his courtship to him, he did not doubt of success. He then explained the manner in which he intended, to proceed, which was, gradually to withdraw the califf's appointments. *Togrol Beg* consented to this expedient, and gave orders, that none but his vizir should pay the califf his income, and then he left *Bagdad*. *Amid's* expedient proved successful. For the califf, finding his allowance daily diminished, till at last it was reduced to nothing, gave *Amid* leave to inform his master, that he might have the princess in marriage. *Togrol Beg* was then at *Tauris*, and received *Amid's* dispatches with the utmost transports of joy. He immediately ordered, that the califf should be reinstated in his appointments, and that *Amid* should conduct his bride, with the utmost splendor to *Tauris*, which he accordingly did. There is some reason for believing, that the glory of being allied to the house of *Al Abbas*, more than any love for the princess, influenced *Togrol Beg* upon this occasion. For, tho' he received his bride with a profusion of pomp and expence, and though the contract was there signed; yet *Togrol Beg* was so little of an impatient lover, that he delayed the consummation of his marriage, 'till he could do it at *Al Ray*, the capital of the *Persian Irak*. After making very rich presents to the bride, he went in person to that city, to prepare every thing for her reception, with all the eastern magnificence of luxury. The weather being then very hot, he retired from *Ray* to *Rudbar*, where he had a palace, and where he thought he could be more cool. But here a bloody-flux put an end to his life, about six months after marriage. his marriage had been concluded with *Seyda*, for so the califf's daughter was called, whom he left a virgin-wife. But this may be the better accounted for, when we inform the reader, that the bridegroom was in the seventieth year of his age when he was married, and in the twenty-sixth of a busy, active, and fatiguing reign.

He is suc-  
ceeded by  
*Alp Arslan*.

There is something so generous, and so noble, in the conduct and character of this prince, particularly, with regard to *Al Kayen*, that we cannot reckon him amongst the number of barbarians. He was sometimes unsuccessful; but in the end he vanquished all his enemies; and died, full of glory; we shall mention his character in another part of this history. As he left no issue of his own body, *Alp Arslan*, the son of his deceased brother *Jaffar*, was his heir; and by uniting the two empires together, he was, by far, the most powerful prince of his age. *Alp Arslan*, as heir to his uncle, succeeded to the post of *Emir Al Omra*, of *Bagdad*, and enjoyed all the honours of that dignity. Amongst the first acts of his sovereignty, was his ordering the late *Sulian's* vizir, *Amid*, to be put to death for malversations in his office. He was succeeded in his vizirship, by *Nadham*, who is celebrated by historians, as the most accomplished



accomplished statesman of his age. *Alp Arslan* and his predecessors had greatly reduced the power of the house of *Gazna*, the head of which at this time was *Ibrahim*. This prince finding it impossible to recover the dominions that had been dismembered from his family, sought to indemnify himself, by extending his conquests in *India*. Before he set out from thence, he made a solemn treaty with *Alp Arslan*, one of the chief articles of which was, that neither of their subjects should molest the others; which was inviolably observed on both sides. This gave *Ibrahim* an opportunity of pushing his conquests in *India*, where he gained so many victories, that he obtained the appellation of *Almansur*, or the Triumphant.

The beginning of *Alp Arslan's* reign was troubled with several rebellions. The first was under one of his own relations, called *Kotolmish*, who rebelled against him in the province of *Dabegan*; and got together a very fine army. But as he was advancing to give battle to the *Sultan's* troops, he happened to fall from his horse, and break his neck. This rebellion was followed by another under *Kara Arslan* in *Karman*, which was quickly suppressed by *Fadluyah*, a general of great abilities, who, for the services he did his master, was made governor of *Fars*. We have often observed that the governors of provinces in the east, were, as to the exercise of their power, very little less than independent princes; being left at liberty to act as they pleased in all matters, in which they were not particularly instructed by their masters, and that seldom happened with regard to the internal part of their government. *Fadluyah* soon felt his own power, and throwing off his allegiance to his master, he bad him defiance. Upon this *Alp Arslan*, ordered his vizir *Nadham* to advance with an army against the rebels. But *Fadluyah*, not chusing to stand an engagement, retired to a fort, so advantageously situated, as to be deemed impregnable. Here he and his army shut themselves up, having stored themselves so well with provisions, as to be under no apprehension of their being obliged to surrender thro' famine.

*Nadham* is universally allowed to be a great genius, but chose to support his character, by a manner of living and acting, that tho' extreamly well adapted to the eastern people, appears very odd and uncouth to *Europeans*, who do not reflect upon the great effects, which hypocrisy and pretensions to a sanctity, have had in *Europe* itself. *Alp Arslan*, was so much enraged at *Fadluyah's* defection, that he sent orders to *Nadham*, not to rise from before the place without taking it. *Nadham*, accordingly invested it, and made several attacks, but all to no purpose. His officers were perpetually remonstrating to him the impossibility of his succeeding, and he appeared sometimes inclined to hazard his sovereign's displeasure, by raising the siege. He



turned it however into a blockade, and affecting an intire indifference, as to the event, which he said he left wholly to God, he betook himself to fasting, praying, and repeating moral sentences, to fortify his own, and his officers patience. As to the enemy, they were so secure that not a man of them appeared upon the walls; nor did they seem to keep any guard, which, tho' *Nadham* looked upon to be the greatest insult they could offer to him as a general, was obliged to bear with. But one morning, when he least expected any such thing, he was agreeably surprized to hear the enemy beating the *Shamad*, as a sign that they were willing to surrender upon articles. These were soon settled; for *Nadham*, who knew the importance of the conquest, granted them honourable ones. It was stipulated, that *Fadluyah* should return to his allegiance to his *Sultan*, and pay him the usual tribute in presents, and that he should remain governor of that place. *Nadham*, upon enquiry, found the cause of this so unexpected surrender, to be owing to the springs and fountains, in the place, being suddenly dried up, thro' the heat of the season and climate. Tho' nothing in war is more common, and natural than such events, yet *Nadham* attributed this to the miraculous effect of his prayers and fasting; and it was so represented and so believed by the army.

and of an  
army be-  
ing saved  
from per-  
ishing.

But this was not the only miracle of that kind, that was wrought under the sanctity of *Nadham's* administration. A rebellion breaking out in *Karman*, it was necessary for him to march his army thro' the vast deserts of *Nubandijan*; which the soldiers seemed extreamly unwilling to enter; because they afforded nothing for the support of life. After several days march, finding their provisions run short, they gave themselves over for lost, and many of them murmured. But, when they came to this critical point of distress, they espied the ruins of a castle, which seemed to be the residence of wolves and bats, but here they found a magazine of corn, which sufficiently appeased their hunger, and a plentiful shower of rain fell, which quench'd their thirst. Tho' this deliverance is looked upon by the *Moslem* historians, as a striking miracle, yet nothing could be better judged by *Nadham*, or by the *Sultan* himself, when they foresaw such a march, than to lay up such a magazine for the relief of their troops, and then to give it the turn of a miracle. This proved the justice of their cause, and their assurance of divine protection. As to the shower that fell, admitting the thing to be true, it was indeed providential; but when we reflect, that rain in many of those deserts is generally periodical, it is highly absurd to swell it into a miracle. The whole of the expedition, however, seems to have been introduced for the sake of this miracle; for we are not told the event of it, tho' it probably was in favour of the *Sultan*.

Reflection

The



The next expedition we find undertaken by *Alp Arslan* was against *Kazan*, who had rebelled in the province of *Kowarazm*, at the head of thirty thousand men. He was soon defeated, and most of his troops cut in pieces, and *Alp Arslan* put the province under the government of his son *Mahec Shah*; whom he soon after, in a solemn assembly of all the grandees of the empire, placed upon a golden throne; and obliged all present to recognize him as his heir and successor.

*Kazan* defeated.

We now come to a period, where there is a very extraordinary agreement, between the chronology of the *Greek*, and *Moslem* writers, and likewise a more than ordinary agreement as to facts; but not in persons, or rather, in names. The *Greek* emperor, *Constantine Ducas*, after a short and unfortunate reign, finding his latter end approach,

Agreement between the *Greek* and *Moslem* authors.

gave the guardianship of his three sons, to whom he bequeathed his empire, to his wife *Eudocia*, but obliged her to take a solemn oath never to marry again. This encouraged the *Turks*, who had no idea of a female government, to break with vast fury into the empire, and threatened the destruction of *Constantinople* itself. The late emperor, from an unseasonable frugality, having left his dominions dis-

Hej. 458.  
A. D.  
1095.

furnished of troops, the empress, had but a small number to oppose this invasion; nor had she a general, whom she could trust with the command of those she had. In this distress, she threw her eyes upon *Romanus Diogenes*, who was then in prison, for his ambitious practices, but who was universally acknowledged to be the bravest, and best commander in the empire. Him she married, being first

History of the empress *Eudocia*;

absolved from her oath by the patriarch; and he was proclaimed emperor. His great reputation soon placed him at the head of an army, and obliged the *Turks* to retreat. They had taken and plundered *Neocæsaria*, and *Aleppo*, and they were retiring from *Neocæsaria*, with a prodigious booty, when the emperor, overtaking them with a body of light horse, put great numbers of them to the sword; and recovered the whole prey. He then retook *Neocæsaria*, and *Aleppo*, and built a strong fortress at *Hierapolis*, the *Bambyce* of the antients.

who marries *Romanus*.

While those events, so disagreeable to the *Seljuks* were happening, *Alp Arslan* with the true spirit of ambition, declared in a full meeting of his grandees, and general officers, that he was determined, to conquer the country of *Turkistan*, from which he said he derived his original, and therefore, it undoubtedly was understood, that it belonged to him of right. He accordingly gave orders for vast preparations to be made for that purpose, and had actually made some progress in his expedition, when he had notice of a fresh irruption, which had been made by the emperor *Romanus* into the *Moslem* territories. This expedition proved as unfortunate as the last; but if we are to judge by the *Moslem* au-

Hej. 462.

He invades the *Moslem* territories.



and de-  
feats the  
*Seljuks*.

Hej. 463.  
A. D.  
1070.  
Distresses  
of *Egypt*.

A severe  
famine.

Of great  
service to  
the califf  
of *Bag-*  
*dad*,

hors, he had during this absence, lost all the conquests he had made during the preceeding campaign; for we are told, that he besieged *Manbij*, which is no other than the *Heirapolis*, already mentioned, for sixteen days: we are therefore inclined to think, that this siege must have happened the preceeding campaign. It is however certain, that he defeated a great body of *Seljuks*, and other *Moslems*, in this campaign, and that he might have made a very formidable progress, had not provisions fallen short in his camp, by his army being surrounded, on all hands, with flying bodies of *Moslems* or *Turks*. He therefore made dispositions for returning to *Constantinople*; but the *Moslems* uniting in one great army, endeavoured to cut off his retreat, and *Romanus*, appearing to accelerate it more, the *Turks* imagined him to be flying, pursued him with so little caution, that *Romanus*, making a judicious stand, gave them a total defeat. This obliged the *Turks* to abandon a great number of their towns and fortresses on their frontiers; but the season of the year not permitting the emperor to pursue his conquests, he returned through *Cilicia*, and entered his capital in triumph, carrying with him, an immense booty, which he had taken, or rather re-taken from the *Turks*, with a vast number of prisoners.

During those transactions, *Al Kayen* having received his daughter *Syda* back from *Tauris*, with great sums of money bestowed upon him, was spending his life in sanctimonious indolence at *Bagdad*; void of ambition, and void of care. About this time, earthquakes, pestilence, and at last famine, had almost depopulated *Egypt*; where *Al Mostansar* still continued to reign. Human flesh, was publicly sold in the shambles; and the Grand Vizir himself, when he came to the palace, was attended only by one servant, and had but one horse; the rest of his servants, being through famine, unable to walk abroad. We are told, that this horse, being one day unluckily left at the palace gate, the vizir, on his return, could not find him; and was informed, that he had been devoured by the populace; several of whom were for that fact, hung upon gibbets, where their bodies afforded a repast to their countrymen, nothing of them being seen next day, but their bones. Other shocking particulars are mentioned, concerning this famine; which obliged *Mostansar* himself, who had ten thousand two hundred horses, mules, and camels, in his own stables to part with them all but three. To compleat his calamity, he was besieged in his palace by *Nacerodawla*, of the house of *Boyiah*, who obliged him to part with the small portion of money, and rich effects he had still left.

Those and other distresses, which happened at this time to the califf of *Egypt*, but above all, the powerful protection of *Alp Arslan*, were of infinite service to the califf of *Bagdad*. Many of the inhabitants, even of *Damascus*, where



where a civil war broke out on his account, preferred his authority to that of *Al Montanjar*, and *Aradawla*, the prince of *Aleppo*, which, by a strange revolution, had again fallen under *Moslem* dominion, was constrained to order prayers to be offered up, through all his dominions, for the califf of *Bagdad*; and to acknowledge *Alp Arslan* to be his sovereign and master.

*Alp Arslan* appears to have been much alarmed at the successes of the emperor *Romanus*; and having now laid aside marches all thoughts of any other expedition, at least for some time, and de- he assembled an army of forty thousand horse, with which feats the he marched to *Aklat*, formerly the capital of *Armenia*; si- *Greeks*-  
tuated upon the *Euphrates*, where he understood a great army of the *Greeks* lay, under the command of a general called *Philaretus*. These were so vigorously attacked by *Alp Arslan*, that they were entirely defeated, and their general being taken prisoner, had his nose cut off, by that *Sultan's* order: a barbarity so little conformable to *Alp Arslan's* character, that it is reasonable to conclude, the *Greek* must have been guilty of somewhat to deserve it. After this victory, a party of the *Seljuks* spread themselves in *Silicia*, where they plundered *Iconium*; but understanding that the emperor was drawing near with the main body of his army, they retired with precipitation, loaded with plunder. This gave an opportunity to the *Armenians*, and inhabitants of the country, to attack them in the plains of *Tarsus*, where the *Turks* lost all their plunder; and many of them were put to the sword. As we are writing at present the history of the *Moslems*, and not that of the *Greeks*, whose who in relations are by no means to be depended on, we think our- their turn selves obliged to follow the *Moslem* authors, in our relation defeats the of the great event that is to follow; but we shall not fail to *Seljuks*. avail ourselves of the *Greek* historians, where ever their relations throw any light upon the others, or where they are probable, and not absolutely contradictory to the more unquestionable authorities of the *Moslems*.

The check the *Seljuks* had met with upon the plains of *Tarsus*, did not discourage *Alp Arslan*, from pursuing the operation he intended. For we are told, that next spring, *Romanus* marched at the head of one hundred thousand men, into *Armenia*, where the *Seljuks* still kept their footing. He was counselled by his ablest generals, to attend the motions of the *Turks* in *Capadocia*, but he divided his army into two bodies. He sent one of them against *Aklat*, and with the other he marched to *Malazkerd*, appointing the last to be the general place of rendezvous. According to some historians, *Alp Arslan* was then besieging *Edeffa*, where the garrison made so vigorous a defence, that he was forced to abandon the siege, in order to draw his troops together, to oppose *Romanus*, who, he understood was making dispositions for a general battle. When the *Greeks* came

Progress  
of the  
war.



before *Malazkerd*, the *Seljuk* garrison abandoned it ; but the *Greeks* left in the place, observing no strict discipline, and roving about in parties for forage, were many of them put to the sword, by the *Seljuks* ; who, in their turn, besieged the town. The emperor, to relieve it, sent *Bryennius*, one of his best generals, with a party, which proving too weak, he was re-inforced by *Basilacius*, and with great difficulty, they repulsed the *Seljuks*, though *Bryennius* was taken prisoner. By this time, the division of the emperor's army sent against *Malazkerd*, had taken post at *Zabra* ; so that *Alp Arflan*, found a battle was inevitable ; but he had not with him then above fifteen thousand horse. With them however, he made such skilful dispositions, that, by calling in his detachments, his army soon increased to above forty thousand ; and it is on all hands allowed, that a vast number of *Greek* deserters, came over to him. It seems however, to be certain, that the strength of his army was inferior to that of the emperor, whom upon this occasion, he far out did in generalship. For the division of the *Greeks* that had been sent to *Aklat*, under *Rusilius*, was at a great distance from that under the emperor ; and indeed, *Alp Arflan*, appears to have taken his measures so well, that he had cut off all communication between them. It was therefore in vain for the emperor to send, as he did, dispatch after dispatch, to hasten the march of *Rusilius* to his assistance ; for that general, instead of advancing had fallen back ; so that the emperor was left to fight the battle with his own division. Both armies being drawn up in order of battle, *Alp Arflan*, with a moderation uncommon to his country, sent a deputation to *Romanus*, to treat of peace. But that emperor, conscious that he had a superiority of numbers on his side ; and trusting to the valour and discipline of his troops, interpreting such an offer from a barbarian, to be the effect of fear, haughtily answered, that he would treat of no peace, till he was put in possession of *Al Ray*, the *Sultan's* capital.

Strength  
of the two  
armies.

Haughti-  
ness of  
*Romanus*.

History of  
the fa-  
mous bat-  
tle of  
*Zabra*.

This answer, which was declared in the hearing of the whole army, raised in them, the utmost indignation, which proved fatal to the *Greeks*. The *Sultan* himself, at the head of his troops, threw himself upon his knees, and with tears, in which he was joined by all about him, called heaven to witness, how earnestly he had laboured for peace ; and continued sometime in the most fervent prayer for success. Rising from his devotions, he called for a white habit, in which he dressed himself, and in the Moslem manner, sprinkling it with perfumes, he said, that, if he fell in battle that day, his robe would serve him for a winding sheet. He then mounted his horse, and addressing himself to his troops, he offered every man, who had a mind to leave him his liberty to do it. Then riding through the ranks to review them, observing one horseman, of a very unpromising



promising appearance, he desired the officer who commanded the squadron, to dismiss him the service. But the officer replying, he was so brave a fellow, that no man in the army was more likely than he was, to take the *Greek* emperor prisoner, the *Sultan* commanded, that he should continue in his rank. He then returned to the head of his army, where he threw away his bow and his quiver, drew his sword with one hand, and grasped a sceptre, which was made of iron, and as some say, but with what propriety we cannot see, the tail of his horse in the other. In the mean while, the *Greeks* under their emperor, advanced in excellent order to the charge, which they made with such impetuosity, that the *Seljuks* retreated. According to *Bryennius*, who was present in this battle, *Alp Arslan's* general was *Tarang* one of his eunuchs. He acted in the nature of Aid de Camp to the *Sultan*, who gave orders for all the motions that were made. The *Seljuks* continued to retire, but with no considerable loss. At last, the emperor being apprehensive, that their intention was to get between him and his camp, by means of their cavalry, he ordered a retreat. Upon this the *Seljuks*, by the *Sultan's* orders, faced suddenly about, and in their turn, gave a most furious charge to the enemy. It began now to be duskish, and the rear of the *Greeks* which was commanded by *Adronicus Ducas*, who secretly hated *Romanus*, seeing the imperialists retreat, thought they had been routed. In this notion they were encouraged by *Adronicus*, who, instead of supporting the emperor, was the first to fly back to the camp, into which he was followed by all his division. The emperor now found himself surrounded, and overpowered by the *Seljuks*, who made a most dreadful slaughter of his troops. He acted however, with great intrepidity, till seeing all about him cut in pieces, and being himself most desperately wounded; and his horse killed under him, he was forced to surrender himself prisoner; as some historians say, to the ill-looking trooper we have already mentioned, whose name was *Shaid*; who at first was ignorant of the quality of his prisoner. But being convinced from the respect paid by the other *Greek* prisoners, that it was the emperor, he immediately threw himself from his horse; and paying him the proper reverences, conducted him to the *Sultan*.

In which the *Greek* emperor is taken prisoner.

This was one of those illustrious interviews in history, which is much better to be expressed in painting than in writing. The *Sultan*, who at first was doubtful of his prisoner's quality, being satisfied who he was, far from insulting him, advanced towards him, with an air of affability, and familiarly tapping him three times with his hand upon the shoulder, "Did I not send to you, said he, proposals of peace, and did you not reject them." The emperor replied, with some fierceness, "That he had, and bade him do his worst, but not to reproach him." "Do my worst," replied

Remarkable interview between him and *Togrol Beg*.



replied the *Sultan*, and what would you have done to me, had I been in the condition I now see you." "I should," said the emperor, have inflicted upon you, some infamous punishment. And how, continues the *Sultan*, do you imagine, I am to behave to you." "I suppose," said the other, you will either put me to death, or expose me thro' your dominions; or what I cannot well suppose, you will set me at liberty, upon my paying a ransom, and that you will suffer me to reign under you." You have, in your last supposition, rejoins the *Sultan*, hit upon the very thing I intend to do." He then conducted him to a most magnificent pavillion, where he found every thing suitable to his dignity was prepared for his entertainment.

The generosity of the latter,

The above relation of this celebrated interview, is not only much more natural, but more agreeable to what happened afterwards, than the trite compliments which the *Greek* writers have put in the *Sultan's* mouth, when he tells the emperor, that he would treat him, not as a captive, but as a sovereign. For, though it must be admitted, that *Alp Arslan*, upon this occasion, behaved with a magnanimity and politeness, scarcely to be paralleled in history; yet it was in some measure out of his power, to dismiss the emperor, without a ransom: because it would have been directly contrary to the fundamental principles of religion, to which he was so much attached. In fact therefore, when they treated together, the *Sultan* insisted upon a ransom, and likewise for the payment of an annual tribute; but he shewed a true magnanimity, in requiring no other security for the payment of either, than the emperor's own word: which is a demonstrable proof, that in point of generosity, the *Sultan* went as far as the laws of his religion, which indeed, were the laws of his country, gave him leave. As soon as the anguish of the emperor's wounds permitted him, a perpetual peace was concluded between them. It was stipulated, according to the *Moslem* historians, that the emperor should pay for his ransom about seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, and that he should remit to *Al Ray*, an annual tribute of about a hundred and forty thousand. This last is likewise a circumstance that is indispensable, by the law of *Mahomet*, when the conquered party does not embrace his religion. It was farther agreed, that the emperor should order all the *Moslem* prisoners throughout his dominions, to be released. This was a condition which common humanity, as well as policy, dictated. And lastly, the emperor was to give his daughter in marriage, to the *Sultan's* son; a circumstance mentioned by the *Greek* historians, and as we are told, by *Mirkond*, one of the best of the eastern ones, to have been punctually performed.

who makes peace with and sets free *Romanus*.

*Togral Beg's* politeness and humanity.

During the dependence of this treaty, the emperor always sat on the same throne with the *Sultan*, and was presented by him, not only with ten thousand pieces of gold, for



for his present exigencies, but with the liberty of some illustrious prisoners, whom he invested, as he did the emperor, with robes of honour; and when the two monarchs parted, the emperor received a noble guard, to conduct him in safety, to the place of his destination. As the emperor was now the ally, and tributary of the califf of *Bagdad's Emir Al Omra*, it is proper here, to follow that prince, through the following unhappy scenes of his life.

No sooner was it known at *Constantinople*, that he was a Distressed captive, than *John Ducas*, brother to the late emperor, and death formed a party, which placed his nephew *Michael*, upon the throne of *Constantinople*, and shut the empress *Eudocia* up in a monastery. The emperor *Romanus* knew nothing of this revolution when he took leave of the *Sultan*, and set out for *Constantinople*, where the treaty, he had lately concluded, was to be ratified, attended by *Alp Arslan's* ambassadors. He therefore proceeded to *Theodosiopolis*, where he reposed for some time, and had his wounds dressed. It was here he received the first intelligence of the catastrophe that had happened in his capital. He therefore retired to a strong fortress, called *Docia*, which he proposed to keep, till he was joined by such a number of his faithful subjects, as should enable him to take the field, but he was deceived in his expectation. For *Adronicus*, the son of *John Ducas*, the same who had betrayed him at the battle of *Zabra*, being sent against him, with a force far superior to his, soon dissipated the few troops he had got together, and pursuing him into *Silicia*, made him prisoner. His eyes were then put out, and being sent in exile to the island of *Protan*, he there died of grief and anguish.

*Romanus* and *Alp Arslan*, are said by several historians, to have been the two handsomest men in their dominions, and to have excelled all others, in the personal exercise of arms. It was therefore, no wonder, that a friendship grew between them. Neither was *Romanus* unworthy to reign, in other respects, besides valour; and military accomplishments. Notwithstanding his distressed circumstances, he remitted to the *Sultan* about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of his ransom, with a jewel, esteemed worth fifty thousand pound more; with an apology, that it was all the money he could raise. This generous proceeding so touched the *Sultan*, that hearing of the emperor's distresses, he swore he would take the first opportunity to relieve him.

His character.

*Alp Arslan* was now at a summit of glory, which none of the *Moslem* princes, had ever known, and to which the greatest of them had most ardently aspired; by having conquered, taken, and set at liberty, the successor of the *Roman Cæsars*. He therefore bent his mind to the expedition on which it had been so long set, the conquest of *Turkestan*. Certain reasons however, determined him to begin with *Georgia*, into which country

Glory of  
*Alp Arslan*.  
Hej. 464.  
A. D.  
1071.



He con- country he marched an immense army; and he soon conquered  
 quers the all the flat part of it. As the inhabitants were christians,  
 plains of amongst other hardships he imposed upon them, he obliged  
*Georgia.* the nobility to wear rings of iron in their ears; in token  
 Severe u- that he had deprived them of their liberty, and reduced  
 sage of the them to the condition of slaves. Many of the *Georgians*, tho'  
 greatlords greatly attached to christianity, to avoid this ignominy,  
 there, made an outward profession of mahometism. The *Sultan*  
 perceiving that he must be too long diverted from his favour-  
 ite expedition, should he attempt to penetrate into the  
 mountanous parts of the country, committed the reduction  
 of them, to his son *Mabec*, a son, who was well worthy of  
 such a father. *Mabec* chose to begin with the strongest of the  
 fortresses near *Mount Caucasus*, which was that of *Meriam*  
*Nishin*. This fortress, being situated in the middle of a  
 lake, was by the *Georgians* deemed to be impregnable, and  
 it received its name, by its containing a monastery, and  
 church, dedicated to the virgin mary, which was resorted to  
 by all the christians of those parts, with uncommon vene-  
 ration. The difficulty of the attempt, did not discourage  
*Mabec*. He put the best of his troops, furnished with hooks,  
 ladders, and grappling irons, on board boards and rafts;  
 intending to scale the walls. But just as he was going to  
 give the attack, a tempest rose, followed by so dreadful an  
 earthquake, that all the elements seemed to conspire in the  
 destruction, both of *Turks*, and christians. It was however  
 plain, that heaven did not thereby interest itself in favour of  
 the christians. For so great a part of the walls of the place,  
 were thrown down by the earthquake, that when the storm  
 was over, *Mabec* carried the place, and levelled the church  
 and monastery to the ground.

His expe- In the mean while, the *Sultan* repaired to *Bagdad*, and  
 dition in- continued his preparations with so much vigour, that he  
 to Turk- entered *Turkistan* at the head of twenty thousand troops.  
 estan. This was so early as the month of February. He pointed his  
 march towards *Mawaralnar*, but finding the *Jebun*, im-  
 passable by his vast armaments, he spent twenty days in  
 throwing a bridge over it. The bridge being finished, he  
 found it absolutely necessary for the safety of his troops, and  
 the success of his expedition, to reduce certain forts, that  
 lay on the opposite banks. The first of those he attacked  
 called *Barza* was defended by *Yusef Kothual*, a brave *Kara-*  
*zmian* lord, and tho' it was certain the place was not tenable  
 against so great an army; yet he defended it for several days,  
 with amazing intrepidity. At last the fort being carried,  
 and he made prisoner, the *Sultan* ordered him to be brought  
 before him; and reprimanded him severely for being so  
 madly presumptuous, as to defend such a place against such  
 a force. The *Karazmian*, who it is plain could not distin-  
 guish, between valour, and madness, answered at first  
 fiercely

and the  
 remark-  
 able man-  
 ner of his  
 death.



fiercely and even proceeded to the most outrageous disrespect. The *Sultan* threatened him with a cruel death. Upon which, the *Karazmian* plucking from his boot, a concealed dagger. Villain said he, is a man, like me, to be thus treated. The *Sultan's* guards would instantly have interposed, but he hindered them with a motion of his hand, and let fly an arrow which missed the *Karazmian*, who, immediately run with his dagger towards the *Sultan*. The latter thinking he had no equal in arms, sprung from his throne, but his foot slipping, before he could recover himself, the *Karazmian* gave him a mortal wound with his dagger. He had strength, however, to go into another tent, while the *Karazmian* not only defended himself bravely against all the *Sultan's* guards, but wounded several of them, and would have made his escape had not one of the court pages knocked him down with a stone, some say a hammer, and then he was dispatched.

As to *Alp Arslan*, his death was edifying. Before he expired, he told his attendants that two things were formerly recommended to him, and that he had neglected them both. That he never should have too mean an opinion of another, or too high a one of himself, “yesterday continued he,” observing the strength of my army from yonder eminence, I “imagined myself invincible by any power on earth: and “to day I depended so much on my own strength and “skill in arms, that I forbid my guard to interpose between me and the man who has given me my death “wound. I now perceive that there is no warding off “tiny.”

His last speech,

Such were the dying sentiments of this great man. His vizir *Nadham* perceiving that his death was approaching, hinted to him that it would be proper to oblige the chief officers of his state and army to renew their oaths of fidelity to *Mahac Shah*, which was accordingly done; because *Mahac* tho' the most deserving, was not the eldest son of the *Sultan*. Thus died the then greatest monarch in the world; a term we are often obliged to repeat; because of the many great princes which arose in the east at this time, in succession; the splendor of the latter always rendering dim that of the former; for we shall some years hence exhibit one who is to eclipse the lustre of all we have yet mentioned. *Alp Arslan* was in the prime of his life at the time of his death; being but forty four years of age; of which he reigned near ten. The epitaph inscribed upon his tomb at *Maru*, in *Korasan*, where he was buried, is beautifully simple, and more in the old *Greek*, than in the eastern, manner. “All ye who have beheld the glory of *Alp Arslan* raised to the stars approach and see his person mingled with the dust.

and epitaph.

As to this great monarch's character, he seems by the generous manner in which he behaved to the emperor of *Constantinople*

His character,



and great-  
ness.

*Constantinople*, to have possessed a magnanimity that distinguishes him from all the other great men (numerous as they are) of the like rank, that we have exhibited in the course of this history. In other respects they are similar. The *Persian* historian gives us perhaps too extravagant an idea of his power when he says that no fewer than twelve thousand princes or sons of princes have been seen attending his throne. We have already mentioned the form of his person which is said to have been so majestic that it impressed all who beheld him with awe and affection. He wore his whiskers very long, and his turban was very high and done up in form of a crown, to increase the majesty of his person which was of the largest size.

Succeed-  
ed by his  
son *Malec*.  
who is  
made *E-*  
*mir Al*  
*Munemin*.

The title of "*Emir Al Omra* to the *Sultan of Bagdad*," was amongst the grandest of those which adorned the name of the new *Sultan Malec*. This prince mounted the *Seljuk* throne with such prepossessions in his favour, that the califf *Al Kayen*, not only sent him a confirmation of all his titles but added to them that of *Emir Al Munemin* or commander of the faithful, an appellation that the califfs had hitherto reserved to themselves alone. Upon *Malec's* accession to the *Seljuk* throne, he was proclaimed by the title of "*Jalal*" or "the glory of the state and religion." But he soon met with a rival in the person of *Marubel*, the son of *Jaffar Beg* to whom the reader may remember the kingdom of *Korasan* had been allotted. But *Malec* soon extinguished that dispute by giving his rival a total defeat near *Hamadan*. *Kaderd* another of his cousin-germans, who then governed *Kerman*, or rather was sovereign of it, proved a more powerful competitor, for to say the truth, it is not clear upon what principles of succession or justice, the great monarchy of *Korasan* came at this time, as it certainly was, to be in *Malec's* possession. *Kaderd* was at the head of a powerful army, and had advanced as far as *Kurge* when he was opposed by a numerous army of veteran *Korasan Seljuks*, who were deemed to be invincible. The two armies, for some days, strove by marches and counter marches for the advantage of the ground, and at last a general engagement, which proved one of the most bloody that ever had been known in *Persia* decided the contest in favour of *Sultan Malec*. This victory rendered the troops who had gained it so insolent, that they threatened if their pay was not doubled, to set at liberty *Kaderd*, who had been taken in the late engagement, and to place him at their head. Upon this, it is said, that *Kaderd* was poisoned in the night, by *Malec's* order; and it is certain that, in the morning, he was found dead with symptoms of poison upon his body. *Malec* declared that he had out of despair taken the poison which, as was the custom of many of the eastern princes, he always carried about him in a ring. The heads of the mutiny, who the night before had left their petition or rather



rather their demands, with the vizir in writing, appeared next morning at the palace to renew the *Sultan's* answer; but were told with a melancholy aspect, by the vizir, that he had no opportunity of presenting, to his majesty, their paper, because of the extream affliction he was under on account of his kinsman *Kaderd's* death; who had poisoned himself the night before. As the chief hopes of the mutineers consisted in *Kaderd's* person, and pretensions, they were so much disconcerted and confounded, when they heard of his death, that they quietly returned to their duty.

In the mean while, the califf *Al Kayen*, who was now above seventy six years of age, and in the forty fifth of his califfat died. A little time before his death, an accident happened which perhaps hastened it. For the Tigris overflowing, the inundation was so great and so rapid that it surrounded even the throne of the califf, who must have perished in the water had he not been rescued by a slave who carried him out upon his shoulders. We have very little to say with regard to this califf. The political character of all califfs had been extinguished soon after the erection of the post, or rather tyranny of the *Emirs Al Omra*. They were enclosed like breathing statues within a shrine, and were fed at the expence of the public. If they were of importance, it was when the party to which they lent their name found it of service to them, which seldom had happened after the *Sultans of Seljuk* were their keepers. It is however admitted that *Al Kayen* lived more at ease under them than either he or his predecessor had lived under their predecessors. The reader may easily perceive from the circumstance of his refusing his daughter to the great *Togrol Beg* in marriage, to what a pitch of pride he had dozed his life away. It would however be doing in justice to his memory, not to mention that he is said by historians to have possessed, in an eminent degree, all the private virtues, and that he has left behind him some specimens of his poetry which have descended to latter times.

Death of  
*Al Kayen*  
and his  
character

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*Al Moktadi, the 27th califf of the house of Al Abbas.*

**T**HIS califf was grandson to the late califf by his son *Succeed-Mohannerd*, and immediately upon the death of his grandfather was recognized as califf by all the great officers of his household. He said the funeral service over his predecessor; a ceremony which all califfs performed to their predecessors with whom they died in good understanding, if present



State of  
the *Egyptian*  
califfs.

Hej. 468.  
A. D.  
1075.

Tribute  
payed to  
*Malec*.

Character  
of *Malec*.

present on the spot. The family of *Al Kayen*, at the time of his succession, was so weak, that he was the only male heir remaining. About the time of, or a little before, his accession, *Naserodawla*, who had been the scourge of *Egypt* under *Mostansur* was after a long and successful reign of rebellion defeated and put to death by *Begdukur* a *Tark* in the city of *Mefer*. After his defeat and death, plenty and peace returned to *Egypt*, whose calamities had been in a great measure owing to the ravages of that rebel. The *Egyptian* califfs however were reduced to the same state as those of *Bagdad* by falling under the power of their vizirs, who acted as *Emirs Al Omra*, and who supported themselves by the power of the army. The *Emir Al Omra* of *Bagdad*, this year found means to reduce great part of *Syria*, and carried the important point of having the new califf of *Bagdad's* name, instead of that of the *Egyptian* califf, mentioned in the public prayers. *Malec* carried his respects still farther, for after this expedition, he paid a formal visit to the califf of *Bagdad*, and gave him signal marks of veneration and respect. The name of *Malec's* general, who had been so prosperous in *Syria*, was *Affis*. He even pushed his arms into *Egypt*, and obliged the *Fatemite* califf to fly from his capital, but at last *Affis* received a signal defeat, from the inhabitants of *Cairo*, and other cities of *Egypt*; by which he was obliged to return to *Damascus*. Upon his march back we are told that he slaughtered great numbers of people at *Ramla*, and *Jerusalem*. The dependance of a general upon his sovereign, in that age and country, was always a proportion to the power and weakness of both; and after an expedition was finished, there was very little correspondence between them. The case of *Affis* was a strong proof of this; for tho' he returned safe to *Damascus* of which he was governor, *Malec* knew nothing of the matter, and actually imagined that he had been cut off in his expedition to *Egypt*. *Malec* therefore gave a commission to his own brother *Tatash*, to reconquer *Syria*; and put him at the head of an army for that purpose. But when *Tatash* was drawing near *Damascus*, he found that its governor, *Affis*, was reigning there in great peace and prosperity. *Affis* however understanding that the *Sultan's* army was approaching, offered to pay a tribute for his government; which *Malec* immediately accepted of, having much more important conquests in his view.

*Malec*, by the concurring testimony of all the eastern historians, was not only a more powerful, but if possible, a more amiable prince than his father, or any of the *Seljukian* line. But the greatest glory perhaps, and the greatest blemish of his reign, was his having such a vizir, as *Nadham*; or as he is called by other writers *Nazam Al Molk*, whom we have already taken notice of, as being the best statesman of his age and country. This minister from being no better than



than the son of a peasant, eclipsed not only all the statesmen, but many princes, that went before him, in his munificence to men of letters. Not contented with taking under his patronage and protection all the learned men who repaired to his palace, he founded seminaries of learning, which he endowed with large revenues, in all the principal cities of his master's dominions, and particularly, a very noble college at *Bagdad*. About the time we now treat of, *Nadham* was near ninety years of age, and having been the tutor of *Alp Arslan*, we can easily account for the many amiable virtues, of that great conqueror. His age gave him a right to be the father of learning, as his munificence had made him the patron of it, and the scholars throughout all the *Moslem* dominions looked upon themselves as his subjects, and children. When the *Sultan Malec* about the time we now treat of, repaired to *Bagdad* to be crowned, *Nadham* added lustre to that solemnity, by a noble, and perhaps, unparrelled magnificence. For he sent circular letters to all the most eminent learned men in the *Moslem* dominions to attend him by a certain day. Being assembled, he put himself at their head, and they set out, in a formal regular procession, from the vizir's palace, in the western, to the califf's palace, in the eastern, part of that capital. An account of this venerable appearance, reaching the califf, he sent the principal officers of the court to meet them upon their procession, and a horse richly caparisoned, for *Nadham*, who still continued walking at their head. Being arrived in the califf's presence, the learned body ranged themselves in order to the right and left, of the califf's throne. But *Nadham* was admitted to sit along with him upon it; and was honoured, not only with a rich robe of state, but with many high titles, in praise of his wisdom and learning. He was equally charitable to the poor as he was liberal to the learned; for it is said that he distributed out of his own private purse, no less than two hundred and eighty thousand dinars, during the first progress that *Malec* made thro' his dominions.

Magnificence of *Nadham*.

The first conquest of great importance atchived by *Malec*, *Malec's* was in the year of the Hejra 471, when he made an expedition against *Solymon*, the sovereign of the country on the other side of the *Jehun*, or the *Oxus*. This prince was defeated, and being taken prisoner, was sent by *Malec* to *Isfahan*, which was then the capital of his empire. An incident happened in this expedition, which may serve to display *Nadham's* refined notions of grandeur. The expence of carrying the *Sultan's* forces over the *Jehun*, was very considerable; and when the ferry men brought in their accounts to the vizir, he payed them in bills drawn upon *Antioch*. The poor boat-men considered this as an off-put, and in a body complained of it to the *Sultan*, who spoke of it to his vizir. "It is not sir, answered the latter with a view of delaying  
" payment



*Nadham's*  
magnifi-  
cence.

“ payment I have given those drafts, but that the world,  
“ and posterity may know, the extent of your majesty's  
“ dominions, when they hear that your revenues at *Antioch*,  
“ paid the ferry-men upon the *Jebun*, and the sailors  
“ upon the *Caspian* sea.” At the same time, the vizir  
ordered the bills to be paid without the least discount.

This expedition being over, the *Sultan* made preparations for a war against *Ibrahim* the son of *Masud*, the *Sultan* of *Gazna*. That prince had been very successful in *India*, which seems to have raised *Malec's* jealousy; but *Ibrahim* prudently tried the way of negotiation, to compromise matters between them, which succeeded so well, that a peace was concluded, and sealed by a marriage, between *Ibrahim's* son, and *Malec's* daughter. At the same time, *Malec* married the daughter of *Bagra Khan*, who is called king of the *Turks*, and perhaps then reigned at *Turkistan*. This princess soon after bore him a son, who from the place of his birth was called *Sanjar*.

History of  
*Affis*.

*Affis* still continued to reign under the califf of *Bagdad*, or rather under *Malec*, his *Emir Al Omra*, at *Damascus*. This city had long been the bone of contention, between the *Sultan's* of *Bagdad* and *Egypt*. *Affis* apprehending he was too weak to resist his adversary, sent to *Tatash*, *Melec's* brother, for assistance. *Tatash*, who seems to have been a soldier of fortune, was still at the head of his army, without having been able to establish himself in any sovereignty, and he moved towards *Damascus*. Upon this, the *Egyptians* retreated to their own country. *Affis*, as the reader may remember, was no other than a tributary to *Malec*, and had been so severe in his government, that great numbers of his subjects had withdrawn themselves, with their effects, from their country to avoid his tyranny. Pleased however with his advantage, he paid a visit to *Tatash*, in his camp, and was there put to death. *Tatash* then took possession of *Damascus*, and all the vast treasures of the late governor, and invited all the fugitive *Damascenes*, to return to *Damascus*, which they accordingly did: Dominion at this time, was an actual traffic amongst the *Moslem* princes. All the monarchs of the antient califat, (excepting the califf of *Egypt*) acknowledged some kind of superiority, to be vested in the califf of *Bagdad*. This superiority was by him transferred to his *Emir Al Omra*, and in virtue of that transference, the *Emir* farmed it out in parcels. Sometimes, he bestowed the government of a rich province, upon the payment of a stipulated sum. Sometimes he gave a province up to be conquered, when its possessor grew too powerful to be longer dependent; and the conqueror was to hold his acquisition, upon perhaps easier terms. Thus the governor of *Mawfel* had leave from *Malec*, to conquer *Aleppo*, and its rich district at this time, upon his paying a tribute

tribute  
paid for  
*Mawfel*



of three hundred thousand dinars a year. The same was the case of many other of the finest provinces of the East. By this scheme of policy, *Malec*, for some years, preserved such a tranquillity of government, that no remarkable events happened for some years of the califf's reign. At last, his brother *Tatafb*, the same who had acquired the sovereignty of *Damascus*, rebelled against him. This seems to have been the reason, why *Malec* appointed *Kastakdr* to govern *Bagdad* in his absence, while he marched against his brother; who had made himself master of *Meru*. This was a city which abounded in all the riches and luxury of the East; and *Tatafb* was so voluptuous a prince, that ordering his army to keep without the walls, he and his favourites entered it, indulged themselves in all kind of pleasure, by drinking wine, lying with women, and committing other enormities, forbidden by the Moslem faith. Upon the approach of *Malec*, with a superior army, *Tatafb* retired to the castle of *Berjes*, where being taken, he was thrown into prison. Such is the relation given by some of the Eastern historians of this prince *Tatafb*; but there is some reason for believing, that it is not perfect. For the prince of *Aleppo*, being defeated by *Kotelmish*, the governor of *Antioch*, we are told that *Aleppo* was taken possession of by *Tatafb*; and that the same prince soon after made himself master of a great part of *Syria*. It likewise appears, that, even after his being taken at *Berjes*, he was so formidable to *Malec*, that the latter, to ballance his power, proposed to marry his son to a daughter of *Alexis*, the Greek emperor. Thus very little dependence can be had upon this period of the Moslem history; we shall therefore proceed to something that is more certain.

Defects of  
the history

We have already mentioned the sects of the *Bowendians*, the *Karmatians*, and many other enthusiasts, who being all of them of the same spirit, seem, some time before this, to have all united together, and to have appeared under the name of *Batanists*. The prodigious extent and fertility of the eastern countries, had afforded them the means of sheltering and subsisting themselves, undiscovered, in the *Persian Irak*, *Deylam*, and other districts, till they found themselves powerful enough to appear abroad, which they did in the 480th year of the Hejra. At this time, they were headed by one *Hasan*, a native of *Meru*, of some consideration. Were not the facts attested by *European* as well as Eastern authors, those delivered concerning this sect and leader, would appear incredible. He brought his followers to a greater conformity to his will, than even *Mahomet* himself ever brought his. Finding himself strong enough to appear abroad, they rendezvous'd at a castle called, *Rudbar*, in *Deylem*, belonging to one *Kamak*, who was tributary to *Malec*. But he was heated with the enthusiasm of the *Batanists* so strongly, as to

History  
and rise of  
the *Ass-*  
*assins*.



become one of their sect, and to deliver up his castle to them upon the payment of twelve thousand dinars. Soon after this, their numbers became considerable and at last formidable; even to the great *Malec*. He sent *Hasan*, from whose name the word *assassin* (or murderer) takes its rise, a message, requiring him to submit himself and dismiss his followers. *Hasan* read the *Sultan's* letter, without discovering the least emotion, but pointing at a young man, one of his followers, he ordered the youth to stab himself, which he instantly did and dropt down on the spot. Giving his order to another, he instantly went to the top of a tower, from whence he threw himself and beat out his brains. The chief then turning to the *Sultan's* messengers, Tell your master, said he, what you have seen, and that I am at the head of seventy thousand men, who at my command will do as those have done. It was no wonder, after this report was made to *Malec*, that he was extremely cautious, as to his proceedings against such a desperate crew, especially as he had then a great number of other powerful enemies upon his hands. *Hasan* seems to have been aware of this, and availed himself of *Malec's* caution. For, in a very short time, he reduced other fortresses, and particularly one called *Al Maut*, or Death, from its impregnable situation amongst the mountains of *Jebab*; for which reason *Hasan* made it the seat of his government.

Their  
enthu-  
siasm.

It may not be improper here, to acquaint the reader that those *Batanists* took their name from a hidden light, which they pretended to possess; and that the appellation of their prince, when properly translated, is no other than the old man of the mountain, which is so celebrated in the *European* histories. In a short time, they made themselves masters of *Al Jebal*, which comprehends the mountainous part of the *Persian Irak*. How such monsters of society, were suffered to exist, would be extremely hard to be accounted for, did we not reflect that the whole East at this time was a scene of barbarity and bloodshed; and that they were employed, by the monarchs there, as their ministers of vengeance. In short, this execrable *Hasan* even founded a dynasty, which was called the *Ismaelian*, and however incredible it may appear, the same lasted for 171 years.

History  
and death  
of *Nad-  
ham*.

We know of no particular wars, that *Malec*, as *Emir Al Omra* or king of *Bagdad*, was engaged in at this time. All we learn, is that he divided his time between *Ispahan* and *Bagdad*, and that he acquired the character of being one of the most virtuous and magnanimous, as well as most powerful princes, that ever was enthroned in the east. His treatment of his minister *Nadham*, which is one of the most remarkable periods of his history, discovers how perfectly well he understood his own dignity. That minister, when past the 90th year of his age, fell into the infirmities incident to that time of life; and particularly into a blind fondness for his



his children, and grand children. As he had been long invested with next to sovereign power, they scarce had any idea of subjection, and their insolence proved such, as plainly evinced, that they did not think they had a superior. *Othman*, one of *Nadham's* grandsons, was governor of *Meru* in *Korasan*; and others of his descendants possessed the greatest places of the government. As to *Nadham*, conscious of his own integrity, he was above making any of those compliances, which serve to palliate the over-growing power of a subject. He did not even stoop to *Katun*, his sovereign's favourite wife, who insisted upon her son being appointed successor to *Malec*, in prejudice of his elder brother *Barkiarok*. *Nadham* strenuously opposed this substitution, and that, probably, was the cause of his ruin. It was easy for the favourite lady to make the *Sultan* sensible, that his minister's family were too great for subjects; especially as their own imprudence confirmed it. The governor of *Meru*, treated one *Kudan*, who was a favourite slave with the *Sultan*, in a most opprobrious manner; and as soon as the lady found she had made an impression upon *Malec's* mind, in prejudice of his minister, no day past, without his ears being filled with fresh complaints of his family's insolence. *Mowiad*, the minister's son, had been raised to the post of principal secretary of state, and one *Adib*, who was remarkable for having a very fine hand of writing, was particularly recommended by the *Sultan*, to be his under secretary. *Mowiad* rejected him, giving it as a reason, that he had sworn never to employ *Adib*; and that he was certain, the *Sultan* would not render him guilty of perjury. This disrespectful answer, being carried to *Malec*, he observed, that as he had made no oath to employ *Mowiad*, he was free to discharge him, which he accordingly did, and made *Adib* secretary, in his room. About the same time, the *Sultan* wrote to *Nadham* a very severe Resentment letter. "If, said he, you are my colleague in empire, declare it, but if you own yourself to be my minister, you must own you are my subject. Your family, *Othman* in particular, transgress the bounds of duty that subjects ought to observe." This severe reprimand threw *Nadham*, who, not used to such rebukes, a little off his guard. And this was so well improved by the favourite lady, that she prevailed with the *Sultan* to write him another letter, intimating, that if he and his family did not abate of their insolence, he would deprive him of the standish, meaning the vizirship. The answer which *Nadham* gave to this letter, though unguarded, is worthy to be recorded. "You may, sir, said he, remember, how I suppress all the rebellions that broke out upon your first coming to your throne, and that to me is owing, the present happy, and prosperous state you enjoy, yet, you now give ear to my accusers. Sir, your glory depends upon the continuance of the connection, that is, between my standish, and your turban."



*Nadham*  
murdered  
by a Bata-  
nist.

This language was too free for the greatest monarch in the East to bear; and *Malec* resented it so much, that he took the standish from *Nadham*; or, in other words, he deprived him of all his places, and power. This had no great effect upon a philosopher, who was now ninety-three years of age; for *Nadham* still continued to follow his master's court, without discovering the smallest symptom of resentment. The favourite lady thought this to be dangerous; and one day a true *Batanist*, under the appearance of a beggar boy, approaching to ask charity of him, gave him a mortal wound. Finding his end approach, he wrote a most affecting letter to the *Sultan*, in which, after a short recapitulation of his own services, he recommended his family to his majesty's protection. He was succeeded in his post of first minister, by a creature of the favourite *Sultana*, called *Tay*. His master *Malec* did not long survive him; but historians are not agreed, as to the manner of his death. One account is, that, eighteen days after the assassination of his minister *Nadham*, he came to *Bagdad*, in the neighbourhood of which he went a hunting; which was his great passion, and that having eat of some of the game he destroyed, he returned home sick, and died. Others say, with some face of probability, that his brother *Tatafb* employed some of his subjects, of the old man of the mountain, to assassinate him; which they effectually did. Others say, that, before his death, he was taken prisoner, by the *Greek* emperor's army, without their knowing his quality; and that his minister *Nadham*, by pretending an embassy to the *Greek* court, obtained his release, amongst other prisoners, of whose freedom the emperor made him a present; and that he died soon after. But this last account is void of all probability; we must therefore conclude upon the whole, that he died a natural death, and in the manner already mentioned.

Death and  
character  
of *Malec*.

Though *Malec* is celebrated by the Eastern historians, as being the greatest prince that ever mounted the *Seljukian* throne, yet very little justice has been done to his memory. The particulars we have of his reign, are confused, without historical precision, and very little to be depended on. Were we to hazard a conjecture, we would ascribe this uncertainty to the resentment which the learned men of his time entertained, for his ingratitude to their great patron, *Nadham*. Enough, however, is come to our hands, to prove, that he was a prince endowed with all the great qualities necessary for government. He introduced into his dominions a much better police than they had ever known before; and he carried on public works of extream magnificence, and utility. His extensive dominions were, by his order, adorned with hospitals, and colleges, for the poor; commodious roads, canals, and all the conveniencies of life. His reign was distinguished by plenty, and, though we are in the dark as to particulars, he is said to have been the greatest



greatest conqueror of his time. That circumstance, however, admits of great doubt; because it is plain, that both the *Greek* and the *Moslem* historians, have confounded him, with his father *Alp Arflan*, who undoubtedly was so. But the most extraordinary part of *Malec's* character is, that he was void of ambition. During his life time, he shared his vast dominions amongst his kinsmen and favourites. He made *Soleyman*, the son of *Kotolmish*, whom we have already mentioned, the sovereign of all the conquests he gained from the *Greeks*; which we are told, extended from the *Euphrates* into *Asia Minor*. *Ezerum*, was the capital of this empire. He gave all *Karamania*, or *Kerman*, to *Shah*, the son of his uncle *Kadred*, notwithstanding the reasons he had for being at variance with that prince. His brother *Tatash* was by him made governor, or rather sovereign of the greatest part of *Syria*. He gave *Karazm* to *Tushtekin*, *Aleppo* to *Aksankar*, *Mawfel* to *Tagarmish*, and *Mardin* to *Katmur*. It is impossible, at this distance of time, to assign the motives of this liberality; which was perhaps well judged, and founded upon excellent principles. *Malec*, from his own experience, could not be insensible of the abuses committed by governors, who generally proved tyrants and usurpers. It is therefore probable, that he introduced into his empire a new tenure, somewhat of the nature of that feudal kind, which began, about this time, so much to prevail in *Europe*. Every sovereign he made, was his tributary; and as he knew the precise terms upon which he held his government, it was by no means his interest to endeavour to shake off so easy a dependence.

His disinterested  
generosity

Upon the whole, it is greatly to be lamented, that we are so much in the dark, as we are, with regard to this great prince. Besides the cause we have already hinted, it is but too probable, another occurred, and that is, the decay of literature, which, by this time, began to creep upon the *Moslem* empire. The encouragement of learning had risen to so amazing a height, that it could go no farther; and therefore became, about the time we now treat of; first, to decline, and then to be neglected. It is therefore owing to *Nadham's* generous patronage of letters, that we knew any particulars of *Malec*. One instance, that has come to our hands, proves a superiority of that prince's genius, even over that of his minister. For, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, under his brother *Tatash*, he went with *Nadham* to *Tus*, upon a pilgrimage to the tomb of *Musa Al Radi*, who was held in great veneration by the *Moslems*; as being an immediate descendant from the califf *Ali*. Being arrived at the tomb, the sovereign and the minister, prostrated themselves in prayer, and *Nadham's* fervour was so extatic, that *Malec* could not help asking him, what the subject of his devotion was? the minister told him, that he was praying, his majesty might be able to subdue

Decay of  
literature  
amongst  
the *Mos-*  
*lems*.



his brother, and to get the better of all opposition. My devotions, said the *Sultan*, had a quite different tendency. For I prayed, "O Lord God, if it is more for the good of my subjects, that my brother should reign, than that I should, let him prevail; if not, give me the victory."

His severe  
conduct  
with re-  
gard to  
the califf.

Notwithstanding the virtues, and greatness of this prince, he seems towards the end of his life, not to have been exempted from human failings. He was suspected of his having encouraged the assassination of his great minister, but impartially speaking, he ought to be acquitted of that imputation; because, he ordered the murderer to be put to a severe death. His conduct, with regard to the califf of *Bagdad*, seems not to be quite so defensible. We are told, that some time before his death, he ordered him to retire from *Bagdad*, and that the califf, with great difficulty, obtained permission to remain there for ten days longer. Notwithstanding this, it is on all hands agreed, that no *Emir Al Omra*, ever treated a califf so well, as *Malec* did *Al Moktadi*.

*Mamud*  
succeeds  
*Malec*.

Upon the death of *Malec*, no alteration that we know of happened, in the situation of *Al Moktadi*'s affairs. *Katun*, or *Tarkan Malec*'s *Sultaneſs*, had prevailed with him to nominate her son *Mahmud*, to be his successor, though he was no more than six years of age; and though he had an elder brother *Barkiarok*, who was of years fit for government. She had, upon her side, the vizir *Tay*, who had succeeded *Nadham*, and in concert together they found means to conceal the *Sultan*'s death, till they made sure of the army; by vast donatives of money, and particularly of ten thousand *Turks*, who were the flower of the troops, and entirely devoted to *Tarkan*. This being effected, the young prince was recognized as *Sultan*, and received from the califf the robe of investiture, as *Emir Al Omra*, and for some days, there was no dispute of his authority. All this, we are told, happened at *Bagdad*, and was effected by the vast power of money, distributed by *Tarkan*, upon that occasion. This period was distinguished by the death of a worthy man, *Siram*, the patriarch of *Alexandria*. He was, in all respects, a pattern of primitive Christianity, and by joining prudence to piety, the Christians under him, enjoyed a tolerable share of tranquility. The truth is, that the general state of the East, at this time, did not much admit of religious controversies. The continual influx of the *Turks*, every day opened new scenes of ambition; and those of *Gaz*, were now in possession of *Jerusalem*, and *Palestine*.

Confusion  
of the his-  
tory and  
affairs of  
the East.

They had been governed by a prince, one *Artak*, who had been made lord of *Aleppo*, by *Sultan Malec*; but they and their descendants, were expelled by the *Gaz Turks*. There seems, at this time, to have been very little subordination of civil government; in the East. The head of the *Seljuks*, provided



provided he was recognized as supreme *Sultan*, left his subjects, whether natural, or accidental, but most of them were the latter, to fight it out amongst themselves; and by that means, they weakened one another so much, that he always was enabled to preserve his superiority.

Notwithstanding the quiet succession of the young *Sultan Mahmud*, to the throne of *Bagdad*, his power was far from being assured. The fondness of his mother, and the flattery of ministers, discovered in him, qualities, that were amazing for his age; but they could not impose upon his elder brother *Barkiarak*, or *Tajodowla*, his uncle, who was still alive, and in possession of *Damascus*. *Tarkan*, foreseeing a storm rising against her son, made vast presents to keep the califf of *Bagdad* firm to her interest, and that she might be ready, at all events, she and her son took the field, at the head of an army, and encamped at *Narawan*. In the mean while, *Tajodowla*, applied to the califf *Al Moktadi*, for the investiture into the office of *Emir Al Omra*, and the royalty of *Bagdad*; but was expressly refused both. *Barkiarak* was, at this time, at *Ispahan*, and being the eldest son, he had a vast party in his favour; add to this, that his interest had been espoused by *Nadham*, whose memory was still dear in the empire, and his party very powerful. But *Tarkan*, being a woman of vast spirit, and activity, without declaring her intention, all of a sudden marched from her camp at *Narawan*, and by forced marches, she seized upon *Ispahan*. *Barkiarak* was then in that city, and with great difficulty, by the assistance of the friends and domestics of *Nadham*, the late vizir, he escaped to *Shiraz*, where *Takin* was governor. This person owed his elevation to the late *Sultan Malec*; and, for that age, gave remarkable proofs of gratitude and honour. He furnished *Barkiarak* with an army, by the assistance of which, he took possession of *Al Ray*, the chief town of the *Persian Irak*, and there *Barkiarak* was proclaimed *Sultan*, and successor to his father *Malec*. This solemnity had great influence in his favour. *Tarkan* had proclaimed her son, at *Ispahan*, and endeavoured to seize upon the person of *Barkiarak*; but the troops she sent in pursuit of him, deserted to his party. Upon this occasion, her chief minister *Tay*, who had succeeded the great *Nadham*, in his vizirship, (and he was detested as being the cause of his murder), was brought prisoner to *Barkiarak*; at whose order, or permission, he was put to death, by the friends of *Nadham*. *Tay* was not without his excellencies; and his fate was lamented by an excellent *Persian* poet of those times.

The youth of *Mahmud*, and the ambition of *Tarkan*, proved of great prejudice to their affairs, in the eyes of the *Turks*, who were always averse to the government of boys, and women. Finding a general disposition among the subjects in favour of *Barkiarak*, she proposed an accommodation with that prince, which he readily accepted of. The terms



A treaty  
between  
them.

were, that *Mahmud*, should remain in the possession of *Ispahan* and its dependencies ; and that *Bakiarak* should receive half the treasures of the late *Sultan* his father. This peace was made, when *Bakiarak* was besieging *Ispahan* ; and it was seemingly convenient, indeed, for both parties.

Another  
rebellion.

For *Ismael*, one of *Malec*'s brothers, was privately treated with by *Tarkan*, who offered to marry him, provided he would declare war against *Bakiarak*. *Ismael*, accordingly raised a vast army, and a general battle ensued in the plains of *Hamadan*, in which *Bakiarak* proved victorious, and *Ismael* was killed. But this event did not prevent *Takash*, another of *Bakiarak*'s uncles, from putting in his claim ; and being backed by a vast army, *Bakiarak* was obliged to throw himself under the protection of his younger brother *Mahmud*, at *Ispahan*, where the ambitious *Tarkan* had been for some weeks dead. She was soon after followed by her son *Mahmud*, who was carried off by the small-pox. We are told, that some time before that prince's death, his ministers had imprisoned *Bakiarak*, and had even resolved to deprive him of his sight. Upon *Mahmud*'s death, he was delivered out of prison, and recognized as general heir, and successor to his father *Malec*, without the least opposition. He chose for his vizir, or first minister, *Mowiad*, son to the great *Nadham* ; but soon after he removed him, and substituted in his place, his brother *Takir*.

*Bakiarak* did not however think his authority established, without the sanction of *Al Moktadi*, the *Sultan* of *Bagdad*. With this view, he marched to *Bagdad*, and by the help of presents, which he made to the needy califf, he received the robes of investiture. But a patent was likewise necessary ; and *Al Moktadi* gave orders, that it should be drawn out, and brought to him for his revision. At this critical moment, the califf was seized with a delirium ; which proved fatal to him. For, after he had sent the robe of investiture to *Bakiarak*, and had signed the patent, with an intention to deliver it into his own hand ; he suddenly fancied, that some persons had disrespectfully broke into his apartment. He instantly asked *Nabar*, his favourite concubine, who they were that had presumed to commit such a rudeness ; but before he could receive an answer, the form of his face altered, and he dropt down dead ; in the 39th year of his age, and the 20th of his reign.

This prince, if we can properly call a piece of state pageantry so, preserved about him that love of learning, that so greatly distinguished his predecessors, and had adorned almost all the great princes of the East. The respect that was due to his character, enabled him to make the example of his patronage fashionable ; and we are told, that *Malec*, as well as his great minister *Nadham*, was an eminent patron of literature. We cannot however, help thinking, that  
it



it was at this time greatly upon its wain. *Jazlah*, a Christian physician, and one of the most learned men in his time, turned *Mahometan*; and wrote in defence of his apostacy; a circumstance, which is far from giving us any favourable idea of the state of learning under this califf. By the most authentic accounts we have received of him, he was a learned, a virtuous, and munificent prince; and reformed a vast number of abuses in his government. He is particularly renowned for an assembly, which he held at *Bagdad*, of the greatest astronomers of his reign, who made vast emendations in the *Kalendar*.

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*Al Mostader, the twenty-eighth califf of the house of Al Abbas.*

ONE of the great reasons we have for thinking that literature, at the time we now treat of, was vastly upon its decay in the East, is the manifest confusion which we find in their history; and the vast inconsistencies that are amongst authors; but without being discouraged, we shall proceed.

Notwithstanding all the high pretensions of the *Fatemit* califfs of *Egypt*, it is very plain, that the eastern nations, did not, at this time, consider them, as the descendants of the califf *Ali*; but as a set of impostors, who maintained themselves upon the throne by their power. The califfs of *Bagdad*, on the other hand, though destitute of power, were still venerable in their persons and authority, and they preserved their character of supremacy, even amongst the greatest and most barbarous people. So that the history of the *Scjukian Sultans*, properly speaking, is no other, than that of the subjects of the califfs of *Bagdad*. *Al Mostanser*, the *Fatemit* califf of *Egypt*, still continued to reign in that country, but his reign, though long, was calamitous. He too fell under the power of his ministers, who established themselves, from father to son, and scarcely left him the shadow of government. The chief of them was *Jemal*, who obtained from his master, the reversion of his post for his son *Afdal*, with the superb title, of King of Kings; by which the reader may easily conceive, that the califfs of *Egypt* were under much the same tutelage, as those of *Bagdad* were. *Mostanser*, notwithstanding the length of his reign, had it not in his power to name his successor. The name of his eldest son was *Nezir*. Being a prince of spirit, he once ordered *Afdal*, who he thought did not treat him with proper respect, to dismount from his horse.



horse. Upon this, *Afdal* counselled, or rather commanded the califf to disinherit *Nezir*; and to name in his room, his younger son, *Mostali*. It is uncertain, whether he prevailed with *Monstanfer* to commit this act of injustice, but it is certain, that upon *Monstanfer*'s death, *Afdal* pretended that *Mostali* had been nominated to the succession, and as such, he was recognized by the chief nobility of *Egypt*. *Nezir* was not insensible of the injustice done to him, and he fled to *Alexandria*; where he asserted his right to the throne. But *Mostali*, through the over-grown power of the vizir, prevailed. *Nezir* was besieged and taken prisoner in *Alexandria*; and though his life was for some time spared, he was afterwards immured, and famished to death. In the reign of *Monstanfer*, the *Nile* not overflowing, all the inhabitants of *Egypt* are said to have been almost famished thereby. *Monstanfer* thought that this was owing to a stoppage that had been made by the emperor of *Abbyssinia*, or *Ethiopia*, where the *Nile* undoubtedly takes its rise. The princes, or, as they are generally called *Najashis* of that country, had long professed Christianity, and therefore *Monstanfer* pitched upon *Michael*, the patriarch of *Alexandria*, to repair as his ambassador to the *Abbyssinian* court, with most magnificent presents, to get the imbargo laid upon the streams of the *Nile* taken off, so that *Egypt* might be again fertilized. *Michael* succeeded in his embassy. The *Abbyssinian* emperor treated him with uncommon marks of respect. The land of *Egypt* was again rendered fertile; and *Michael* returned to the court of his own sovereign, where he was greatly caressed. Notwithstanding the romantic appearance which this incident carries with it, there is nothing in it that is at all improbable, since it is now past all controversy, that such a stoppage, near the source of a river, was extremely practicable.

An embassy to *Ethiopia*.

*Bakiark* made *Emir Al Omra*.

*Bakiark*, made no opposition to the accession of *Mostader* to the califat; on the contrary, he confirmed him in it, and was, by the new califf, honoured with the titles of, The Supporter of the Faith, and Commander of the Faithful. Having settled every thing to his own mind, at *Bagdad*, and procured himself to be named in the public prayers, he turned his arms against his uncle *Takash*, who, by this time, had made himself sovereign of *Damascus*, and almost all *Syria*, and insisted on his being recognized as *Emir Al Omra*, and king of *Bagdad*. The dispute between him and *Bakiark*, was long and bloody; but it ended in the defeat, and death of *Takash*. After the suppression of this rebellion, another broke out under *Mowiad*, the son of *Nadham*, the same, who had some time before been removed by *Bakiark*, from the vizirship. *Mowiad*, at first practised upon one *Anzar*, who had been a slave to *Malec*, but was a person of great consequence in the *Persian Irak*. *Anzar* might have effected a revolution, but he was taken off by one of those assassins,

He defeats his uncle;



assassins, or *Batanists*, whom we have already taken notice of, and who were daily more and more employed, by the princes of the East. After the death of *Anzar*, *Mowiad* spirited up *Mahomet*, brother to *Bakiark*, who had some reasons to be discontented for the small portion he had received of his father's inheritance; and persuaded him to rise in arms. Mahomet's interest was but small, and his army not numerous; but *Mowiad*'s credit rendered him powerful. For, about the time that this rebellion broke out, *Kiami*, *Bakiark*'s high treasurer, growing unpopular at his court, on account of his frugality, by which the grandees ther. found their revenues greatly impaired, was, by them, cut in pieces; and the rebellion becoming general, *Bakiark* himself was obliged to fly, and to abandon *Irak* to his brother *Mahomet*. This surprizing revolution rendered *Mahomet* the master of *Bagdad*, and he chose *Mowiad* for his vizir. The vast importance of the califf's authority, was seen upon this occasion, the people refusing to acknowledge any, who had not his sanction upon his side; and each party prevailed, as their name was mentioned in the kotbak, or public service. This war between the two brothers, continued for a long time. In the year of the Hejra 495, *Mahomet* defeated *Bakiark* at *Madham*, and the latter, with great difficulty escaped to *Kuzestan*, with no more than fifty horses. By the help of *Ayaz*, the tyrant of that province, he soon got together fifty thousand men, with which, in his turn, he defeated *Mahomet*, and besieged him in *Ispahan*. Several battles at this time were fought, between the two brothers, with various success; and in one of them, *Mowiad*, who had been the main spring of all *Bakiark*'s troubles, was taken prisoner. Being a person of infinite address, he was so far from being punished for the bloodshed he had occasioned, that he found means to render himself so useful to *Bakiark*, as to become his first minister. It was no wonder, if so swift a reverse of fortune, opened the mouths of the public, against *Bakiark*. One day, while the gentlemen of his bedchamber thought him asleep; he overheard one of them discoursing to another, in very contemptuous terms, concerning his easiness, and meanness of spirit, in employing *Mowiad*. *Bakiark*, without taking any notice of this discourse, assembled his court; and sending for *Mowiad*, he made him sit next him, and then drawing his scymater, he cut off the vizir's head, with so much dexterity, that it remained upon his shoulders; then turning to his courtiers, now judge, said he, whether I am a prince ignorant of the art of making myself dreaded.

Hej. 495,  
A. D.  
1101.

who de-  
feats him.

*Bakiark*  
successful.

He kills  
*Mowiad*.

We now come to the most remarkable period of history, of any that falls within the Christian *Æra*. The ignorance, or rather the insanity of the times, had imprest such ideas of the veneration towards the places of our Saviour's life and sufferings, as amounted to the most ridiculous superstition. This  
madness

History of  
the rise of  
the Cru-  
sades.



State of  
Europe.

madness was well seconded by the arts of the Popes, who lost no opportunity of laying the foundations of their greatness, in the credulity and superstition of Christians. The fine arts, during this period, may be said to have been extinguished upon the continent of *Europe*, and if any remains of true learning were to be found, it was in nations theretofore deemed to be barbarous, and therefore more inaccessible to papal influence. *England*, *Scotland* and *Sweden*, afforded some writers about this period, of next to classical purity; but the rest of *Europe* may be said to have been a blank of ignorance. This was the papal harvest, and it was reaped to the full. Visitations to the *Holy Land*, and to *Jerusalem*, were the modes of the time; and every visitor contributed, more or less, to the great design of delivering the *Holy Land* from the power of Infidels. We need not inform the reader, that the polite reigns of the *Arab* califfs, in which justice, magnanimity, and learning, prevailed, were now at an end; and succeeded by inundations of barbarous *Turks*, who were void of all sentiment; but equally rude, and superstitious, as the *European* Christians.

Account  
of *Peter*,  
the her-  
mit.

An enthusiast, whose name was *Peter*, was amongst the visitors of the *Holy Land*. This person was mean, and his appearance so uncouth, that he gave no umbrage to the barbarians. But being to the full impressed with the fanatical zeal of the times, he succeeded much better in the design he had in view, than a man of much cooler sense and greater abilities could, perhaps, have done. When he arrived at *Jerusalem*, he found the western Christians, whom zeal had driven thither, undoubtedly, in a most miserable state of thralldom; and *Peter*, who well knew how to accomplish his favourite end, undertook their deliverance; and he pretended the following letter was delivered to him, which, as it has an immediate relation to the design of this history, notwithstanding the uncouthness of the style, we shall transcribe from *Knowles's* history of the *Turks*.

His forg-  
ed letter.

“ Whe the citizens of the Holy City, and countrymen of Christ Jesus, daily suffer those things, which Christ our king suffered but once, in the last days of his mortality. We are daily buffeted, scourged, and pierced, every day some of us are brained, beheaded or crucified. We would fly from city to city, unto the remotest parts of the earth, and remove out of the heart of that land, where our Saviour wrought our redemption, to lead a poor exiled vagrant life, were it not impiety to leave the land, (sacred with the birth, doctrine, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Saviour) without inhabitants or priests, and that there should first lack such as would endure death and martyrdom, than such as would inflict the same, and that there should not be such, which would not as willingly die for Christ, as in battle, so long



long as there were any that would fight against them. These things truly we most miserably suffer, yet was there a time, when as our ancestors, feared no such thing, either to themselves or their posterity, And now perhaps the Christian kingdoms of the West have likewise without the least suspicion of fear: but let them be moved by our example, and testimony. The strength of the *Turks* is daily increasing and owns diminishing. The continual gaining of new kingdoms, giveth them courage: they have already devoured the whole world in hope. The forces of the *Turks* are fiercer and stronger than the forces of the *Saracins*, their politics deeper their attempts more desperate, their endeavours greater, and their success fortunater. Yet have the *Saracins* attempted both *Romes*; they have besieged *Constantinople*, and have wasted not only the sea coasts of *Italy*, but even the heart of the land also. Then why should the kingdoms of the West presume themselves to stand in safety, and out of all peril, when, as the chief fortresses of the world have been so endangered, what may the rest of Christendom promise to itself, seeing that *Jerusalem* (the seat and spectacle of the Christian religion hath been besieged, taken, sacked, bared and triumphed upon? seeing that of the Christian profession remain but the poor and weak reliques, in comparison of the whole antient intire body. This land, which is daily besprinkled with our blood, yea the blood itself, crieth out for revenge: and we your humble suppliants prostrate at your feet, call upon your aid, mercy, help, faith, and religion, of your most blessed father of the king's, princes, and potentates; Christians, not in name and profession only, but in heart, soul and spirit, before the tempest thunder before the lightning fall upon you, avert from you, your children; the storm hanging over your heads defend us your poor suppliants deliver your religion from most wicked and accursed slavery. You shall in so doing deserve immortal fame, and God shall requite your so great valour in this world with terrestrial kingdoms, and in the world to come with eternal bliss, whose sacred inheritance you shall have defended from the rage of hell."

This pathetic letter, tho' great part of it was a forgery, fall- The *Cra-*  
ing exactly in with the views of the pope, who was then *sade un-*  
*Urban* the 2d, had all the effect that could be desired. The dertaken  
*Greek* empire was, at that time, too weak to do any thing;  
and *Peter* the hermit, was plentifully supplied with other  
evidences of the thraldom complained of, besides the above  
letter, so that there could be no doubt of its contents. It  
was, however, necessary to sound the general dispositions of  
the princes of the West, towards this romantic project of in-  
vading the *Holy Land*; and the indefatigable hermit, in concert  
with the pope, solicited them so warmly, that his holiness  
summoned a council at *Clermont* in *France*, at which,  
ambassadors, from most of the princes in *Europe*, attended,  
and



its leaders.

no fewer than three hundred and ten prelates. The hermit's representations of the sufferings of the Christians in the East, were so affecting, that a general spirit of unthufiasm feized the whole afsembly. The word went, "God would have it fo," and an expedition, to refcure the *Holy Land*, out of the power of the Infidels, was immediately and unanimoafly refolved upon. The chief leaders in this famous expedition were, *Hugh* brother to *Philip* 1st king of *France*, *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, *Robert* earl of *Flanders*, *Raymond* of *Touloufe*, *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, with his brothers *Balwin*, and *Euflace*, *Stephen De Valois* earl of *Chartres*; *Bohemond* prince of *Tarentum*, and *Peter* the hermit.

Their ruinous march,

One *Gualther*, a foldier of fortune, led the van of this mighty hoft: which, in the whole, confifted of no fewer than 300,000 men. The pope every day thundered out curfes upon all who obftructed, or did not forward, the expedition, and pronounced indulgencies, and promifed bleffings to thofe who joined it; fo that the ardour that appeared for it, thro' all fets of men, was incredible. Scarce a Christian in *Europe*, who had the health and means of ferving, remained at home, and all flocked to the ftandards of their feveral leaders. Amongft thofe, the moft forward, and by no means the leaft confiderable, was *Peter* the hermit. He had worked, both himfelf and others, up, by his frantic difcourfes, into an opinion, that he was divinely illuminated, and invincible; fo that he was actually put at the head of forty thoufand men. But he proved to be a weak, and miferable, enthufiaft; without the fmalleft abilities, but a barbarous zeal, to conduct them. No meafures had been taken for fubfifting his men upon their march, fo that the countries, thro' which they paffed, particularly *Hungary*, *Bulgaria*, and fome parts of *Germany*, were given up to plunder. Thofe countries knew, at this time, but little of Chriftianity: Many of their inhabitants continued to be Heathens; and had no regard for the pope. *Peter* the hermit, therefore, and his crew, were by them treated, as lawlefs robbers, and knocked on the head, as fo many wild beafts, wherever they paff, when opportunity offered. But their numbers increafing every day, a *Bulgarian* prince, after his fubjects were tired with killing and plundering them; lent them guides, to conduct them to *Conftantinople*.

maffacred by the Hungarians.

The Greek emperor

The *Greek* emperor at that time, was *Alexius*, and he happened to be uninfected with the madnefs of the other *Europeans*. He confidered the whole of their expedition, to be, what it really was, a frantic, lawlefs, undertaking. But when he underftood the prodigious numbers engaged in it, he wifely difsembled his sentiments, and even received *Peter*, and the wretched reliques of his army, with hofpitality; furnifhing them with the means of continuing their march, which they did into *Bythania*, where they encamped, near the city of *Nice*. But moderation, in fuch a caufe, was criminal,



criminal. *Hugh*, the king of *France*'s brother, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of one of the *Greek* emperor's governors, and was sent prisoner to *Constantinople*. This, dislikes by the other, *Crusaders*, was looked upon, as worse than *Crusade*; sacrilege, and *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, who commanded an army of seventy thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, all of them *Crusaders*, being arrived at *Philippopolis*, threatened to march against *Constantinople* itself, if the emperor did not only set the prisoner at liberty, but furnish the *Crusaders* with all kinds of necessaries, for proceeding in their expedition. *Alexius* was not very ready in complying with those exorbitant demands; upon which *Godfrey*, and his *Crusaders*, laid waste his dominions, and would have taken *Constantinople* itself, had not *Alexius* offered him all imaginable satisfaction; and even his own son, as a hostage for the performance. Upon this, *Godfrey* ordered hostilities to cease; and entering *Constantinople* in a friendly manner, an accommodation was set on foot. It was no difficult matter for *Alexius* to see, that those lawless adventurers had no other object in view, but what they pretended; and finding they were not to be resisted, he endeavoured to make the best terms for himself, that he could. Upon his representing but dis- how cruelly his empire had been dismembered by the Inf- sembles dels, the crusadoes readily agreed to restore him as much of and com- it as they should conquer; and he, on his part, engaged to plies with assist them, with all his forces, and with all necessary supplies them. for their expedition.

In the mean while, *Peter* the hermit, was proceeding as *Peter* the he had begun, his army being encamped in the neighbour- hermit's hood of *Nice*; began at last to be sensible of his, and their own army frenzy. In short, they mutinied, and took from *Gualther* ruined. his command, which they bestowed upon *Raymond*, a German officer. After this, each nation associated by itself. *Italians*, *Germans*, and *French*, made up the bulk of this miserable army; and now that the principle of unity amongst them was broken, the whole of it fell an easy prey to the *Turks*; and this necessarily brings us back to the *Moslem* history.

The internal transactions of the califat at this time are State of equally uncertain, as they are unentertaining. It is sufficient the cali- to say that *Barkiarak* still continued his superiority over all fat. his competitors; and that the califf of *Bagdad*, still preserved a tolerable degree of respect in that capital. The power of the *Arabs*, those founders of the califat, was by that time in a manner, annihilated; and *Syria* was in possession of the *Seljukian Turks*. Two brothers, *Redwan*, and *Dekak*, the sons of *Tatash*, contended about the possession of *Damascus*. *Dekak* seems to have been alarmed, by the arrival of the *European Christians*, who had by this time entered *Syria*, and he marched towards the sea coast, to oppose them. *Redwan* took that opportunity to besiege *Damascus*; but being *Redwan* besieges *Damascus*.



Ridiculous pan-  
nic.

attended  
by a re-  
markable  
event.

Christian  
preferable  
to Moslem  
authors.

being repulsed with great loss, he offered his allegiance to *Mostali*, the *Fatemite* califf of *Egypt*, provided he would furnish him with troops, to put him in possession of *Damascus*. *Mostali* undertook to do this, upon the usual terms of having his name mentioned in the public prayers; or as it is called the *Kotbah*. This was for some time complied with, but *Mostali* failing in his engagement, *Redwan* returned to his allegiance under the califf of *Bagdad*. That city was at that juncture under an inexpressible consternation. A report, tho' we know not on what account, prevailed, that a general inundation was at hand; and at last it grew so strong that the califf *Mostader*, sent for *Aysun*, a celebrated astronomer, or rather astrologer, to consult with him upon the degree of credit that was due to such a report. *Aysun*, in the jargon of his art, assigned reasons, from the disposition of the heavenly constellations, for believing that there would be no such universal deluge, as had happened under *Noah*; but that there certainly would be a very great inundation, which would do, some where, an infinite deal of damage. As *Bagdad*, from the tranquillity it enjoyed; and the delights of its situation, was even at this period one of the greatest emporiums in the East, there was a vast concourse of people assembled in it, and the answer of *Aysun*, which was deemed to be nothing less than an oracle, affected them so much that they erected mounds, and banks, all thro' the lower grounds to resist the threatened inundation. It happened about this time, that a great number of pilgrims were upon their march towards *Mecca*, and chancing to pitch their tents in a valley, a torrent bursted from the neighbouring mountains, with a fury so irresistible, that all their equipages were destroyed; and only a few of the pilgrims escaped by flying to the higher grounds. This event gave such credit to *Aysun*, that the califf took him into particular confidence, and presented him with a most magnificent vest.

We are to be pardoned, if, during this period, we pay greater attention, to Christian, than to *Moslem* authorities. It appears unquestionably, that the latter were very ill informed, either of the motives, or the conductors, of the *Crusade*; and, as usual, they had disfigured, the names of the chief princes concerned in it, so as to be unintelligible, to a *European* reader. On the other hand, after making allowances for the superstition of the times; Christian writers have delivered facts, in which they could not be mistaken. We have already mentioned the mutiny of the army, that was conducted by *Peter* the hermit, and *Gualther*. They had taken a place called *Zerigordus*, which had been purposely abandoned to them, by the *Turks*, as a trepan. This artifice succeeded so well, that the *Turks* had daily opportunities of cutting off the crusadoes; and we are told, even by christian writers, that of the forty thousand men commanded by



by the hermit, scarcely three thousand of them escaped destruction. With this miserable remain, the hermit, and the officers under him, shut themselves up in *Cinite*; till they were relieved; by *Godfrey of Bouillon*, and the other commanders of the crusade. *Soliman*, who, probably was no other; than a governor under *Barkiarak*, at that time commanded in *Bythinia*, when it was resolved amongst the princes of the crusade to besiege *Nice*; one of the strongest places in the east. The place was accordingly invested in May 1097. *Soliman*, who was no stranger to the intention of the christian princes, had provided every thing within the city for a vigorous defence; and was encamped in the neighbourhood, with an army of forty thousand *Turks*; with which he harraßed the christians, night and day. The emperor *Alexius*; who hated the christians more than he did the *Turks*; was in person at the siege; and *Nice*, being one of the cities, that had been dismembered from his dominions, was to revert to him; which made him very active in the operations against it. The defence made by the garrison, was very vigorous, and lasted for several weeks. At last, *Alexius*, by constructing some small vessels, with which he cut off the communication between the city, and *Soliman's* army, reduced it to great streights. The garrison, however, would have borne any extremity, rather than have submitted to the *Franks*; for so the *Europeans* in general, are called by *Moslem* writers. But the emperor, entered with the townsmen, into a kind of separate treaty, and that so effectually, by promising them his protection, and that they should not fall under the power of the *Franks*, that they surrendered to his general *Eutumites*. Upon this occasion we are told that *Soliman's* wife, and two of his children, were taken prisoners, and sent to *Constantinople*.

*Peter the hermit besieged.*

The *Crusaders* besiege *Nice*.

it surrenders.

The *Crusaders* were not more animated by this success, than they were alarmed by the visible dislike of the emperor to their undertaking. It was now plain to them, that he was less afraid of the *Turks*, than he was of the *Crusadoes*; and every day produced fresh instances of this. But at the same time, there was an absolute necessity for their preserving his friendship for carrying on their plan of operations. Fresh armies under new leaders, every day arriving, it became impracticable to support the whole army in one body, it was therefore divided into two; and the most advanced division was commanded by *Bohemond* prince of *Tarentum*. He was attacked at great disadvantage, by the *Turks*, under *Soliman*, who still kept the field, and must have been cut to pieces, had not *Hugh*, the *French* king's brother, brought him a seasonable supply of thirty thousand fresh men; by which the *Turks* were totally defeated, with the loss, we are told, of forty thousand men. The greatest part of the troops under *Soliman*, appeared to have been

The emperor disgusted with them

New *Crusaders* pour into *Asia*.



They de-  
feat the  
*Turks*.

*Bakiarak's* subjects. But in fact, they were not comparable to the Christian forces. The latter, animated by enthusiasm, and headed by the greatest princes, and most expert warriors in *Europe*, were, likewise, much better armed than the *Turks*, which gave them decisive advantages in the field. Add to all this, they were much abler engineers, and more hardy, as coming from less effeminate climates, and were now inured to fatigue. *Soliman* however, notwithstanding his defeat, endeavoured to keep up the spirit of his subjects, and those of *Bakiarak*, by publishing everywhere, that he had the advantage in the battle. But at the same time, he did not fail to give *Barkiarak*, and the other *Moslem* princes of the East, private accounts, of the great danger they were in from the progress of the Christians; which he endeavoured to prevent, by burning villages, and laying waste the open country, through which the latter were to pass. The Christians, on their part, proceeded with undaunted resolution, through the plains of the lesser *Asia*, and took *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, together with *Iconium* in *Silesia*, situated at the foot of mount *Taurus*, and many other places.

State of  
the *Turk-  
ish* govern-  
ment.

The reader is here to observe, that there was now an end to the mild and virtuous government of the *Arab* and *Syrian* califfs. Those countries, instead of them, were now scourged with barbarous *Turks*, who had no law but that of the sword, and were of no controul, but that of superiors, as barbarous as themselves, and they proceeded with the utmost fury, against one another; which had been the case, ever since the death of *Sultan Malec*. The ravages and excesses they had been guilty of, though, generally, they were professed *Mahometans*, had rendered them odious to all the ancient inhabitants, and many of these being Christians, looked upon the *European* troops, as their deliverers; which greatly favoured their progress. Their next march was to *Herachea*, where they understood the *Turks* were assembled. But they had here no opportunity of displaying their valour; for the city surrendered, and the enemy retired upon their approach. It was about this time; that, animated by their successes, they entered into a solemn, and fresh engagement, by oath, not to return to *Europe*, without first delivering the *Holy Land*, and more especially the city of *Jerusalem*, from the power of infidels. In short, they passed mount *Taurus*, took the cities of *Marcisia*, and *Artasia*; and at last, they formed the siege of *Antioch* itself.

Progress of  
the *Cru-  
saders*.

who be-  
siege *An-  
tioch*.

This city, besides being one of the strongest in the East, had within it a garrison of seven thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, under one, whom Christian writers call *Cassianus*. We have in the *Moslem* writers, few or no particulars of this famous siege. According to the Christians, *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, eldest son to *William* the Conqueror, King of *England*, led the vanguard of the Christian army, and



and defeated a strong body of *Turks*, who were posted upon the banks of the river *Orontes*, which opened their way for forming the siege. The vast extent of the place, its great number of towers and fortifications, with its situation, flanked on the one side by high mountains, and defended on the other, by a lake, rendered this enterprize of the utmost difficulty, as well as importance; and nothing could have supported its besiegers, under the discouragement they met with, but that strong spirit of enthusiasm, with which they were possessed. It was the 21st of *October* 1097, that the siege was formed, and it continued without intermission, till the beginning of the following *February*, every day being distinguished by bloody skirmishes. At last, the rains that fell, introduced, into the Christian camp, distempers that destroyed more of them, than had fallen by the enemy; and this was succeeded by so terrible a famine, that they devoured almost all the horses: and were at last constrained to feed upon their dead enemies. Those and other horrible hardships, began to dismay some of the most forward amongst the *Crusades*. Even *Peter* the hermit, who had made himself highly obnoxious, by his intemperate enthusiasm, began to be tired of the expedition, as did *Tancred*, *Bohemond's* nephew; and under pretence of going back to *Europe* for fresh recruits, they privately left the camp. Being taken, they were brought back prisoners, before *Hugh*, who severely reprimanded them for their cowardly behaviour, and obliged them to take a new oath, that they would persevere in the expedition to the last. Had the *Turks* trusted intirely and perseverance to the strength of the place, and the ravages made by diseases and inclemency of the season amongst their enemies; the Christians would inevitably have been destroyed. But imagining that they must prove their superiors in the field, they set on foot great armies, which in attempting to relieve the city were often defeated, and their convoys of provisions taken, which was of infinite service to the Christians: At last, the siege having lasted for several months, the *Turks* within the city, asked for a truce, which was granted them; a truce but was soon broken on their part, according to the Christian writers, by their murdering a *French* officer.

Their distresses.

and perseverance.

a truce

This truce, however, was the means of the city's being taken. *Bohemond*, who commanded at the siege, and his nephew *Tancred*, were two of the most politic, self-interested princes of all the *Crusades*; and had put on the cross, which was their common badge, not through motives of religion, but to obtain conquests for themselves, in that noble country. This was, in a great measure, the case, with other princes, most of whom sold all they possessed in *Europe*; in order to conquer empires in *Asia*. During the truce before *Antioch*, *Bohemond*, who was himself little better than a soldier of fortune, had contracted an intimacy with one *Pyrrhus*, a leading man in the city, and it was privately agreed

*Antioch* surprised



and sur-  
renders to  
*Bohemond*

agreed between them, that *Pyrhus* should in the night time, open the gates of a principal tower, called, that of the Two Sisters, and give admission to *Bohemond's* troops. The latter, however, took care that *Pyrhus* should stipulate, that the city should not be given up, to the *Greek* emperor, but that it should become the property of *Bohemond*; who agreed to leave the government of it, under him, to *Pyrhus*, with many other advantages to him and his friends. *Bohemond*, having secured this great point, durst not dare proceed to the execution of it, without obtaining from the other princes, a confirmation of what he had stipulated with *Pyrhus*. It was no hard matter to make them sensible of the length and hardships of the siege, the blood it had occasioned, and the small prospect they had of success, by any other means than those he proposed. The princes, chiefly through the dislike to the *Greek* emperor, approved of the expedient. *Bohemond*, and his troops were admitted by *Pyrhus*, and gave no quarter to the garrison, or to any of the *Turks* within the place, who were all of them put to the sword; and *Cassianus*, amongst the rest, was killed in his flight by the *Armenian* Christians.

The Cru-  
saders give  
the *Turks*  
a great  
defeat.

Imposition  
of a monk

One *Kodbuka*, called by the Christians, *Corbanas*, was, at that time, general under *Bakiarak*, in *Mesopotamia*; and having assembled a great army, he marched to *Edeffa*, which he besieged; and being repelled by the Christians, he marched to the relief of *Antioch*, but on the way, he received the news of its being in *Bohemond's* possession. Not discouraged with this, and being now at the head of a most prodigious army, he resolved, if possible, to re-take it. Here the Moslem authors relate some circumstances, not mentioned by the Christian. According to them, *Antioch* being greatly streightened in provisions, the princes of the *Crusade* offered to surrender it to *Kodbuka*, provided they were suffered to depart quietly, without being plundered. But the barbarous *Turk*, had the arrogance to answer, that they had no other way to escape, but by the points of their swords, and posted his men so, as to cut them off if they should make any attempt to come out of the city. This greatly disheartened the Christians, till a monk advised them to fast and pray, and then to go in search of Saint *Peter's* Iron Rod-staffs, which lay in one of the churches of the city. After all the necessary preparations had been gone through, the Staff, which undoubtedly had been conveyed there thro' *Bohemond's* contrivance, was discovered by the monk in a vault, and the Christians, who before had been greatly dispirited, now thinking themselves invincible, resolved to sally out, and to give battle to the *Turks*. The reader is to observe, that according to the Christian historians themselves, the citadel of *Antioch* remained still in possession of the infidels, and had by *Kodbuka*, been plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions; so that it is not impossible, that part of the

story



Story told by the Moslem authors, might be true. Be that as it will, it is certain, that when *Kodhuka* thought himself sure of conquest, he was attacked by the Christians, with so much fury, that a hundred thousand of his troops were put to the sword; and his camp, baggage, magazines, and carriages of all kinds, were taken with the loss of no more than four thousand two hundred Christians. This battle happened on the 27th day of *June*, and next day the citadel of *Antioch* despairing of being relieved, surrendered to the Christians.

It appears from the history left us, by the princess *Anna Comnena*, daughter to the emperor *Alexius*, that he was a prince of great moderation and wisdom, and that the *Greek* empire, at this time, was in a very respectable condition; both by sea and land. The wisest of the crusading princes, easily saw how much the success of their enterprize, depended upon his friendship; nor indeed, could they decently break with him. Some of them blamed *Bohemond's* ambition, in reserving to himself a conquest, which had been expressly stipulated should be restored to the empire. In short, notwithstanding all the intemperate zeal of the Christian writers against *Alexius*, there appears no foundation for accusing him, upon this occasion, of treachery. So far from that, it is certain, that the *Crusadoes* were the aggressors. The papal court, had formed a design, to begin a conquest of the *Holy Land*, by that of *Constantinople*; and it was owing to the great address of *Alexius* himself, the madness of *Peter* the hermit, the jealousies that broke out amongst the chief *Crusaders*, and the hurry which most of them were in to feast their eyes with a sight of the holy city, that *Godfrey Bouillon*, did not dethrone *Alexius* and take his capital.

Character  
of *Alexius*

His danger from  
the *Crusades*.

The conduct of that emperor towards them, was very different. He had furnished them with provisions, and transports, he had treated their generals in a most magnificent manner, and he had made *Bohemond* presents in money and jewels, amounting to more than all that needy prince was possessed of besides; some of the adventurers, especially those who had but an indifferent opinion of *Bohemond*, seem to have been sensible of this, and *Hugh*, the French King's brother, together with *Baldwin* of *Hainault*, were deputed to inform him of their proceedings, and to invite him once more to join the confederacy. It is uncertain what became of the earl of *Hainault*; but it is probable he was murdered, possibly, by the *Turks*: tho' the christian writers, seem to load the emperor with the crime. As to *Hugh*, he went forward to *Constantinople*, but he either had seen enough to give him a disgust, at the whole conceit, or he was persuaded by the emperor to abandon the enterprize; for he directly returned to *France*.

His great  
generosity



His suc-  
cesses a-  
gainst the  
*Turks*.

Treaties  
broken on  
both sides.

*Chios* con-  
quered by  
the *Greeks*

and *My-  
telene*.

In the mean while, the emperor availed himself of the war that was now raging in *Asia*, between the *Christians* and the *Turks*, whom he considered as being equally his enemies. He pointed his power however, chiefly at the latter. One *Tzakas* a *Turkish* pirate of an obscure original, began at this time, to make a great figure at sea. He had got together a fleet of forty or fifty vessels, with which he had made himself master of *Clazomene*, and *Phoea*, both of them belonging to the emperor; he then, without success attacked the Island of *Mytalene*, but having made himself master of *Smyrna*, he likewise conquered *Chios*, and defeated a fleet sent against him, by the emperor. *Tzakas* returning to *Smyrna*, the emperor sent *Delassenus*, one of his best sea officers, to reconquer *Chios*. He accordingly, landed his men, and after making a breach in the walls of the chief town, the *Turks* offered to submit to his mercy. *Delassenus*, was making the necessary dispositions, to prevent his men from putting them to the sword, when *Tzakas* landed ten thousand men on the opposite part of the Island, and ordering his fleet to attend him, not only raised the siege, but drove the imperialists to their ships, some of which they took, and obliged *Delassenus* to retire to *Eolissus*, a place of some strength. Here a treaty was entered into, between *Tzakas*, and *Delassenus*, but the latter receiving a strong reinforcement, under the emperor's brother-in-law, *Tzakas* found himself under a necessity of returning to *Smyrna* and *Delassenus* availed himself of that opportunity to conquer the city of *Chios*. But *Tzakas*, in the mean time, having greatly augmented his naval force, laid waste all the Islands of the *Archipelago*, made himself master of *Mytalene*, and assumed the title of king of *Smyrna*. But the divisions that then prevailed amongst the *Turks*, gave the emperor vast advantages; so that early next spring, *Delassenus*, his admiral, and *Ducas*, his brother, went with a strong sea and land armament, to *Mytalene*, which sometime before had fallen under the power of *Tzakas* who defended it in person. But the place was so vigorously besieged, that he was obliged to capitulate; and to give it up, on condition of his being permitted to retire in safety to *Smyrna*. Having some ships along with him in the harbour, he endeavoured to carry off with him, a number of the inhabitants, which was, by the imperialists, construed to be a violation of the capitulation; and *Delassenus* took most of his ships, with the *Myteleneans* on board: *Tzakas* himself escaping with great difficulty to his capital, of *Smyrna*. Here he gave orders for equipping so powerful a fleet, that the emperor thought proper to apply to one of the *Seljukian Sultans*, (for they were now multiplied into a great many sovereigns), whose daughter, *Tzakas* had married. This *Sultan*, whose name was *Arflan*, and the grandson of *Kutulmush*, had raised himself to great power, by his favour, and liberality, but being apprehensive of his son-in-law's ambition, he



he joined the emperor on this occasion, and marched with an army against him. *Tzakas*, whose fleet was not yet ready to put to sea, found himself too weak to oppose their joint forces; and put himself under the protection of *Arslan*, who, at first received him very affectionately, but finding means of intoxicating him, he put him to death with his own hand. After this, the *Christians*, as we have already seen, having made great progress in the East, the Greek emperor retook *Smyrna*, *Ephesus*, *Chios*, *Rhodes*, *Laodocæa*, and a great number of other places, to the vast emolument of his power, and the great terror of the *Christians*; with whom, however he still preserved such appearances of friendship, that he did them many eminent services; both by supplying them with provisions, and weakening the power of the *Turks*. In the mean while *Arslan*, who seems at this time, to have been the most powerful of the *Seljukian* monarchs, being more intent upon extending his own dominions, then opposing either the *Greeks*, or the *Crusaders*; made himself master of *Mawfel*, which had been besieged by another of those *Emirs* or *Sultans*, for they went indiscriminately by both names; and took upon him or usurped the office of *Emir Al Omra*. But soon after, he was attacked by *Jawah*, another *Seljukian* of great valour, who defeated him; and pursued him so hotly, that he was obliged to plunge into a river; where he was drowned. Upon his death, the post of *Emir Al Omra* fell upon a *Sultan*, who is called, *Mohammed*, who was of the original house of *Seljuk*, and had got the better of all opposition. Upon his being vested in his high office, he marched to *Bagdad*, where he treated the califf with great respect; and in return, received from him the patent, and investiture of his office. *Mohammed* as successor to *Togrol Beg*, was at this time possessed of *Persia*, where a great rebellion broke out, headed by one *Atash*, who set up for a prophet, and obtained so many followers; that he seized upon the city of *Ispahan*, and pretended to give law, both to the califf and the *Sultan*. This obliged the *Sultan* to march in person against the rebels, and tho' the impostor had found means to corrupt some of his principal domestics, who had engaged to poison him, yet he arrived safe in *Persia*, and formed the siege of the citadel. The place being excessively strong, the *Sultan* was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. This continued so long, that *Atash*, who had a correspondence with the *Sultan's* vizir, his disciple, privately informed him, that if he was not relieved in a few days, he must surrender the place, for want of provisions. The vizir, in his answer, encouraged him to hold out, and promised soon to rid the world of that dog, meaning his master, the *Sultan*. The vizir, applied himself to the *Sultan's* surgeon, who used to bleed him, for certain complaints he was periodically troubled with; and by promising him a purse of money, and a rich vest, he engaged him to bleed the califf with a

The sul-  
tan *Arslan*  
puts his  
son in law  
to death.  
Conquest  
of the em-  
peror.

*Arslan*  
*Emir Al*  
*Omra*  
killed and  
succeeded  
by *Mo-*  
*ammed*.

History of  
the re-  
bellion of  
the im-  
postor  
*Atash* in  
*Persia*.



moderation of  
*Mahomed.*

*Atash* put  
to death

*Mohammed* in-  
vades *India.*

His riches

Remark-  
able in-  
stances of  
his avarice

poisoned lancet. Either the surgeon or the vizir was weak enough to let this affair transpire, so that it came to the knowledge of one of the *Sultan's* domestics, who imparted it to his wife, and she to her gallant, by which means it came round to the *Sultan* himself. That prince dissembling his knowledge of the treason, sent for the surgeon, and ordered him to bleed him. But while the surgeon was preparing for the operation, he discovered something so terrible in the *Sultan's* look and manner, that he judged the treason was discovered, and falling on his knees, he confessed the whole. Upon this, being confronted with the vizir, the guilt of the latter, appeared so plain that he was put to death; while the *Sultan* ordered that no other punishment should be inflicted on the surgeon, but that of his being blooded with the same lancet he had intended for him. This discovery coming to the ears of the impostor, he immediately surrendered the place, at discretion; and being conducted to *Ispahan*, he was for some days exposed to the most ignominious treatment, and then put to death. This was the common way, in which the eastern princes treated those impostors, and it generally had its effect; for the people being thereby convinced of the falsehood of their pretensions to supernatural powers, were, thereby, reclaimed from their delusion under which they might otherwise have continued.

*Mohammed*, after this, is said to have enjoyed a very prosperous reign, and to have carried his arms into *India*; where he was extremely zealous in destroying idolatry. We are even told, that he refused to ransom one of those Idols, that weighed four hundred stone, for its weight in gold, but that he carried it to *Ispahan*, where it was cut out into a stone gate for a College that he had founded, and where he intended to have his own tomb erected. Some writers have accused this prince of rapaciousness; because he left at the time of his death, eleven million of dinars, in money, and as much in jewels, and precious moveables in his treasury at the time of his death. The following remarkable story seems to confirm this charge. *Dia Al Molk*, one of the sons of the famous *Nadham*, the minister who had been assassinated under *Malec*, served as vizir under *Mohammed*; and having some differences with the prince of *Hamadan*, then prince of *Said*, he applied to *Mohammed*, who was the prince's superior, for a power to try him for oppressive practices in his government, which was one of the most lucrative in all the empire, and he promised in that case, to bring a great many dinars into the sultan's coffers. *Mohammed* was not at all averse to the proposal, and agreed to it. *Said* however, received intelligence of what was in agitation, and made such dispatch that without the vizir's knowledge, he obtained an audience of the *Sultan*; and throwing himself at his feet, he conjured his majesty not to give him, who was a descendant



descendant of the prophet, into the power of such an heretic, and infidel, as the vizir was. If, added he, money is your motive, I am ready to lay at your majesty's feet eighteen thousand dinars, instead of fifteen thousand that you have been promised by the vizir, provided your majesty, will give him up into my power. The *Sultan* had no more objection to his proposal than he had to that of the vizir, and immediately dispatched along with the *Said*, one of his domestic's to receive the money at *Hamadan*. This domestic, tho' only a slave, expected that the *Said* would have treated him as a sovereign prince, by assigning him the most magnificent apartment in his palace, but instead of that, he was ordered to take up his lodging at a common caravancera, or public lodging house provided for the reception of the most ordinary strangers; and there, without any notice being taken of him, he remained at his own expence, with orders from the *Said*, that he would send him notice when the money was ready. The other resented this treatment with some airs of authority, but the *Said* sternly told him, that if he would not be quiet, he would order him to be hanged up before the door where he lodged; it is, continued he, only my throwing a hundred thousand more dinars, into the sum I am to pay the *Sultan*, which would purchase his forgiveness, because it would purchase a thousand slaves of more value than thee. The domestic knew his master too well not to be sensible that there was a great deal of truth in what the *Said* said, and very submissively waited at his inn for forty days, and then the money was paid him; out of the *Said's* coffers. It would be doing injustice to the memory of this *Said*, not to mention, that when the *Sultan* punctually performed his bargain with him, and put the vizir's person in his hands, to treat him as he pleased, the *Said* was so far from showing any cruel resentment, for what had happened, that he did not oblige the vizir, even to refund the money he had paid, but behaved to him in so generous and amicable a manner, that they lived ever after in terms of the strictest friendship with one another. generosity  
in a go-  
vernour.

Thro' the confusion of names, of which, amongst the *Turks*, there was but very little variety, and the uncertainty of dates, it is very difficult to relate with any precision the particular share, which the *Sultan* of *Bagdad* had in opposing the progress of the western christians in the east. The history of *Ana Commana*, agrees in the main with what we have related; concerning the operations of her father, and his successes against the *Turks*. *Baldwin* at this time, held the sovereignty of *Edessa*; as *Bohemond* did that of *Antioch*; for neither of them denied the superiority of the *Greek* empire over both. According to the best accounts, the whole number of adventurers, including the women who followed them in this first crusade, amounted to no fewer than one million The Cru-  
sade con-  
tinues.



Vast numbers of the *Crusaders*.

Means of their being supplied.

*Bohemond* at war with the emperor.

Operations of the *Crusaders*.

History of *Jerusalem* at this time.

million: *Asia Minor*, tho' fertile, had been depopulated by long wars, and it was impossible for the *Greek* emperor, who had himself great armies on foot, to supply this prodigious number of men and horse, for any long time, with provisions. The *Venetians*, who were then the greatest maritime power in *Europe*, and the general carriers, for *Mahometans*, as well as *Christians*, had reasons of state, for not suffering their ships to be concerned, in supplying the adventurers. The *Genoese*, however, the *Pisans*, and many of the *Greek* traders who lay upon the coasts, contracted to supply them, and the first of those powers, found their commerce so beneficial, that they soon became great, and rich enough to dispute the dominion of the seas, with the *Venetians* themselves. The numbers of the *Crusaders* however, were now so much diminished that the emperor began to venture, after his great successes against the *Turks*, to complain of their proceedings. They had found some difficulty in subsisting in their winter quarters, after their taking of *Antioch*, and some dissensions arose, between *Bohemond*, and *Raymond*, which had almost put an end to the whole expedition. At last, *Alexius* made a formal requisition of *Antioch*. But *Bohemond*, far from complying with his demand, asserted not only his independency upon the emperor, but set up a family claim, in virtue of his being prince of *Antioch*, upon *Laodocæa*, which his nephew *Tancred* made good, by taking not only that city, but a great number of other places of importance, in *Cilicia*. The emperor shewd his resentment at this proceeding by fitting out a strong fleet, great part of which he hired from the *Venetians*, which put to sea under his admiral *Tatecius*. His orders were, to intercept the fleets that were carrying, to the coasts of *Asia Minor*, supplies and reinforcements to the *Crusaders*. *Tatecius*, accordingly, came up with the *European* fleet near *Rhodes*, and defeated it; but in his return to *Constantinople* he lost most of his own ships by a storm. In the mean while, *Raymond* besieged *Tripolis*, and reduced it to such straits that the governor agreed to furnish him with all necessaries; and that it should be open as a port for supplying *Raymond's* army. *Bohemond* was at this time at *Antioch*, while *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, took *Gabala*, and formed the siege of *Tortosa*; in which he was joined by *Raymond*. But this place was so well defended by the *Turks*, that the *Christians*, after losing a vast number of men, and spending three months before it, were obliged to raise the siege; and to proceed by the sea coast, plundering all the way, to the favourite point of their expedition, which was the siege of *Jerusalem*.

This city had of late had a variety of masters. For some time it was in the hands of the house of *Artak* the *Turk*; but they were forced in the year of the *Hejra* 489 to abandon it to the *Azona*, or the *Gazan Turks*. The *Gazan Turks*, as well



well as the house of *Artak* recognized the supremacy of *Barkiarak*, *Malec*, and other *Seljukian Sultans*; but those princes found their account in ballancing the power of their barbarous dependants, by setting them at variance amongst themselves; and by sometimes supporting the weaker, against the stronger. All the importance of the place, even at this time, lay in the profit, which the possessors of it made from the vast recourse of pilgrims, *Moslems* as well as *Christians*, who, on account of its sanctity, daily came to visit it. Those emoluments were so great, that in the year of the Hejra 492, which is the very year the Crusaders landed in *Asia*, *Mostali* the califf of *Egypt* sent an army against it. Some of the *Eastern* writers however, pretend that this event happened three years sooner, and that the house of *Artak*, the heads of which were *Sakman* and *Aylgazi*, were then in possession of it. Both accounts may be reconciled, by supposing, which is not at all unlikely, that the califf of *Egypt* took into his pay a body of *Gazan* mercenaries; against the princes of *Artak*, one of whom, *Sakman*, we perceive served against the *Christians*, at the great battle of *Antioch*, and is mentioned to have been the last man that left the field. Be this as it will, it is certain, that the holy city was at this time inhabited, by people of three different religions. The jacobite *Christians*, the *Jews*, and the *Moslems*. The former hated the *Western Christians*, as much, if not more, than they did the *Jews*, or the *Mahometans*. Till By whom the late irruption of the *Turks*, they had lived tollerably easy inhabited. under their masters; who were generally the califfs of *Egypt*. Their *Patriarchs*, were some of them men of learning, and moderation; and exercised a civil, as well as an ecclesiastical power over their flocks, and for this they paid an annual sum (tho' it was sometimes omitted) to the califf. The *Jews* had their temple, and their place of worship, and the *Moslems* had their mosques, in which great numbers of the religious lived day and night, within the walls of the city.

According to the best accounts, when the *Egyptian* forces Taken by the *Egyptians*, come before *Jerusalem* it was defended by *Sakman*, and *Aylgazi*; and sustained a siege of forty days, against a numerous train of battering pieces, but at last it was obliged to capitulate, the garrison marching out with the princes of the house of *Artak* at their head. But the most extraordinary part of the history of *Jerusalem* at this time, is the wonderful opinion of sanctity annexed to the place; even in the minds of the greatest barbarians. For we perceive that amidst all the variety and revolutions the government of it underwent, the furniture and plate, which were immensely rich, even in the christian churches, remained untouched. This successful expedition of the *Egyptians*, was conducted by *Afdal*, the vizir of *Egypt*; and the government of the place was committed by him to one *Afickarodawla*, who probably commanded in it, when it was besieged by the *Christians*. The latter



under the latter by this time had advanced under infinite difficulties  
 vizir *Af-* and disappointments to *Ptolamais*, which they endeavoured  
*dal.* to reduce; but were persuaded to abandon their undertaking,  
 by the governor's sending to them, a most seasonable supply  
 of provisions, and promising to submit to their power; as  
 soon as they should reduce *Jerusalem*. Upon this, they mov-  
 ed on to *Cæsaria*, and from thence to *Rama*, which they  
 found abandoned at their approach, a circumstance not at  
 all to be wondered at, considering the *Crusaders* held it to be  
 meritorious, to shed the blood of Infidels; and wherever  
 they marched, spread as much desolation as the *Turks*, or  
 the very worst Barbarians, had ever done. Marching from  
*Rama*, they fell into extasies of joy, when they came with-  
 in sight of *Jerusalem*. All of them prostrated themselves on  
 the ground, and the mountains with which the Holy City is  
 surrounded, re-echoed to the frantic expressions of their de-  
 votion. The history of this siege, is connected with our  
 subject, by the interest which the califfs of *Bagdad* and their  
 subjects, still thought they had in that city, which they con-  
 sidered as a right belonging to themselves. The governor  
 knew of the approach of the *Crusaders*, and was prepared to  
 receive them. His garrison was strong, the city was well  
 provided for a defence; and its situation rendered it ex-  
 tremely difficult to be besieged in form. But nothing is im-  
 practicable to enthusiasm. Though *Bohemond*, and *Baldwin*,  
 were both absent at their principalities of *Antioch* and *Edeffa*,  
 and though the *Christians* had suffered prodigiously in their  
 march, yet their army was still very strong and was com-  
 manded by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, the earl of *Flanders*, *Robert*  
 duke of *Normandy*, *Tancred*, and the earl of *Tholouse*. All  
 these generals had their proper posts in the siege, but that  
 of *Godfrey* lay nearest to the city. Such is the unprovident  
 nature of zeal, that they had made very few preparations for  
 carrying on a regular siege, and so animated were they  
 with enthusiasm, that, upon the fifth day after their arrival,  
 it was resolved to storm the place. This was done with  
 so much fury, that the city must have been carried, had the  
 assailants taken the common cautions for success. But when  
 they had beat the *Turks* from the wall, they found them-  
 selves destitute of scaling-ladders long enough to mount  
 them; and thus were obliged to return to their camp.  
 They then set about to remedy this defect; but it was then  
 too late. The edge of their fury was blunted by the failure  
 of their first attempt, and they began now to be in want of  
 every thing, especially water. Were not the facts certainly  
 so, it would be incredible to say, that an army of sixty or  
 seventy thousand men, (for that of the *Christians* could not  
 amount to more) should be ready to perish for thirst, in a  
 country that had formerly maintained so many millions.  
 It is said, indeed, that the *Turks*, either filled up, or poi-  
 soned,

Progress  
of the  
*Crusaders*,

who ar-  
rive be-  
fore *Jeru-*  
*salem*,

which  
they be-  
siege,

and at-  
tempt to  
storm, but  
miscarry.

Their vast  
distresses.



foned, all the wells in the neighbourhood, excepting that of *Siloe*, which was not sufficient to supply the *Crusaders* with water. But this fact is extremely improbable upon many accounts, that are foreign to this history, and the besiegers must have died before the walls of the town, had they not been seasonably reinforced. For the *Genoese* fleet had, by this time, landed a great body of men at *Joppa*, and to prevent their ships falling into the hands of the *Egyptian* fleet, which was at *Ascalon*, they set them on fire, and marched over land to *Jerusalem*. They had, amongst them, some excellent engineers, an art in which *Genoa* was famous, and their arrival gave fresh spirits to the besiegers. By the direction of those engineers, moveable stages, one upon another were erected, and covered with raw hides; and being brought to a level with the walls, the besiegers plied the garrison, to vast advantage, with their other weapons, in which they were greatly superior to the Infidels. The latter, though amazed at the novelty of this vast machine, made a brave defence, and endeavoured, for some time, to set it on fire. But by the judicious disposition of the engineers, the attack was made on that quarter, where a strong wind blew full in the face of the garrison; so that their own flames recurring on themselves, the *Christians* gained the summit of the walls, and *Godfrey of Bouillon*, is generally allowed, to have been the first who planted his standards upon them: while the *Christians*, on all other hands, applying their ladders, which they had now lengthened, followed his example, and driving the *Turks* from the battlements, followed them with inexpressible fury. The horrible carnage that ensued, is disgraceful to the name of *Christians*; and indeed, endangered the loss of all they had so bravely acquired. For the *Moslems*, and other inhabitants of the city, seeing their streets running with blood, and covered with a promiscuous carnage of men, women, and children, saw they were to expect no quarter; and therefore turning desperate, they retired to temples and mosques, where they defended themselves with vast resolution. But the *Christians*, after some days, broke in upon them, and made such a slaughter, that, according to their own writers, their soldiers fought ankle-deep in blood; and the Eastern historians say, that in the Grate, by which they call, the farther, or inner, mosque, no fewer than seventy thousand men, were massacred. Notwithstanding this, the *Moslems* defended the mosque, inch by inch; and the survivors, who were now but a handful, retired to the upper part of it, and defending it for a whole day, they were at last admitted to the benefit of quarter: and thus the city, after a close siege of ninety-nine days, fell under the power of the *Christians*, in the year 1099.

They are reinforced

by the *Genoese*

by whose engineers

they take the city,

with a most horrible slaughter.

The news of the taking of *Jerusalem*, alarmed all the *Moslems* of the *East*. The accounts of their historians,

with



They  
plunder  
the place,

and burn  
all the  
*Jews* a-  
live.

*Bagdad*  
greatly a-  
larmed.

Union of  
the *Mos-*  
*lems* a-  
gainst the  
*Christians*

who are  
worsted.

with regard to the siege, is very little different from those given by the *Christians*; only some of them say, which is not at all unlikely, that vast numbers of the besieged were burnt in their mosques; and it seems to be agreed, on all hands, that excepting the few, whose valour had procured themselves quarter, none of the Infidels were spared; for the very women and children, who had retired to cellars and vaults, when discovered, were put to the sword in cold blood. According to all accounts, the booty which was obtained in the place, was prodigious. Mention is made of forty silver lamps, above twenty golden ones, a massy furnace: and it appears in fact, that the jacobite *Christians*, as well as the *Moslems*, had their places of worship plundered upon this occasion: and the fury of the *Crusaders* rose to such a height, that the *Jews* being the successors of those who had crucified our Saviour, they were all of them driven into their chief synagogue; and there, most inhumanly burnt to death.

The consternation which filled the people of *Bagdad*, when they received the news of the loss of *Jerusalem*, was inexpressible. They abandoned themselves to the most violent despair, and ran tumultuously to the palaces of the king and the califf, and forgetting all respect to their persons and authority, they insisted upon their immediately preparing, for recovering that Holy city and for preventing the impending ruin of their religion. According to the best accounts *Mohammed* was then king of *Bagdad*, or *Emir Al Omra*. But as he had upon his hands a great many wars of his own, we do not find that he was very forward in gratifying their request. The truth is, the particulars we have of the history of the califf of *Bagdad*, from the time of the taking *Jerusalem* to the end of this *Al Mostader's* reign, are so thin, that it scarcely deserves the name of history. It may, not however be improper to mention, that *Mohammed*, some years after, that is, in the year 1111, seeing the vast progress of the *Crusaders*, wisely proposed a union of all the *Seljukian* interest against them. In this proposal he was joined by *Sakman*, the prince *Aklat* in *Armenia*, who seems to have been the same who defended *Jerusalem*, *Mawdud*, the prince of *Mawfel*, and *Noimoddin*, the governor of *Maridin*, and that, taking the field they obtained several advantages over the *Crusaders*, who were commanded by *Tancred* and *Baldwin*, near *Tiberias*. *Mohammed's* general in this expedition was *Mawdud*, who did all he could, to draw the *Christian* garrison out of *Edeffa* into the open fields. For this purpose, after the other princes of the *Seljukian* confederacy, had returned home, he insulted that garrison, which was, at this time, commanded by one *Joceline*, so much, that, not finding they were to be provoked, he contracted such a contempt for them, as threw him off his guard; and he was one day surprized in his camp by *Joceline*, who



who killed a great number of his men and carried off all his horses, whom he found grazing in the neighbouring pastures; some say, that this blow was struck, before the *Seljukian* confederates took the field. Be this as it will, it is certain, that when the campaign was over, *Mawdud* paid a visit to his friend *Toghtakin*, the prince of *Damascus* with a design to take the field early next year against the *Christians*. The *Batanists*, or assassins had now grown numerous, thro' all parts of the *East*; and were employed in the profession of murder, by almost all the princes of it. Enthusiasm led those wretches to perpetrate their crimes, without any reward but the pleasure of serving their prince, and, besides devoting themselves to certain death, they were contented to forego all the pleasures of life. They appeared all over the *East* in various shapes; but chiefly in the habits of beggars, by which, according to the custom of the *Moslems* they had a ready access to the persons of those they intended to murder. *Mawdud* experienced this; for one day as he was going into a mosque at *Damascus*, one of those beggars in asking his charity, gave him four stabs with a concealed dagger, of which he instantly died; and tho' the *Batamite* was put to death, it never was known, who was his employer. Upon his death, the government, or rather principality, of *Mawfel*, was bestowed by *Mohammed*, upon one *Ansankar*, at *Mohammed's* recommendation likewise, *Zenki*, was made his vizir, and is famous for having been the father of the great *Noredin*, who is so celebrated in history. This seems to have been amongst the last acts of *Mohammed*. A little before his death *Taktakin*, the prince of *Damascus*, probably by the advice of *Mawdud*, paid a visit to the califf and *Mohammed* at *Bagdad*, and having offered him his services, he was entertained with great friendship by both. Soon after, *Mohammed* died; just before his death, he called for *Mahmud*, his second son, and declared him his successor, with tears, and embraces. This affected the young prince who was but fifteen years of age, that when his father commanded him to place himself on the throne, he declined it; saying that it was an unfortunate day. It is so, replied the father, to me, but not to you, for this day you gain an empire. Upon this, the young prince ascending the throne was invested with the ensigns of sovereignty; which consisted of a *Diadem* and bracelets, and received the homage of all the grandees about court, his father dying that same day, in the thirty seventh year of his age, and the thirteenth or fourteenth of his reign. To what we have already said of this *Sultan*, we may add, that he excelled in eloquence and bodily strength. The recognition of his son, was confirmed by the califf who immediately created him, his *Emir Al Omra*. Besides him *Mohammed* left four other sons, *Masud*, *Togrol*, *Soliman* and *Seljuk*.

*Mawdud*  
defeated  
by *Joceline*  
of  
*Edeffa*.

The *Assassins*  
spread  
over the  
*East*.

They  
murder  
*Mawdud*

Death of  
*Mohammed*.

The



The califf *Mostader* died the following year, in the forty second year of his age, after a reign of twenty five years. His character is the same with that of the other califfs, who had lately lived in the holy state of sovereign indolence. He was gentle in his behaviour, charitable, liberal and eloquent; and before his death, he nominated his son *Mansur*, who took the name of *Mostashed*, for his successor:

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*Al Mostashed, the twenty-ninth califf of the house of Al Abbas.*

He is succeeded by *Mostashed*.

The Greeks defeated

by *Bohemond*.

His death.

It is necessary before we enter into the particulars of this califat, to resume the history of the *Crusade*. *Alexius*, the emperor of *Constantinople*, notwithstanding all *Bohemond's* address, was his superior, both in the field and in the cabinet. But *Bohemond* availed himself of the great character which the arms of the *Crusade* acquired, and leaving *Antioch*, passed over to *Italy* to raise a new army, for enlarging and protecting his conquests. *Alexius* was not ignorant of the inveterate hatred which *Bohemond* bore him, and ordered his admiral *Contostephanus*, to cruize with a superior fleet upon the coast of *Italy*, to prevent the return of *Bohemond* to *Asia*. *Contostephanus* transgressing his instructions, laid siege to *Brundisium*, but was obliged to raise the siege with great loss. The crafty *Bohemond*, improving every circumstance to his own advantage, having upon this occasion made prisoners of six Barbarians, (*Scythians* they are called) of an uncouth dress and form, carried them to the pope, and told his holiness, that such were the men, whom *Alexius* employed to stop the progress of the *Crusade*. This imposition increased the indignation of the faithful sons of the church, so much, that *Bohemond*, in a very short time, saw himself at the head of forty-five thousand men, five thousand of whom were cavalry, and with them he invaded *Illyricum*. Upon his landing, he ordered all his ships to be burnt, that his soldiers might know their retreat was cut off, and that they had no hopes of safety, but from their own efforts. He then laid siege to *Dyrrachium*, which belonged to the emperor. But that city being of great strength and importance, made so noble a defence, that *Bohemond's* army was in danger of perishing before it, when the emperor offered him terms of peace; which he was obliged to accept of. *Anna Comnena*, the emperor's daughter, says, that, after this peace, *Bohemond* returned to *Italy*; but others write, that he went to *Antioch*, where, in six months after, he died, leaving behind him a minor son, of his own name.



In the mean while, the heads of the Christian expedition, *Godfrey of Bouillon*, having made themselves masters of *Jerusalem*, proceeded to the choice of a king; and the election fell upon *Godfrey* chosen of *Bouillon*. This period of history is, perhaps, as interesting, and at the same time, as dark, as any that occurs. Historians have generally launched out into ridiculous invectives, against the madness of the whole expedition: and undoubtedly, in the manner it was conducted, nothing could be more ridiculous, or enthusiastic. But then we are to consider, that the great leaders of the expedition, who, it is plain, had a wise and determined purpose in view, were overborne by popular clamour and prejudice. Their real intention, was to dispossess the barbarians, who were divided amongst themselves, of the finest countries, upon the face of the earth; an undertaking which was both just and practicable. It is true, the *Greek* emperor did not consider it in that light, and very reasonably demanded to know, the terms on which they were to proceed. The princes of *Europe* durst avow no motive, but the silly one of being determined to rescue, out of the hands of Infidels, the land of their Saviour's nativity, and the place of his suffering. *Alexius* treated this pretext with the contempt it deserved; and because he did not fall in with the frenzy of the times, the *Crusaders* looked upon him as worse than an infidel, and as such, he has been handed down to posterity, by almost all writers; but his own daughter; who makes him act like a prince of great wisdom and moderation; as he undoubtedly was. For having made peace with *Bohemond*, he was so far from encouraging the *Turks* in their incursions, which they had extended, even to the walls of *Nice*, that he attacked them and gave them a total defeat in that neighbourhood. But the barbarians pouring in fresh forces, renewed the war next year, though with the same bad success, for they were again and again defeated; and at last, were obliged to yield to a peace with *Alexius*; which, on his part, was honourable. Age and infirmities then crept upon him, and he died with as disputed a character as any in history; owing to the madness and misrepresentations of biggots and zealots. The worst enemies of his memory, allow him to have been possessed of every social virtue. He was generous, grateful and merciful, even to a fault. Notwithstanding the many provocations he received, both from his enemies and his subjects, he never showed himself to be sanguinary. His behaviour towards the *Crusaders*, was dictated by true policy, and sound sense; but Ecclesiastics have, upon that account, been cruel to his memory. He had in their sight another demerit, which was that of seizing the wealth of the church and the monasteries, to defray the expences of his wars with the Infidels, a measure that, however justifiable, is, by biggots, deemed unpardonable.

The emperor hated by the *Crusaders*.

Death of *Alexius*.

His character.



Commo-  
tion in the  
califat.

War be-  
tween  
*Sanjar*  
and *Mah-*  
*mud*.

Other in-  
tellect di-  
visions a-  
mongst  
the *Turks*.

*Aylgazi's*  
son rebels  
against  
him.

The beginning of the califf *Moslarshed's* reign, was filled with civil commotions. He had a brother *Hasan*, who disputed with him the califat, and actually made himself master of *Waset*; but he was defeated by *Dubais*, the califf's general, and taken prisoner, though his brother the califf, generously gave him his life and liberty. As to the important post of *Emir Al Omra*, at this time, it does not clearly appear, by whom it was filled. The late *Sultan Mohammed*, was succeeded by his son *Mahmud*. But *Sanjar*, the brother of *Mohammed*, who had for many years governed *Korasan*, disputed the dignity with him. After some bloodshed, a kind of a compromise was made between them, and both of them possessed the title of *Sultan*, with independent jurisdictions, *Sanjar* in *Korasan*, and *Mahmud* in *Irak*. As to *Mahmud*, it appears, that he was a very peaceable prince, and devoted himself entirely to the pleasures of a private life; particularly in hunting, in which his equipage was very magnificent. Under those two *Sultans*, a third called, *Kothboddin*, the sovereign of *Korazm* grew up, and his successors afterwards, ruined the *Seljukian* dynasty. *Aylgazi*, the same who had once possessed *Jerusalem*, was, at this time, governor of *Maredin*, and the *Kozars*, with several other barbarous nations, uniting their forces, invaded the califf's dominions. They were opposed by *Aylgazi*, *Dubais*, and *Togrol*, *Mahmud's* uncle, at the head of thirty thousand men. But when the two armies were drawn up in order of battle, two hundred of the people called, *Kafjaks*, detaching themselves from the main body of their army, presented themselves to the *Moslems*, with an intention, as the latter thought, to join them, either as deserters or prisoners. But no sooner did those *Kafjaks* come within a proper distance of the *Moslems*, than they let fly their arrows, with a most dreadful effect, and disordered the front ranks of their enemies. This being perceived by the rear, they too fell in confusion, and the whole ended in an intire defeat of the *Moslems*. The *Kafjaks*, who were the same as the *Kozars*, took four thousand of them prisoners, and following their blow, made themselves masters of the city of *Teflis*; which they erected into a capital. We are told, that *Togrol*, *Aylgazi*, and *Dubais*, found means to escape from this rout. *Aylgazi*, soon after this, was obliged to march against his son, a young man twenty years of age, who rebelled against him, at the instigation of one *Nase*, a nobleman, who lay under the highest obligations to *Ortok*, the father of *Aylgazi*, and one *Hamawi*, the governor of *Aleppo*. *Aylgazi* had the good fortune to suppress this rebellion, and he inflicted exemplary punishments upon both those traitors. As to the son, whose name was *Soliman*, he was taken prisoner, and brought drunk before his father. But affection getting the better of resentment, he was pardoned, and sent to reside at *Damascus*.

Every



## OF THE WORLD.

Every corner of the *East*, was, about this time, filled with The *Ba-* the murdering sect of the *Batanists*. There scarcely was a *tanist* sovereign, who had not some of them in pay, and employed them in detestable services. The most extraordinary part of the character of those wretches, was their secrecy; for they endured the most severe torments, without discovering their employers. *Al Amer* was, at this period, the califf of *Egypt*, and the famous *Afdal*, was his vizir; but this minister grew formidable to his master, who employed the *Batanists* they murder the vizir of *Egypt*. he had in his pay, to assassinate him. *Al Amer*, then seized upon his ready money, which amounted to above two millions sterling, besides an immense quantity of effects.

While the *Moslems* were thus destroying one another, the *Crusaders*, under *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, now king of *Jerusalem*, were making a formidable progress. The latter, tho' the very principle of the undertaking was founded in religion and enthusiasm, found infinite advantages from the divisions of the *Moslems*, who were now torn in pieces, by daily invasions of barbarous *Turks*. Excepting the califf of *Bagdad*, there was not at this time, in all the *East*, an object of allegiance; and he was no more so, than the veneration attached to the sacerdotal character, intitled him to be. Divided however, as the *Moslems* were, they were alarmed at the progress of the *Christians*. *Godfrey*, king of *Jerusalem*, was an excellent general, and his illustrious title, set him in the eyes of all the *Western Christians*, far above all the potentates upon earth; so that notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers attending the attempt, fresh soldiers every day, poured from *Europe* into his army. The *Moslems*, (for almost all the *Turks* became so), assembled a most prodigious army, consisting of *Seljuks*, *Egyptians*, and all the various nations in the *East*, at *Ascalon*, about twenty-five miles from *Jerusalem*, with a full intention to exterminate the Christian power, in *Palestine*. *Godfrey*, upon this, assembled all the strength of his little principality; which however amounted to above fifty thousand men. The *Barbarians* though vastly superior in numbers, were greatly inferior to the *Christians*, in arms and discipline; and in a battle which ensued, it is admitted by the best accounts, that they lost one hundred thousand men; besides, a most prodigious quantity of treasure and effects. This is looked upon to have been the most glorious victory, that before that time, had ever been gained by *Christians*, over *Infidels*. *Godfrey* did not long survive his triumph. A pestilence broke into his dominions, and carried himself off. The whole of his character, consisted in his misguided piety, and misapplied courage. If instead of the wretched territory of *Palestine*, he and the other *Christian* princes, had followed the example of *Bohemond*, in turning their arms against the *Barbarians*, who were possessed of the finest regions in the world,

Godfrey's progress.

He defeats the *Moslems*;

his death.



succeeded  
by his bro-  
ther *Bald-*  
*win*.

His wars  
with the  
*Turks*.

Defeated  
before  
*Ptolemais*,  
but takes  
it.

*Aleppo* be-  
sieged.

world, to which they had no manner of right, but that of the sword, all the reasonable ends of their expedition, which were the propagation and extention of the *Christian* religion, might have been answered. But even after the great defeat they gave the *Mahometans* at *Ascalon*, the same frenzy continued, and *Baldwin*, *Godfrey's* brother, in the year 1100, resigning his principality of *Edeffa*, was chosen king of *Jerusalem*. He pursued the frantic politics of the times, by making that city, his capital, his residence, and the only object of his pursuit. He was like his brother, brave and pious, and was vigorously supported by the Western *Christians*. His reign however, was disturbed by the *Fatemite* califfs of *Egypt*. He took from them the city of *Casaria*, and beat their troops near *Rama*: but the Infidels receiving fresh recruits, at last gave him a total defeat, and it was with great difficulty that he escaped to *Joppa*. There meeting with a powerful reinforcement of *Europeans*, he attacked and defeated the *Turks* in his turn. The consequence of this victory was, that *Tancred*, who had acquired a small territory in *Palestine*, took *Apamea*, the capital of *Cab Syria*, and *Ladocea*, from the *Greek* emperor. But *Baldwin*, to whom the king of *Jerusalem* had resigned the principality of *Edeffa*, in besieging the city of *Carras*, was defeated by the Infidels, under the *Sultan* of *Korasan*, and taken prisoner, with *Benedict*, the bishop of *Edeffa*, and *Joceline*, whom we have already mentioned. As to *Baldwin*, his conscience dictated to him, not to be at peace with Infidels. He raised all the strength he was master of, and laid siege to *Ptolemais*; but in that attempt, he was baffled and defeated. Upon his return home, he was attacked and wounded, by the *Moslems*; but receiving fresh supplies from *Europe*, he renewed the siege of *Ptolemais*, and carried it. His next exploit we read of was, his siege of *Baritas*, in which he was assisted by *European* fleets; and mention is made, particularly, of one from *Norway*, and another from *Genoa*. This place we are told, he took, as he did the city of *Sidon*, and almost all the strong places along the sea-coast of *Phœnicia*, and *Palestine*, from *Ladocea* to *Ascalon*, excepting the city of *Tyre*, which he besieged for four months, but he was at last obliged to raise the siege. Some particulars of the *Crusaders*, not mentioned by the *European* writers, are recorded by the Eastern historians: For we are told, that in the 517th year of the *Hegira*, those adventurers being joined by some of the *Moslems*, besieged *Aleppo*, which a little before, and perhaps, at that time, was in possession of *Aylgazi*. The siege was carried on so vigourously, that the besieged were upon the point of surrendering, when a sudden overflowing of the river *Kozwiak*, which runs near the place, drowned a vast number of the besiegers, and after carrying away their baggage, and their military chest, obliged them to abandon their enterprize. It was probably, about this time,



that *Alygazi*, who was a very considerable sovereign, of the but de-  
house of *Atrak*, died. Upon his death, *Aleppo* was besieged livered.  
and taken, by *Bellack*, a *Moslem* prince, who was soon after  
killed, and then *Aleppo* fell into the hands of *Aksankar*, who  
was afterwards murdered by one of the *Fatamite* assassins.  
*Sanjar* and *Mahmud*, continued all this time to be joint  
*Sultans* of the *Seljuks*; but they appear, as well as the califf of  
*Bagdad*, to have given themselves very little trouble, in op-  
posing the progress of the *Crusaders*. This they left to the *Tyre* be-  
inferior princes; so that the *Crusaders*, at last, were enabled sieged and  
to form the siege of *Tyre*, which they took in five months; taken by  
by starving it into a surrender, according to the *Moslem* the *Chris-*  
authors, who tell us, that the garrison had very honourable *tians*.  
terms.

While *Alexius* the *Greek* emperor was upon his death bed, *Alexius*  
his daughter *Anna Comnena*, who has left us the history of succeeded  
his life, strongly solicited him to nominate her husband by his son  
*Briennius*, for his successor; but the emperor invariably stuck *John*.  
to the interest of his son *John*, to whom he left his domi-  
nions, and he was accordingly crowned by the patriarch, in  
the great church of *Constantinople*. The restless ambition of  
*Anna*, upon this, formed a conspiracy in favour of her hus-  
band, but the conspirators were detected, and convicted,  
tho' the emperor punished them no other ways than, by  
confiscating their estates, which he soon restored to them,  
and he even took his sister *Anna* into favour. He had, how-  
ever the precaution, to remove from about his court, and  
person, the authors of those intrigues. Soon after the *Turks*, he takes  
in breach of treaties, invaded *Phrygia*, but were defeated by *Laodicea*  
the emperor, who laid siege to, and took, *Laodicea*, which  
some time before had fallen into their hands. This success  
obliged the *Turks* to sue for a peace, which was concluded,  
upon the same terms, as that they had made with the em-  
peror *Alexius*. But, the barbarians, having by this time,  
experienced the delicacies of the *East*, kept pouring from  
all quarters, into the provinces, both of the *Greeks* and the  
*Moslems*; and no sooner had the emperor made peace with  
the *Turks*, than the *Scythians*, broke into *Thrace*, and de-  
stroyed the imperial territories, with fire and sword. As they  
were no match for the imperialists, the emperor easily sub-  
dued them, and drove them with a most dreadful slaughter,  
back over the *Danube*. He then fell upon the *Sevixæ* and and de-  
the *Huns*, whom he defeated in like manner, and took the feats the  
most important fortresses in their country. But he had a *Barba-*  
brother named *Isaac*, with whom he was at variance, and *tians*.  
*Isaac* for some time, resided amongst the Infidels, whom he  
incited to all kinds of hostilities against the *Greeks*, and even  
assisted them in their enterprizes. Scarcely therefore, had  
the emperor returned to *Constantinople*, when he received  
advice, that the *Turks* had made a fresh irruption into  
*Galacia*, and *Silicia*, so that he was obliged to head his  
troops,



His suc-  
cesses.

reconciled  
to his  
brother.

Baldwin's  
wars

with the  
Turks.

who de-  
feat the  
Christians  
Hej. 521  
A. D.  
1127.

troops, already harrassed by the preceeding campaign, against those barbarians; whom he every where defeated, and at last he conquered all *Armenia*. He besieged and took after a great resistance, the fortress of *Baca*, besides the cities of *Castamona*, *Anazarba*, *Serep*, *Capharda*, *Istria*, and *Sezer*; but he was defeated before *Bercea*, in *Syria*, the siege of which place he was obliged to raise. As this emperor inherited all the virtues, so he did all the policy, of his father *Alexius*. He was moderate, placable, and polite, and even took his brother *Isaac*, into favour; upon a proper submission. But *John*, *Isaac*'s son, apostatized, and embraced the *Mahometan* religion. This gave the emperor great trouble, and he continued almost three years in the field, against the infidels; but at last he returned in great triumph to *Constantinople*.

During all this time, the *Latins* had behaved in such a manner, as if they had considered, the *Greck* emperor as their worst enemy. *Baldwin*, the king of *Jerusalem*, had little respite from war; and in one of his expeditions, that against *Ptolemais*, commonly called *Acon*, he had been wounded. The wound was healed up, and *Baldwin* continued his wars with the *Turks*. *Bohemond* the prince of *Antioch*, as we have already seen, was now dead; and was succeeded by another *Bohemond* an infant, under the tuition of *Tancred*. The infant died, and *Tancred* came to the possession of the principality of *Antioch*. The mutual interests of *Baldwin* and *Tancred*, and the prince of *Tripolis*, a city which had likewise fallen into the hands of the *Christians*, led them to unite amongst themselves, against the *Turks*; under the command of *Sanjar*, and *Mahmud*; the latter of whom seems to have acted, as *Emir Al Omra*, to the califf of *Bagdad*. Uniting their forces, they marched towards the sea coast, towards *Tiberias*, with an intention to destroy the *Christians*. The latter knew their danger, and *Baldwin*, who in virtue of his being king of *Jerusalem*, still bore the command amongst the *Crusaders*, summoned all the strength of the *Christians* in those parts, to oppose them. The infidels were commanded by one *Mendes*, but they had, by this time fully experienced, that they were far unequal to the *Christians* in the field. They therefore, had recourse to stratagem, planted in an ambush, their main body, and feigned a flight, which drew the *Christians*, into a pursuit, that brought on a general engagement; greatly to the disadvantage of the *Crusaders*. For the *Turks* prevailing thro' the superiority of their numbers, it was with difficulty that *Baldwin* himself, and *Arnolphus*, the patriarch, escaped. During *Baldwin*'s absence, *Jerusalem*, being but weakly garrisoned, was besieged by the *Turks*; but fresh supplies arriving every day from the west, they were obliged to be contented with plundering the neighbourhood, and to abandon the siege, upon the approach of *Baldwin*. Various were the



the adventures of this prince afterwards, but authors are greatly confused and divided in their accounts of them. According to the *Moslem* historians, he was defeated before *Damascus*, in a second attempt he made against that city : and so inaccurate are the writers of his history, that they have not agreed upon the precise time, and manner of his death. According to the best accounts, he made an expedition into *Egypt*, where he took *Pharma*, a maritime town ; and had a reasonable prospect of finishing his days in tranquillity, and with glory. But being delighted with the beauty of the *Nile*, he bathed in that river, and by the stress of swimming, an old wound he had received broke out ; and proved mortal to him : so that he died upon his return to *Jerusalem*. Death of Baldwin

*Ak Sankar*, whom we have already mentioned, having *Mawfud* been assassinated by the *Batanists*, was succeeded by his son is prince *Mawfud*, in the principalities of *Aleppo*, and *Mawfel*. It is of *Aleppo* remarkable that *Mawfud*, had his first intelligence of his father's assassination from the *Christians*. It appears at this time, that the joint *Sultans Sanjar*, and *Mahmud*, were busied in important expeditions against *India*, and that they had an interview at *Al Ray*, where we are told that both of them sat together, upon one throne, in great friendship. It appears, that either their great enterprizes in the *East*, or the power of the house of *Ak Sankar*, obliged them to abandon the government of *Bagdad*. For *Mawfud* dying, *Zenki*, his brother, succeeded not only to his principalities, but we are told, to the government of *Bagdad* itself, by the appointment of *Sultan Mahmud*. This *Zenki*, after this, assumed the title of *Atabek*, or sovereign of the *Arabian Irak* ; and seems, about the year of the *Hejra* 524, to have been the great acting prince in that country. *Kinaz* who had been by *Mawfud*, appointed governor of *Aleppo*, was driven from thence, for male administration ; and the people having chosen one *Soliman*, in his room, *Zenki* besieged and took the city, when it was ready to fall into the hands of the emperor, *John Commenus*. After this, *Zenki* reduced *Harran*, *Senjar*, and *Nisibin*. He next took his measures for forming a confederacy against the *Crusaders* ; and invited the *Atabek* of *Damascus*, into it. That *Atabek*, whose name was *Tacezi*, was so far from being averse to this enterprize, that he sent his son *Sunaj* to concert measures with him. But, as no faith was observed amongst those barbarians, *Sunaj* was taken prisoner by *Zenki*, who seized upon his city, and principality of *Hama*. We are told, that after this *Zenki* defeated the *Crusaders*, near the fortrefs of *Atarab*, which he levelled with the ground. and Zink of Irak.

The year of the *Hejra* 524, was distinguished by the death of *Al Amar* the califf of *Egypt*, who underwent the common fate of the princes of those times and countries, of being *assassinated*. Al Amar Sultan of Egypt assassinated.



Death of  
*Mahmud.*

assassinated by the *Batanists*. Next year, the *Sultan Mahmud* died, in the 13th of his reign, and the 27th of his age. But in this account there is great uncertainty. His favourite passion was hunting, in which we are told, he was so extravagant, that he kept four hundred hounds of different kinds, with collars and coverings enriched with gold, pearls, and ribands. In all other respects he is represented as being a wise magnanimous, and merciful prince. Notwithstanding the vast expences of his pleasures, which hurt his character, and impaired his health, he neither oppressed his subjects, nor did he suffer others to do it. He was, according to the mode of those times, a good scholar, and wrote a very fine hand, which amongst the *Moslem* princes, was no small character of learning; and he is noted for having made collections, for the interpretation of dreams.

Contest  
about his  
succession.

The *Sultan, Mahmud*, left two brothers, *Togrol* surnamed *Rocnoddin*, whom he named for his successor, and is known by the name of *Togrol* the second, and *Masud*, who contested the succession with *Togrol*. A compromise seems to have followed, between them; for we know not the event of their dispute. The *Sultan Sanjar* however was still alive, and claimed a superiority, over all the princes of the *East*, excepting *Mostarshed* the califf of *Bagdad*. It appears that this prince, who has been scarcely named, in the history of his own califat, had spirit enough to avail himself of the distractions of the several *Sultans* and other princes, who in fact, owned themselves to be his vassals, to assert, not only his own superiority, but his independency. *Zenki*, was then *Atabek* of the *Arabian Irak*, or in other words, king of *Bagdad*; but, as it must be understood, under *Sanjar*. He, and *Dubais* another tributary prince, of that country, were ordered by *Sanjar*, to chastise *Mostarshed*, who seems to have had on foot an army at *Bagdad*. It appears that they obeyed the *Sultan's* order, and that they encamped at *Manaiyra*, which lyes to the north of *Bagdad*; while the califf *Mostarshed*, passed the *Tigris*, and encamped at *Abbasiya*, at the head of thirty thousand men. The name of the califf's general was *Kadham*, an eunuch; and a general battle ensued at *Baramaca*; in which, *Zenki* defeated the right wing of the califf's army, but the califf, and his general, defeated the left wing, of his enemy, so compleatly, that he remained master of the field. There seems however, to be some darkness upon this part of the califf's history. For *Dubais*, who commanded the right wing against him, was the same general, who in the beginning of his reign, had suppressed his brother *Hasan's* rebellion; and *Togrol*, is by some said, to have been the prince who was joined with him in this expedition, but the names of those barbarians were often the same, and they are named promiscuously in command. It appears, however, upon the whole, that the califf, was victorious;

Ambition  
and suc-  
cesses of  
*Zenki.*



victorious; and that *Togrol*, and *Dubais*, after that agreed to surprize him at *Bagdad*. But *Togrol* was seized with a fever, and *Dubais* was prevented from advancing by a dreadful storm; which gave the advantage to the califf. Not only *Sanjar*, but *Masud* his nephew, seem to have been concerned in this war, which was in fact no other than a rebellion against the califf, their acknowledged sovereign.

Rebellion  
against  
the califf

We accordingly, are told, that next year *Mostarshed* sent one *Bahaddin*, to summon the *Atabek Zenki*, to return to his duty. *Bahaddin* exceeded his commission, and was so insolent to *Zenki*, that the latter made him a prisoner, in the city of *Mawfel*. The califf upon this, marched at the head of his army, consisting as before of thirty thousand men, against *Zenki*, who leaving a garrison in *Mawfel*, opposed the califf in the field. But he was defeated, and the califf laid siege to the city; and by means of a party he had within the walls, had almost made himself master of it, when the conspiracy was discovered and defeated. He did not however immediately raise the siege, but after lying three months before the place, he was obliged to give over his enterprize; and return to *Bagdad*. Next year however, a peace was concluded between *Zenki*, and *Mostarshed*; tho' we know not upon what terms.

who de-  
feats  
*Zenki*.

Peace be-  
tween  
them.

*Masud*, at this time pretended to the high post of *Emir Al Omra*, in which he had been confirmed, by *Mostarshed*. But the latter considering him as a rebel, had ordered his name to be suppressed in the public prayers. *Masud* resented this indignity, as well as the peace, that had been concluded between *Mostarshed* and *Zenki*; and having subdued his nephew *David*, the son of *Togrol*, who had pretensions upon his dominions, he took the field in person, with a great army, against *Mostarshed*. It was an unusual sight to see a califf of *Bagdad*, at the head of an army; and all the courage and spirit of *Mostarshed*, could not make head against *Masud*. The califf was considered in no other light than that of the high pontiff of the *Arabs*; who was under the tuition of the two *Sultans Sanjar*, and *Masud*. A decisive battle ensued, in which the califf being deserted by the right wing of his army, was defeated and taken prisoner: and his left wing was put to flight. But the sanctity of the califf's character, preserved his life, which *Masud* did not venture to take. He availed himself however of his victory, so as to make himself master of *Bagdad*, which he did without opposition. But tho' the califf was a prisoner, he was still superior to his conqueror; he was carried from place to place, under a guard, and had a separate tent allotted to himself. *Masud* sensible that it was dangerous to confine the sovereign pontiff in this manner, entered into a treaty with him; by which he gained his liberty, upon his agreeing to pay to *Masud*, four hundred thousand dinars; and to disband all his troops, excepting

*Masud*  
takes  
the field

against  
the califf  
who is  
defeated



and murdered

his character.

excepting his ordinary guard. Notwithstanding this, he was kept under restraint, and all the favour he was allowed was sometimes to ride on horseback, and to be lodged near *Masud's* person, under a guard. At last an account came to *Bagdad*, that an ambassador was approaching from *Sanjar*, which drew the *Sultan Masud*, and his court out of *Bagdad* to meet him. By this means the unfortunate califf *Mostarshed*, was left without a guard, and some *Batanists* rushing into his pavillion, not only put an end to his life, but mangled his body in a most cruel manner; giving him no less than twenty wounds. He was murdered in the 18th year of his reign, and the 44th of his age. He is said to have been a thin man, but to have had an excellent constitution, and a talent of expressing himself, both in verse and prose, with the utmost perspicuity, and elegance. It is allowed that he was not quarrelsome, tho' he was of a far more warlike disposition than any of his late predecessors; and it was the general opinion that he was murdered by the order of the *Sultan Masud*.

*Al Rashed the thirtieth califf of the house of Al Abbas.*

He is succeeded by *Al Rashed*

**T**HIS prince was the son of *Mostarshed* the late califf, and being by him nominated in his life time for his successor, he succeeded him without opposition; but subject to the power of *Masud*, who seems to have been a compleat tyrant. He kept a little army of *Batanists* or *Assassins* in his pay, and soon after they had murdered *Mostarshed*, one of them, cut off the head of *Dubais*, as he was stooping before his tent, *Masud* being jealous of his power. He then, or perhaps before that time, extorted from the califf *Al Rashed*, a writing under his hand, importing that if ever he should levy troops against *Masud*, he declared himself deposed from the califat. But *Masud's* tyrannical conduct, at last produced a conspiracy of all the chief noblemen of *Bagdad* against him; and the conspirators were headed, by *Dawd*, or *David*, the son of *Togrol*; who marched from *Mawfel* to *Bagdad*, where he declared himself *Emir Al Omra*, and was prayed for publicly in the mosques. He was supported in this enterprize, by the *Atabek Zenki*. But *Masud* who was at *Hamadan*, when he heard of this report, soon got together an army, and advancing towards *Bagdad*, besieged that capital for fifty days. Finding himself unable to take it, he was upon the point of raising the siege; when he was reinforced by the prince of *Waset*, with a number of *Barques*, which



which encouraged him to renew his attempts upon the city.

In the mean while, the califf *Al Rasheed*, finding himself so powerfully supported, declared void the convention that had been made between his father and *Masud*, and conferred the title of *Sultan* upon *David*. But *Al Rasheed*'s confederates soon quarelled amongst themselves, and *David* was obliged to abandon the protection of the califf, and to return home. *Al Rasheed* then dreading to fall under the power of *Masud*, who proceeded with all imaginable vigour in the siege, crossed the *Tigris*, on the west side of which *Zenki*'s army was encamped, and was by him conducted to *Mawfel* his capital. Upon this, the *Sultan Masud*, entered *Bagdad* without opposition, and summoning together, the Judges, Lawyers, and Divines, he laid before them *Al Rasheed*'s obligation; upon which they declared him unworthy to reign, and deposed him from the califat. In a second assembly which was held soon after, *Al Moktafi*, the son of *Al Mostader*, was declared califf in the room of *Al Rasheed*, whose name was suppressed in the public prayers; after reigning no more, than eleven months and ten days.

who flies  
and is  
deposed

The califat of *Egypt*, about this time underwent dreadful revolutions. The califf *Al Amar*, together with his vizir *Afdal*, had been assassinated by the *Batanists*; but had left a wife big with child. But in the mean while, his cousin german *Afbed*, was appointed to be regent of the kingdom, and, upon *Al Amar*'s widow being brought to bed of a daughter, he was proclaimed califf; but was opposed by *Afdal*, the late vizir's son, and by his own son *Al Hakim*; who raised up a rebellion against his father: which plunged *Egypt* into the most dreadful calamities. The only man capable of removing them, was an *Armenian Christian*, one *Baharam*, who was governor of the western parts of that kingdom. He had raised himself intirely by his merit to the highest posts both civil and military; and was become so popular that the troops as well as the *Grandeess*, invited him to take upon him the administration; and *Baharam* found it unsafe for him to decline it. Arriving at *Cairo*, he put himself at the head of the army, and expelling from thence *Al Hakim*, declared himself for his father *Hafed*, who being thereby restored to the throne, declared him his vizir, and his general. *Baharam*, whose brother *Gregory*, was the *Armenian* patriarch in *Egypt*, after this, acted as his minister and general, with the greatest abilities and prudence. But *Baharam*, seems to have failed a little in the latter, by his partiality in favour of the *Christians*; for he raised so many of them to great places, that the *Mahometan* natives, were highly disgusted with him, especially when they saw vast numbers of their own religion, make their court to *Baharam*, by an outward profession of christianity. This in a manner obliged *Hafed*, to remove *Baharam*.

History of  
*Egypt* at  
that time.

*Baharam*  
its vizir,

who is a  
*Christian*



and is  
therefore  
obliged  
to fly.

Turns re-  
ligious.

Persecu-  
tions of  
the Chris-  
tians.

*Baharam*  
restored.

The califf  
*Al Rasbed*  
assassina-  
ted.

*ram*, from the post of vizir, tho' he continued still at the head of the army. Upon this the zealous *Mahometans*, raised a great insurrection at *Cairo*, and furnishing themselves with lances, to the points of which, they fixed copies of the koran, they advanced against the palace, demanding the destruction of *Baharam*, with *Redwan*, whom *Hafed*, had nominated to the post of vizir, at their head. *Baharam*, at this time commanded a choice body of troops, particularly *Armenian Cavalry*, and could easily have cut the insurgents to pieces; but he generously considered that being himself a stranger, he had no right to maintain himself in power, at the expence of so much blood, and therefore thought proper to retire to the upper *Egypt*: where he had a brother, who governed the district of *Kus*, and accordingly he set out thither at the head of a body of troops. But *Redwan*, foreseeing his motions, had dispatched messengers to prepossess the people of *Kus*; against him, and his brother, which he did so effectually, that they cut in pieces the latter, whose name was *Yasal*; and they shut their gates against *Baharam*, who was at the same time pursued by *Redwan* at the head of an army, and perceiving that his troops began to diminish, by desertion and other means, he divested himself of all his power; and retired to a religious life. This satisfied *Redwan*, who did not chuse to violate his retirement, but exercised great severities against the *Christians*, whose churches he demolished, and after removing them from places of power and profit in *Egypt*, he laid heavy taxes, both upon them and the *Jews*. We are told likewise, that when he returned from the pursuit of *Baharam*, he put to death the *Armenian* patriarch, with all the monks who fell into his hands, and gave up the houses of the *Christians* in *Meser*, to be plundered by his soldiers. It appears however that he did not long enjoy his power; for his enemies increased so fast, that he was obliged to fly into *Syria*. There he raised a body of mercenary *Arabs*, and returning into *Egypt* he was at last defeated by his enemies, and obliged to put himself as a private person, under the protection of *Hafed*: who removed him from his vizirship. In the mean while, we are told, that that monarch, from a sense he had of the merits of his late vizir *Baharam*, invited him to come and resume his post, which *Barbaram* declined to do. He was however persuaded to come in a private character to court, where he assisted his sovereign with his advice, and died in great reputation and tranquility.

The late califf *Al Rasbed*, after a short residence at *Maw-sel*, perceiving that his life was sought after, by *Masud*, retired to *Ispahan*, where he took shelter, under *Sultan David*, the same who had protected him before; but he soon underwent the fate of almost all the eastern princes of that time, being assassinated by the *Batanists*, while he was asleep, after a dangerous fit of illness near that city, in the 40th year



year of his age. At the time of his death, his interest seems to be abandoned, by the *Atabek Zenki*, who began now to make a great figure amongst the *Moslem* princes. For, being possessed of *Marwef*, and great part of *Syria*, he threw his eyes upon *Damascus*, and demanded in marriage *Katun* the mother of the prince of that city, in hopes that, by her means, he might become the master of it. We are told however, that being disappointed in his expectation, he renounced his marriage and abandoned her. Soon after, *Sahab* the prince of *Damascus*, was murdered in his palace by the *Batanists*; upon which his brother *Iamaloddin*, the prince of *Balbek*, took possession of *Damascus*. The *Atabek Zenki*, availed himself of that opportunity to attack *Balbek*, which he obliged to capitulate, after a most furious siege. But when he became master of the place, he broke the capitulation and put vast numbers of the inhabitants to death. After that, he made an attempt upon *Damascus* in which he was unsuccessful.

Progress  
of *Zenki*.

*Sultan Masud* continued all this time, at *Bagdad*, where he and his vizir, took the oaths of fidelity to the califf *Moktafi*. His *Persian* subjects were, far from being reconciled to *Moktafi*'s authority, and he sent his brother *Seljuk*, and his general, one *Karafankar*, to reduce the rebels, at the head of whom, was the governor of *Fars*, to their duty. *Karafankar*, having a secret grudge against *Kazem*, *Masud*'s vizir, after he had made a days march towards *Persia*, stopt all of a sudden, and dispatched a messenger to the *Sultan*, demanding his vizir's head. *Masud*, knowing that *Karafankar*, was master of the army, was so far from being in a condition to chastise this insolence, that he was obliged to comply with it, and to put his vizir to death. After this, *Karafankar* resumed his march, but dyed upon the road, and *Masud* made *Ildighiz* general of his army, bestowing upon him at the same time, his sister in marriage, together with the governments of *Adherbijan* and *Kurdestan*, where he founded a new dynasty of princes, which continued from the 555th year of the *Hejra* to the 622d. His elevation seems to have raised a fresh rebellion against *Masud*, and the conspirators, placed his brother *Soliman* on the throne; but this rebellion being quickly suppressed, *Masud* peaceably enjoyed his dignity, to the day of his death.

Rebellion  
in *Persia*.

*Baldwin* the second, the same who had been count of *Edessa*, was at this time king of *Jerusalem*; but he found his power, for want of reinforcements from *Europe*, at a very low ebb. *Zenki*, of all the eastern princes, was the most active and successful, against the *Christians*. It was owing to him that many places of the greatest importance were taken from the *Christians*, particularly *Edessa*, and almost all the posts they held upon the *Euphrates*. At last, he laid siege to *Bir* in *Mesopotamia*, but a rebellion breaking out against his deputy in *Marwef*, he abandoned that enterprize and

*Zenki* be-  
sieves *Bir*.



He is  
murdered

and the *Christians* surrendered the fortrefs, to the prince of *Maridan*, whom they were less afraid of than they were of *Zenki*. Next year, while he was besieging *Jabar*, a castle situated upon the *Euphrates*, between *Bir*, and *Raka*, happening to commit a debauch, he was assassinated by some of his own followers, who immediately took refuge in the place. The garrison being informed of what had happened, in an insulting way, acquainted the besiegers with the death of their leader; and when his son *Nureddin* entered his tent, he found him breathing his last. At the time of his death he was about sixty years of age, and *Nureddin*, his son, and successor, drawing his father's signet from his finger, went to *Aleppo*, which he took possession of, as he likewise did of *Sanjar*; while his brother *Gazi*, made himself master of *Mawfel*, and great part of *Mesopotamia*. We shall afterwards see the same *Nureddin*, grow up to be the scourge of the *Christians* of the East.

*Atsiz*  
rebels a-  
gainst  
*Sanjar*.

*Zenki*, before his death, had concluded a peace with *Sultan Masud*, who remained still at *Bagdad*, while *Sanjar*, his brother, reigned in *Korasan*, and *Kowarazam*. But the latter met with great opposition, from one of his governors *Atsiz*, who endeavoured to render himself independent in *Kowarazam*. *Sanjar*, upon this, marched against him at the head of an army, and besieged him in that city, so that *Atsiz* was obliged to make his submission, and to beg for peace which was granted him by *Sanjar*, and he was left in possession of his government. But *Atsiz*, having no mind to observe his promise, made preparations for his renewing the war, and not only imprisoned *Adib*, who was sent to *Kowarazam*, to enquire into his conduct, but sent assassins to murder the *Sultan*. *Adib*, however, found means to put *Sanjar* upon his guard, so that the assassins were discovered, and put to death. This traiterous proceeding, obliged *Sanjar* again to take the field, and *Atsiz* fortified himself in *Hezar*, one of the strongest places of *Kowarazam*. Here a pretty extraordinary war was carried on, between the two competitors. Each of them was attended by a celebrated poet, who was employed in justifying his master's conduct, in copies of verses, which they discharged against one another upon the points of arrows. This however, did not hinder the real war from being carried on with great vigour, and *Sanjar* at last, carried the place, after it had been obstinately defended by *Atsiz*, who escaped to his capital of *Kowarazam*. *Sanjar*, who appears to have been a generous, and a grateful prince, had formerly great connections with *Atsiz*, who had done him very eminent services, and had rescued him, when he fell into an ambuscade of his enemies. But the ambition of *Atsiz*, not suffering him to live quietly at court, the *Sultan* was obliged to dismiss him to his government, observing, at the same time, that he had

History of  
*Atsiz*.

seen



seen the back of a man, whose face he probably never would see again; and tho' strongly solicited to it, he refused to suffer him to be put under an arrest. This was the reason, why *Sanjar*, when he might easily have taken *Kowarazam*, suffered himself to be prevailed upon, by a dervis, or religious man, to enter into a negotiation with *Atsiz*, whom he pardoned upon condition, that he should place himself upon the bank of the river *Jahun*, opposite to that on which the *Sultan* was to place himself, and falling on his face, he was to kiss the earth, in token of his submission to the *Sultan*. *Atsiz* repaired on horseback, to the place appointed; but instead of performing the condition required, he only bent his body and bowed his head on horseback to the *Sultan*. *Sanjar*, was too generous to insist upon the literal performance of the homage, and granted him his pardon, so that *Atsiz* was suffered to enjoy to the time of his death, the government or rather sovereignty of *Kowarazam*; and became the founder of a new dynasty there.

It is remarkable in the *Moslem* history of this time, that sometimes great provinces, nay empires, became the property of those who were even the slaves of slaves. The dynasty of the *Kowarazam Shabs*, of which *Atsiz* properly was the founder, was a proof of this. For *Atsiz* was the son of *Kothboddin*, whose father *Bustakin*, the first prince of *Kowarazam*, had been slave to a slave belonging to *Malec Shab*: and who served him in the office of cup bearer. This race, afterwards destroyed the *Seljukian* dynasty. The Shabs of Karaism.

It appears, that *Sanjar*, though averse to war, was obliged to be perpetually in the field. Being sovereign of *Marawalna*, the capital of which, is *Samarkand*, *Ahmud*, his governor of that city, rebelled against him, which forced *Sanjar* to march against him. But tho' he took *Samarkand*, and made *Ahmud* a prisoner, yet he was merciful enough to spare his life; and though he deprived him, for some time, of his government, he afterwards restored it to him, and took him into favour. This rebellion was scarcely suppressed, when *Babram*, the head of the *Gazna* family, whom we have already seen so powerful in *India*, but was now tributary to the *Seljukian Sultans*, threw off his allegiance. But *Sanjar* entering his dominions at the head of a powerful army, *Babram* was so intimidated, that he paid the tribute by his ambassadors, and made his submission to *Sanjar*. Wars of Sanjar.

*Sanjar* however, was not always successful. His perpetual flow of fortune, made his courtiers flatter him, into an opinion, that he was invincible. They therefore persuaded him to invade *Karakatay*, a great kingdom, adjoining to *China*, and inhabited by a mixture of *Turks*, and *Tartars*, governed by a prince named, *Gurjash*. This country was deemed inaccessible; by reason of the depth of its vallies, and the thickness of the forests that over-hung them; for which He is defeated,



which reason it was called, the Black *Katay*. The difficulty of the enterprize, flattered *Sanjar's* ambition, and he marched into *Karakatay*, with an army. But the inhabitants of that country, had an intercourse with the *Chinese*, and *Gurjash*, made so good a disposition of his troops, that *Sanjar's* army, to the number of thirty thousand men, was entirely cut off; his camp, equipages, and baggage, together with *Katan*, his favourite *Sultana*, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and he himself, with no more than three hundred choice troops, cutting his way through the middle of the Barbarians, reached *Tezmed*, a city on the banks of *Jehun*, with no more than thirteen or fourteen attendants. The sequel of *Sanjar's* history, is differently represented by authors. The most probable accounts say, that the Barbarians, following their blow, invaded the province of *Mawaralnar*, which they over-ran. Upon this *Sanjar*, raised a new army, and marched against the Barbarians, whom he reduced to a most deplorable condition. They, after this, offered to redeem themselves, by each family, (for their men in all their expeditions, were attended by their families) paying him a piece of silver. The merciful disposition of the *Sultan*, inclined him to accept of this offer, but his courtiers over-persuaded him to reject it. This done, a resolution being taken to exterminate the *Barbarians*, the latter became desperate, and being attacked, they intirely defeated the *Sultan's* troops, and took himself prisoner. We are told, that the *Barbarians*, amazed at their own good fortune, and not knowing in what manner to treat so great a monarch, suffered him every day to appear upon his throne, but at night shut him up in an iron cage; and that he lived several years in this confinement. It appears, however, from the relation of the very authors, who gives this account, that his confinement, at least, in the day time, was far from being strict, and that the *Barbarians*, had restored to him his favourite *Sultana*, who acted as regent of his dominions, during his captivity; though some say, that they were governed by *Atsiz*, and *Mahmud*, *Sanjar's* nephew. Both accounts may be true, by their having the executive part of the administration, in their hands, under her. Two of *Sanjar's* slaves, acted as their generals, and being very successful against the *Barbarians*, it was probably owing to them, that they indulged the *Sultan*, even with the liberty of hunting. *Katan*, the favourite *Sultana* dying, *Sanjar* resolved, if possible, to make his escape out of the hands of the *Barbarians*; and employed one *Elias*, to concert to the same with *Ahmud*, the governor of *Termed*. The latter, accordingly, providing a great number of boats, into which the *Sultan*, taking the opportunity of hunting, threw himself, and arrived safe in his own dominions. Though we have mentioned the *Karakatayans*,

taken prisoner,



as having defeated *Sanjar*, yet there is no clear evidence in and of history, that they were the only people concerned. It is remarkable, that all the *Turks* and *Tartars*, however widely they lay from one another, spoke the same language, and lived in the same manner; all the difference between them was, religion; for those who made *Sanjar* a prisoner, seem to have been idolaters; because we are told, that upon their invading his dominions, they destroyed all the mosques, and put to death all the religious *Moslems* they met with, both *Kadirs* and *Imans*.

As the chronology of *Sanjar's* actions is left intirely unsettled, we can only speak of it by conjecture. We, therefore, are at a loss to fix the time, when his war happened with *Hussayn*, the *Sultan* of *Gaur*; a free acquired dominion, but lying between *Gazna* and *Korasan*. *Hussayn*, had invaded *Korasan*, but he was defeated, and both he, and his general *Ali*, were made prisoners, by *Sanjar*. *Ali* lying under great obligations to *Sanjar*, whose natural born subject he was, was by him put to death; but *Sanjar* was so generous as to suffer *Hussayn* to return to his government of *Gaur*; but with an acknowledgement of *Sanjar's* superiority. All his successes, however, could not protect his dominions, from being ravaged by the barbarians, which struck him with so much concern, that he shut himself up from the world; which perhaps, gave some authors a handle to say, that he turned religious, and died of a cholick. Notwithstanding the misfortunes of this prince, he is celebrated by the Eastern historians of all nations, as one of the most amiable, as well as powerful, monarchs of his time. He died in the 72d year of his age, after having reigned 62; 20 of which were over *Korasan* alone. His manner of living was so magnificent, that he employed powerful princes, as his domestics; tho' he affected the greatest plainness of dress, which was commonly a coat made of skins. The best of the eastern poets dedicated their pens to his praise, and his common appellation was, the second *Alexander the Great*; while he died so much beloved by his own subjects, that for twelve months after his death, they continued to pray for him in their mosques in the same manner they did while he was alive, and of nineteen battles which he is said to have fought, he gained seventeen.

His death  
Hej. 552.  
A. D.  
1157.

About the time of *Sanjar's* death, or a few months before, and that died *Atsiz*, the *Sultan* of *Kowarazam*. Ambition, which led him on to ingratitude, seems to have been his greatest blemish; for in other respects, he was a wise and a brave prince. He had retired to a country seat situated on one of the most delightful spots in all *Asia*, when overhearing one of his domestics reading a passage in the *Koran*, importing that no man knew the place of his death; he was so affected by it, that imagining he must dye where he was, fancy operated so strongly upon him, as in a few days to put an



end to his life. It appears that during his last eighteen years, (for he reigned in all twenty nine) he had erected his dominions into an absolute independency upon *Sanjar*, and all the *Seljukian* princes. Amongst his other virtues he is celebrated for his having been a great patron and encourager of learned men. As this is a character in common to almost all the eastern princes, we must once, for all, observe, that very often no more is meant by it, than the pains they took in gratifying their excessive pride and vanity by keeping about their courts a great number of poets, and other ingenious men, to celebrate their praises. In this their poets appear in the true eastern style, to have been extravagant almost beyond expression. Witness, one of those bards, whom *Atsiz* entertained; and who in his elegy upon him, mentioned that the anger of his hero, made even the heavens tremble. This specimen, and many others that may be produced, gives us no very favourable idea of the genius of those eastern rhymers.

Great  
power of  
*Nureddin.*

About this time, the progress of the *Christians* seems to have reconciled many of the *Moslem* princes, naturally enemies to one another, to oppose them. The califf of *Bagdad* was still under the protection of *Masud*, but *Nureddin*, the son of *Zenki*, was the chief power, who endeavoured to drive them out of *Syria*, and the neighbouring countries. As to the califf of *Egypt*, *Haffed*, he seems to have been intimidated. For, having, as we have said before, confined *Kedwan*, who was the great persecutor of the *Christians*, in his dominions, within his own palace, the prisoner found means to make his escape; and by the assistance of the *Mosarabians*, and other blacks, he made himself master of *Meser*: but, they being disgusted, either with his conduct, or want of money to pay them, put him to death, and *Haffed*, thus became the quiet possessor of his crown. The first use he made of his sole authority was, to enlarge the privileges of the *Christians*; but, after that time, he governed without a minister. The reader, in the course of this history, can scarcely fail to observe, that vizirs, and governors of towns, and provinces, were in fact sovereigns; and they seldom failed to be absolute, but when they met with an opposition, which put it in the power of their masters, to turn the scale against them. This was the case of *Haffed*, for when left to himself, he was not only favourable to the *Christians* but even took a concern in their welfare, of which we have a remarkable instance.

*Christians*  
favoured  
by the  
*Sultan* of  
*Egypt*.

Remark-  
able inci-  
dent in  
*Ethiopia*

The *Najashi*, or emperor of *Ethiopia*, was, as we have already seen, a *Christian*; and his subjects, were extremely strict in their obedience to his clergy. It happened, however, that he had in his dominions, only seven bishops; and, according to the constitutions of that church, no fewer than ten could consecrate a *Metropolitan*. This was very politically



politically contrived, by the management of the *Alexandrian* patriarch, who, tho' a subject to *Haffed*, was a patriarch of *Ethiopia*, as well as *Alexandria*. But there was in *Ethiopia* a metropolitan named *Habib*; and the *Najasbi*, applied to him to consecrate three more bishops, so that he might not be under a necessity of applying to the patriarch of *Alexandria*, to furnish out three bishops, when a *Metropolitan* was to be consecrated. Undoubtedly nothing could be more reasonable than this request of *Najasbi's* was; but *Habib* refused to comply with it, without the consent of *Gabriel* the *Alexandrian* patriarch. The *Najasbi*, upon this, wrote a letter to *Gabriel*, intreating him to comply with his request, and sent, at the same time, a solemn embassy to *Haffed*, intreating him, to use his authority with *Gabriel*, for that purpose. *Gabriel* easily perceived, that the *Najasbi's* intention was, to break thereby the dependance of the *Ethiopian*, upon the *Alexandrian* church: and in fact to render the *Najasbi* independent of his clergy. But *Haffed*, not reflecting on this, willing to oblige a neighbouring monarch, returned a favourable answer to the *Najasbi*, and commanded *Gabriel* to do as he desired. It was no hard matter for *Gabriel*, on this occasion, to magnify his own importance, in the eyes of *Haffed*. The politic priest, represented to him, that the quiet of his dominions at that time depended upon his refusing to gratify the request of the *Najasbi*. Because, said he, the moment the *Najasbi* can withdraw the dependance of his clergy upon the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, he then will have no check, that can prevent his declaring war against *Egypt*, and his joining with the *Crusaders*. This sensible argument struck *Habib*, and he gave *Gabriel* leave to refuse his consent to the *Najasbi's* demand, which he accordingly did. It happened unfortunately for the *Najasbi*, that before this affair was adjusted, his dominions were attacked by pestilence, which as usual, was attended by a famine, and a drought; and part of his palace had been consumed by lightning. His subjects were taught to believe that those calamities were so many judgements from heaven, for his attempt to withdraw his clergy from their obedience, to the patriarch. The *Najasbi* therefore durst make no farther stir in the affair, and the calamity soon after ceasing, he looked upon it, as the effect of his acquiescing in the patriarch's judgement, and therefore asked for his blessing, and forgiveness.

We have been the more explicit in our account of this Reflection remarkable occurrence, because it clearly evinces, what we on the hinted at before, that the *Christian* clergy of the *East*, were same far from befriending the invasions of the *Crusaders*. They already knew enough of the spirit of the popes, and the motives of their expedition, to be sensible that severely, as they sometimes were treated, under the *Moslem* governments,



their case would be altered much for the worse, were the *Christians* of the West to prevail. When we consider the vast numbers, power and riches of the eastern *Christians*, at this time, and that the writers of that age mention few or none of them who joined the crusade, we cannot help thinking, that the aversion which the easterns had to it, was a principal cause of the expedition being baffled.

History of  
*Masud*.

Having, for the sake of perspicuity, carried our history some years farther, in recounting the history of the *Seljukian Sultans*, who were the protectors of the califf of *Bagdad*, we shall now return to that court. The generosity and lenity of *Sanjar* was such, that he never exercised any superiority over *Masud*, who still continued to flourish, at *Bagdad*, and did not dye before the 547th year of the Hejra. Besides the other virtues, commonly ascribed to the best of the *Moslem* princes, he was remarkable for his bodily strength; which we are told was such, that he often killed lions with one stroke. He is likewise celebrated for the indulgence of his administration, and the ease which his people enjoyed under him. But two circumstances prove, that he was far from being so powerful a prince, as he has been represented. The first is, that a *Seljukian* family, called *Salgar*, sometime before his death, stript him of the kingdom of *Ars*, and founded the *Selgarian* dynasty of princes there; their capital being *Shiraz*. The next circumstance is, that his successors were unable to maintain their power over the califf of *Bagdad*, for we are told that, upon his death, *Moktafi* intirely abolished it, and deprived the *Seljukians* of all authority within *Bagdad*. *Masud* had the honour to employ, as his vizir, one *Togray*, who was the prince of poets in his time; and, as is said, an excellent statesman. One of his poems, was published by Dr. Pocock, and the reader may form a farther notion of the excellency of eastern poetry, when he is told, that all his rhimes end with the letter L, and this barbarous absurdity gives the name to his poem. *Togray* however, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner in the battle which *Masud* lost, against his brother *Mahmud*; who ordered his head immediately to be cut off, alledging that he knew him to be an unbeliever and a man of bad morals. Others say, that he lost his life thro' the jealousy which *Mahmud's* vizir entertained of his abilities.

His death

*Masud* was succeeded in his sultanhip by his nephew, *Malec* the second. This prince, abandoning himself to luxury, and intemperance, soon became contemptible in the eyes of his subjects. He was, like other *Sultans*, governed by one *Kasbek*, who had been the vizir to *Masud*; and who was esteemed to be a man of the greatest courage and power, of any in the *Sultan's* dominions. *Malec* had sense enough to perceive, that while *Kasbek* lived, he was no other than a cypher in the government, but he had imprudence enough



to discover his sentiments to some of *Kasbek's* friends; so that *Kasbek* was put upon his guard, nor could the *Sultan* prevail upon any one to arrest him. In the mean while, *Kandar*, a friend to *Kasbek*, invited the *Sultan* to a magnificent banquet, which lasted for three days, during which time, his majesty lay buried either in wine or sleep. *Kandar* History of took that opportunity of conveying the *Sultan* to the castle *Kasbek* of *Hamadan*, where he was put under a guard, and his brother *Mohammed* was placed upon the throne, which *Malec* had filled but four months. From the course of the history it appears probable, that *Mohammed* was far from approving of *Kasbek's* proceeding, for, tho' he accepted of the sovereignty, yet his brother soon after left his prison, went to *Kuzestan*, from whence *Mohammed* was brought; where he had lived unmolested, and after *Mohammed's* death reascended the throne. In the mean while, *Kasbek* discovered his intention either to rule the *Sultan*, or to remove him; and *Mohammed* was so much convinced of this, that, resolving not to be under the same difficulties his brother was, he put *Kasbek*, and his armour-bearer, to death, with his own hands. This bold stroke is said to have been owing to the counsels of an antient statesman, who told the *Sultan*, that the root of the vine never put forth young shoots, till the old ones were lopt off. Upon *Kasbek's* death, the *Sultan* became possessed of all his immense treasures and effects, amongst which, we are told, were no fewer, than thirteen thousand scarlet or purple robes.

*Kasbek* had been so powerful at court, that a conspiracy was soon formed to dethrone the *Sultan*; which they accordingly did, and raised *Soliman*, his uncle, to his throne, while *Mohammed* was obliged to fly to *Ispahan*. The new *Sultan* *Soliman*, proved to be a head-strong, weak prince, and did such unpopular things during his administration, that the great officers of state, whom he had turned out of their posts, conspired together against the throne. Being afraid of the resentment of the army, they had recourse to a stratagem, which nothing but *Soliman's* weakness could have rendered successful. The *Sultan* had taken to wife the sister of his great chamberlain, whom he had disposed; and the chamberlain, with great shew of secrecy, informed her that a plot was formed, against the *Sultan's* life and dignity. She faithfully reported this to her husband, who immediately took the alarm, and fled on horseback, with a few attendants, to *Mazanderan*, upon the *Caspian* sea. Upon this surprizing abdication of his throne, (for so his flight may be termed) *Mohammed* resumed the crown.

*Mohammed*  
dethroned.

Amidst such revolutions and divisions in the sultinate, *Moktafi* the reader will not be surprized, that *Moktafi*, who had on renders foot a good body of troops, and seems to have been greatly himself-respected by his subjects, who were glad to be rid of their dependent haughty



death of  
*Mohammed*.

haughty *Sultans*, was unable to render himself independent, and to affect a faint revival of the califat's antient lustre. Upon *Mohammed's* remounting his throne, in his capital of *Hamadan*, being afraid of his spirit and abilities, which were far superior to that of his uncle, and understanding that the latter was raising troops in *Mazanderan* to re-assert his right, he declared for *Soliman*, and joined him with a good body of forces. A battle between the uncle and nephew near the river *Araksis*, ensued, in which the uncle was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Mawfel*. But *Mohammed*, tho' victorious, and highly provoked, with the califf's conduct, did not chuse to resent it; which is an additional proof, that *Moktasi* was then in a high degree of credit and power. The deposed *Sultan Malec*, brother to *Mohammed*, was still alive, and in a condition to dispute his right with *Mohammed*; whom we do not find, had any farther differences, with *Moktasi*. On the contrary, he made a demand of his daughter *Katun* in marriage, which *Moktasi* granted. But while *Mohammed* was upon his journey, he was seized with a fever, which put an end to his life in the 32d year of his age, and the 7th of his reign. We are told, that during his illness, which was hectic, he pompously reviewed his equipages, troops and treasures; with this reflection, that immense as they were, they could not take one grain from his pain, or add one moment to his life. He is said to have finished his life, with other pious reflections, which would not be unbecoming the most sincere christian. He was succeeded, by his brother the deposed *Malec*, who survived him but a few days, and then their uncle *Soliman*, tho' not grown wiser by adversity, remounted the throne, being called to it, by the principal lords of the sultinate. But abandoning himself as before, to riot and luxury, he was a second time deposed, and *Arflan*, *Mohammed's* son, was placed upon the throne.

and of  
*Moktasi*.

Sometime before this, died in the 66th year of his age, and the 25th of his reign, the califf *Moktasi*. Historians have left this prince's character to speak for itself; for they have told us few particulars as to his person or disposition, but that he was a prince of great spirit and wisdom. He not only delivered himself and his people from the tyranny of the *Sultans*, but recovered from them great part of the *Persian Irak*, and made himself sovereign of all *Arabia*, so that he must have been at the time of his death, a very powerful prince.



Al Mostanjed *the thirty-first califf of the house of*  
Al Abbas.

WHILE the late califf *Moktasi* was upon his death bed, a very extraordinary conspiracy was formed, to alter the order of succession, which *Moktasi* had settled upon his son *Yusef*. For that califf having another son named *Ali*, by one of his concubines, she formed the desperate resolution of assassinating *Yusef*. Her executioners, were to be the other ladies, and women of the palace, to whom she gave money, and they armed themselves with knives, with an intention to wait in a certain part of the palace, and there to stab *Yusef*, as he came to see his father. A dwarf of an *Eunuch*, whom *Yusef* used to employ, in inquiring after his father's health, seeing some ladies, who did not suspect him, armed in an unusual manner, informed *Yusef* of the thing. But whether the old califf was at this time alive or dead, does not clearly appear, tho' it is most probable, that he was alive, for otherwise, *Yusef's* conduct upon the occasion, is very unaccountable. Instead of sending guards to seize and disarm the suspected parties, which must either have destroyed, or confirmed, his apprehensions, he apprized the high chamberlain of the matter; and putting on a coat of mail, and taking with him his sword he went directly to the palace. He had no sooner entered it, than he was attacked in a most desperate manner, by those female furies; but he defended himself, till a party was sent by the chamberlain to his assistance, by which all of them were either killed or made prisoners. Several of them we are told, were wounded by *Yusef* before the guards came to his assistance. All the punishment, which *Ali*, and his mother received, after *Yusef* was proclaimed califf, was imprisonment; but the women were tried, and were either put to death in the city, or drowned in the *Tigris*.

Hej. 555.  
A. D.  
1160.  
He is succeeded by  
*Mostanjed*.

his remarkable  
escape.

It does not fall within the compass of this part of our work to particularize all the actions of the *Christians* in the *East* at this time, but only such as are connected with the history of the *Moslems*, of whom, the califf of *Bagdad* was still the acknowledged head.

According to the *Moslem* historians, who do not differ greatly upon this occasion from the *Christians*, while *Baldwin* the 2d was king of *Jerusalem*, *Balac*, who was of the house of *Artak*, besieged and took *Aleppo*, which, as the reader has already seen, was only by a kind of a miracle prevented from falling into the hands of the *Turks*. But soon after this, *Balac* was himself killed in another siege; that of the castle of *Antivah*, which was defended by the *Christians*;

*Aleppo* taken.



The cru-  
sade re-  
newed.

Death of  
*Josselyn*  
prince of  
*Edeffa*.

and amongst others, by *Josselyn*, prince of *Edeffa*, who sometime before had been taken prisoner by *Balac*, but had obtained his liberty. After this, the *Christians* formed the siege of *Damascus*. They had, by this time, received reinforcements from *Europe*, amounting to upwards of two hundred and forty thousand men, most of whom perished by the sword, famine, fatigue, and pestilence, before they reached *Palestine*. The siege of *Damascus* is but just mentioned to have been carried on, under *Baldwin*, the second king of *Jerusalem*, the prince of *Edeffa*, *Tripolis*, and *Antioch*, and the earl of *Anjou*. But the Moslem authors are more particular. *Nureddin*, the son of *Zenki*, at his father's death, fixed his residence at *Marasel*, and found himself possessed of dominions both rich and extensive; which he soon enlarged. But, being a much better politician than the other princes of the East, he saw the danger arising to the whole Moslem interest, from the progress of the *Christians*, and he knew, at the same time, that if they could be driven out of the East, it would be no hard matter for him, to possess himself of all the territories, that had belonged to the antient califat. He therefore no sooner heard that *Buzi*, the *Atabek* of *Damascus*, was besieged by the *Christians* in his capital, than he got together a great army, and advanced as far as *Hems* to its relief. But when the *Christians* heard of his approach, they abandoned the siege, and made a precipitate retreat. *Nureddin* however, was defeated by *Josselyn*, prince of *Edeffa*, after he had recovered his liberty, and always declined meeting that great warrior in the field. We are told, that while *Josselyn* was lying languishing of some mortal bruises he had received in besieging one of *Nureddin's* towns, and when it was confidently reported he was dead, *Nureddin* advanced at the head of a great army to *Edeffa*; hoping to retake it. The dying hero, called to his son to put himself at the head of his troops, and to oppose the infidels; but the young prince, who inherited none of his father's virtues, declined the command, on pretence that the enemy was too numerous. Upon this, *Josselyn* ordered himself to be put into a horse litter, and was carried at the head of his army, which was in reality far inferior to that of the enemy. But *Nureddin* no sooner heard for certain that *Josselyn* was marching against him, than he commanded a retreat. When this was told to *Josselyn* he ordered his litter to halt, and expired in the field, with raptures of joy, that his very name had put to flight the Infidels; and that he had ended his life in a manner so becoming a prince who had taken the cross upon him.

His son  
loses  
*Edeffa*.

His son and successor, instead of applying himself, like his father, to the arts of arms, and government, retired to *Tel Rasher*, a delightful country, situate upon the banks of the *Euphrates*; where he abandoned himself to all manner of pleasures,



pleasures; this gave *Nureddin* an opportunity of besieging, and taking *Edeffa*, which was but weakly garrisoned. The younger *Josselyn* made some attempts for retaking it, but he was disappointed, by the wonderful address and courage of *Nureddin*. For tho' he had succeeded so far, by the assistance of the citizens, as to get possession of the town, yet the castle still held out against him; and *Nureddin*, who was then at *Mawfel*, flew to the relief of the garrison, with such expedition, that it was with the utmost difficulty, *Josselyn* escaped with his life; all his troops being cut to pieces by *Nureddin*: he soon after reduced the whole principality. We must not however forget, that with regard to the elder *Josselyn*, the manner of his death, as we have related it, is mentioned only by *Christian* writers. For the *Moslems* on the contrary, and they are countenanced in it by *Wital* of *Tyre*, admit that *Josselyn*, gave *Nureddin* when he invaded his territories, a compleat defeat; and that *Nureddin*, sensible he was unequal to him in the field, hired certain *Turks* to surprize him, as he was hunting; which they accordingly did, and brought him to *Nureddin*, who sent him in chains to *Aleppo*, where he died. But we are now obliged to turn our eyes to a most remarkable scene, which opened in *Egypt*; and which had great influence upon the *Moslem* affairs.

*Haffed*, the *Fatemite* califf of that country, was now dead; Great re-  
at the age of about 77, and in the 21st year of his reign. volutions  
This prince, appears to have been so great a friend to the in *Egypt*.  
*Christians*, that it was owing to their own imprudences, and  
divisions, they did not obtain many lasting advantages  
from his government. His son *Dafer* succeeded him, and  
advanced one *Naimoddin* to the post of vizir. But *Naimod-*  
*din* was opposed by one *Ali*, who dispossed him, and ob-  
liged him to fly; upon which the young califf, who was  
not above seventeen years of age, was forced to confirm *Ali*  
in the vizirship: and *Naimoddin*, soon after attempting to  
recover by force, his post, was defeated and killed. The  
young califf, as he grew up, grew more and more in an in-  
famous passion he had conceived for a beautiful young man,  
whose name was *Naser*, son to *Al Abbas*, the governor of  
*Belbeis*, the ancient *Pelufium*, and its district. The son,  
encouraged by the califf's unnatural passion for him, treated  
with his father, about making him vizir; and *Al Abbas*  
getting together an army, advanced to *Cairo*, then the capital  
of *Egypt*, where *Ali*, thro' the influence of *Naser*, was de-  
posed and put to death: and *Al Abbas* was declared vizir.  
The califf could not bear to see his favourite only the third  
man in the kingdom; nor could *Al Abbas* bear the public re-  
proaches, which he heard even the people in the street,  
throw out against the califf, and his son. Add to this, that  
having an immoderate ambition, he wanted to govern more  
absolutely, than he could do under a prince who was then  
of



That Califf assassinated.

of years. He opened himself to his son, who acknowledged that the califf had proposed his killing his father, that he might make him vizir. In short, the father at last prevailed with his son, to enter with him into a conspiracy, for murdering the califf, and for that purpose, they drew him and two of his favourites, to a private entertainment in the vizir's house, where they were all three murdered, and their bodies thrown into a well. The next morning, the vizir came to the palace, and affecting great surprize, that the califf could not be found, he accused the califf's two brothers, *Yusef*, and *Gabriel*, with a cousin-german they had, of having destroyed the califf, and they were all three immediately put to death; as were a great number of other persons, upon the same pretext. He then took *Isa* the late califf's son, out of the seraglio, and placed him upon the throne. But the sight of the bodies of his murdered kinsmen, had such an effect upon the child, that it disordered his intellects. The public however, soon came to suspect the truth, and the officers of the army, with the ladies of the seraglio, whom we cannot suppose to have had great kindness for *Naser*, invited *Talay*, an *Armenian*, the governor of *Cairo*, to revenge the death of the califf and his brothers: and at the head of this conspiracy, was the late califf's sister. The vizir and his son, seeing it in vain to resist the storm, packed up their immense treasures, and fled towards *Syria*. But the califf's sister, foreseeing their design, had taken care to dispatch an express to the generals of the *Christian* army, which was then in those parts, to intercept them; promising them great rewards if, by their means, they could be brought to punishment. The *Christians* did not lose so fair an opportunity of enriching themselves, and filling the roads with small detachments, they had the good fortune to intercept the traitors. *Al Abbas*, himself was killed, in the skirmish that ensued, between his attendants, and the *Christian* party. But *Naser* was made prisoner, and sent under a guard to *Cairo*, where his punishment was left to the ladies of the seraglio. It was cruel almost beyond conception; and we are told that while some of them were pulling off his flesh with pinchers, others eat it, and then his body after being affixed to a gibbet, was reduced to ashes.

Punishment of the murderer.

*Fayes* succeeds to the crown of *Egypt*

This inhuman piece of justice, being performed, the young califf, who had taken the name of *Fayes*, made *Talay* his vizir, and that minister, having by means of one of *Naser*'s servants, discovered the bodies of the late califf, and one of his favourites gave them a most magnificent interment. A few years after this, the young califf *Fayes* died; and was succeeded by his kinsman *Abdallah*, who took the title of *Adid*, and he was the last fatemite califf of *Egypt*. After this, *Talay*, who was a great enemy to the *Christians*, and somewhat insolent in his behaviour, drew upon



upon himself the resentment of the califf *Adid's* aunt; who hired certain *Batanists* to assassinate him, which they did while he was entering the palace. Tho' his wounds were mortal yet he lived long enough to send a message upbraiding *Al Adid*, whom he suspected to have been the author of his assassination. *Al Adid* solemnly disclaimed the charge; and knowing that his aunt alone was guilty, he put her as a proof of his innocence, into the vizir's power, who immediately ordered her head to be cut off; and after retaining the reversion of his post for his son *Zaric*, gave up the ghost.

This *Zaric* had a cousin *German*, one *Hasan*, who had been very oppressive to *Shawer*, an officer who had belonged to the late vizir; and *Shawer* applied for redress, to *Baric*, who disregarded his complaints, and countenanced his kinsman in his oppression. *Hasan*, growing insolent upon this protection, sent *Shawer*, as a mark of derision, a box full of leather thongs, such as those, the *Moslems* chastise their slaves with, and *Shawer* understanding the meaning of the present, immediately retired to the deserts of *Arabia* with some friends, and there for three months he bad defiance to all the power of the vizir. From thence, he moved from place to place, till at last he came to *Belkina*, a village near *Alexandria*. Here the great reputation he had got, by defeating all the forces the vizir had sent against him in the desert, brought vast numbers of *Arabs*, *Mosarabians*, and other tribes to join him. Most of whom being on horseback, he soon saw himself at the head of a body of *Cavalry* of ten thousand men. Those he detached to the exercise of their usual functions, which were that of rapine and plunder; and gave them a full property, in all the pillage they could make upon the lands belonging to *Baric*, and his adherents. This licence had a wonderful effect. The leaders of the several gangs became rich, the reputation of which, daily drew others to join them, till at last, *Shawer*, who was an eunuch, was able to march to the very gates of *Cairo*, where he encamped. *Baric* was unable to resist him, and being very unpopular, was unsupported; so that he was obliged to fly alone unattended. But the roads were beset by the *Arabs* into whose hands he fell, and they found about him, a most inestimable prize of rich jewels, which he had packed up in a little bag, as he did a thousand dinars in another; and, stripping him, left him exposed to all the wants of nature, and the inclemency of the season. An *Arabian* nobleman at last discovered, and knew, him, and after refreshing him in his tent, he sent him under a guard to *Cairo*.

In the mean while, *Shawer*, proceeded so prosperously that he was declared vizir at *Cairo*; and received *Baric* with great politeness. He assigned him an apartment in his own palace, and permitted him to have the company of his female  
and is himself declared vizir.



female favourite, and the conversation of his children. But in a short time, intelligence was brought to *Shawer*, that his prisoner had attempted to escape; upon which he was put in irons under closer confinement. *Baric* was discovered, while he was endeavouring to saw off his irons, and *Tay*, *Shawer's* son entering the prison cut off his head, with a scymeter. Tho' *Shawer* expressed his ignorance and detestation of this cruelty, yet it raised him many enemies, at the head of whom was one *Dargam*, a general officer, who took arms, to dispossess the vizir, which at last, in a decisive action, he effected, and drove *Shawer* into *Syria*. The barbarians, who had before befriended him, in this reverse of his fortune, forsook him; but he applied to *Nureddin*, whom he engaged to assist him, by promising to remit him annually the third part of the *Egyptian* califf's revenues. By this, the readers may easily conceive, that the vizir, at that time, was actually sovereign of *Egypt*. That sublime post was now filled by *Dargam*, who had killed *Tay*, in his decisive battle with *Shawer*, and he had filled all the posts of honour and profit about the court, with his own brothers or relations. Not satisfied with that, he most politically put to death, all the officers and ministers who had served under *Shawer*; and, thereby, rendered *Egypt* almost defenceless. *Nureddin* coming to the knowledge of this, closed with *Shawer's* proposals, and behaved to him with the highest respect. But *Nureddin's* motives, for entering into this quarrel, lay much deeper than the interest of *Shawer*. Almost one half of the native *Egyptians* professed Christianity, or rather a species of it; and *Nureddin*, by principle as well as interest, was its determined enemy. *Al Maric* was, at this time, king of *Jerusalem*, and having full intelligence of the distractions in *Egypt*, had already entered into that country. *Nureddin*, however, determined to be re-imburshed in his expences, and obliged *Shawer*, not only to engage to remit to him the third part of the annual revenues of *Egypt*, but to defray the whole charge of the war. This being agreed to, *Nureddin* gave the command of an army to *Shairacu*, the uncle of the great *Saladin*, who, in conjunction with *Shawer*, marched into *Egypt*.

ambition  
of *Nureddin*

It is unknown what instructions were given to *Shairacu*, by *Nureddin*, but there is great reason to believe, that *Nureddin*, by engaging in this expedition, had originally in his view, the conquest of *Egypt* for himself. For *Shairacu*, being opposed by *Moslem*, *Dargam's* brother, with an army far superior to that of *Nureddin*, defeated him; and without farther opposition advanced to *Cairo*; which *Shawer* entered in great triumph, expecting there to enter upon the full exercise of the vizir's office. *Dargam*, in the mean time, endeavoured to escape, but was killed in attempting it, and *Shawer* prepared to dismiss his auxiliaries. But he was mistaken, for *Shairacu*, instead of drawing off his troops

*Dargam*  
killed

in



in terms of agreement, made dispositions for making himself master of *Cairo*. But *Dargam*, the late vizir, sensible of the storm impending against him, had invited *Al Maric*, the king of *Jerusalem*, to his assistance, with great promises of reward. That prince, though politic and brave in his own person, was avaricious, and closed with *Dargam's* proposals; which possibly were made after he had invaded *Egypt*; where he had now the greatest prospect of success. For *Shawer*, plainly perceiving, that his auxiliary meant to make himself his master, refused to admit *Shairacu*, and his troops, into the fortified parts of *Cairo*. Upon this *Nureddin's* army committed the most dreadful excesses in the suburbs, and neighbourhood of that city; which they in a manner rendered desert; and prepared to besiege the citadel of *Cairo*, which was defended by *Shawer*. *Shairacu's* troops, being vastly superior to those of *Shawer*, the latter, as his predecessor had done, applied for assistance to *Al Maric*. The troops of *Nureddin*, amongst their other excesses, had been particularly severe against the *Egyptian Christians*, and had demolished all the religious houses they could come at. *Nureddin*, therefore, with a very good grace, closed with *Shawer's* proposal; which was attended with a great sum of ready money. He, accordingly, advanced to the relief of *Shawer*, and *Shairacu* found himself obliged to raise the siege of *Cairo*. He however made himself master of *Bebbeis*, or *Pelusium*, and a great number of other *Egyptian* cities; and at last seized upon *Alexandria* itself. The *Christian* army pursued him in his retreat, and a battle between them was fought, at *Banin*; which, tho' bloody, was not decisive: but, by the consequences of it, the advantage seems to have been on the side of the *Christians*. For after that, being joined by *Shawer's Egyptian* troops, they besieged *Shairacu* in *Belbeis*, for three months.

Character  
of *Al. Maric*  
king of  
*Jerusalem*

But *Nureddin*, according to the *Moslem* authors, understanding the distress his general was in, moved with an army to his relief, and, after cutting in pieces a great detachment of *Christians* who opposed them, he took the city of *Haram*; one of the most important in *Syria*. *Al Maric* at this time had reduced *Shiracu* to the last extremity, and was expecting, every day, that he would surrender himself, and his troops, prisoners. But when he knew of *Nureddin's* success, he set on foot an accommodation, which *Shairacu*, who was ignorant of what had happened, readily agreed to; being suffered to retire with his troops into *Syria*. This seems greatly to have disconcerted *Nureddin's* schemes, all access to him in *Syria*, being now rendered impracticable, by *Al Maric's* army. He however took *Panceas* in *Syria*, after it had been, for sixteen years, in the possession of the *Christians*; but *Shawer* in the mean while, remained uncontrouled vizir, that is, master of

*Nureddin*  
defeats  
the *Chris-  
tians*.



of *Egypt*: which gave *Nureddin* on many accounts great disquiet.

*Al Maric's* The Christian authors with great reason, (if we can allow the *Crusade* to have been a lawful undertaking,) blame *Al Maric* for not availing himself of the situation of things at this time in *Egypt*; and they impute it to his excessive avarice, that he did not. For *Shawer*, being in full possession of *Al Faye's* vast treasures, amused *Al Maric* so effectually with gold, that he made no such attempt; but spent the winter months in all the luxuries which that climate afforded.

Rise of  
*Saladin*.

Early next spring, *Nureddin*, who had intirely set his heart upon the acquisition of *Egypt*, sent *Shairacu*, with a fresh army into *Egypt*; where the natives, and the *Christians* had come to a very good understanding with each other. *Shairacu*, we are told, in this expedition was attended by his nephew, the famous *Saladin*, one of the most renowned princes in history. He was opposed by *Shawer*, at the head of an army composed of *Egyptians* and *Christians*; but the latter were defeated, at a place called *Abwan*. The consequence of this victory was, that the whole province of *Al Tiza*, and *Alexandria* itself fell into *Shairacu's* hands. But the victory, which the latter had obtained, was so far from being decisive, that *Al Malec* formed the siege of *Alexandria*; and *Shairacu* was obliged to return to its relief.

History of  
his uncle  
*Shairacu*.

*Shairacu* is both by *Christian* and *Moslem* authors allowed to have been a most accomplished general; but it is certain that in plain battle, the infidel troops, even since the commencement of the *Crusade*, never had been able to keep the field against the *Christians*. But the *Infidels* repaired by their address, and their knowledge of the country, all their disadvantages in point of armour, and military discipline. *Shairacu* managed so well, that having got reinforcements, he advanced to raise the siege of *Alexandria*. Upon this, *Al Maric* finding himself unable at once to oppose the garri-son, and his enemies army, and perhaps prompted by his own avaricious disposition, entered into a treaty with the *Infidels*, which terminated in *Shairacu's* being paid a great sum of money, *Shawer*, for the expence of the expedition; upon condition that *Alexandria* should be evacuated by the *Moslem* troops, and restored to the *Egyptians*; which conditions were accordingly performed. But this treaty, was far from being satisfactory to *Al Maric*, who was now with his army, in the heart of *Egypt*; and had little to apprehend from *Shairacu*, whose army had been greatly diminished by the fatigues and operations of the campaign. *Shawer* therefore found himself under a necessity of making terms likewise with *Al Maric*, who had the privilege, according to the *Moslem* authors, and we can scarcely distrust them in such a fact, of quartering a body of cavalry in *Cairo*; at the expence

*Shawer's*  
peace  
with *Al*  
*Maric*



expence of the *Egyptian* government, who paid him about 70000l. sterling.

Both the *Christian* and *Moslem* authors agree, that upon this occasion *Al Maric* took *Belbeis*, by storm; which as he was in a kind of an alliance with the *Egyptian* califf, is justly considered, as a breach of good faith. On the other hand, *Nureddin* took several places, which the *Christians* possessed in *Syria*. But the two commanders from all writers, appear in very different lights, when considered as conquerors. *Nureddin* was humane, and generous; but avarice rendered *Al Maric* cruel and unjust. For we are told, that he gave up *Pelufium* to be plundered by his soldiers, who robbed and murdered the inhabitants, without distinction. According to the *Christian* writers, in which they are far from being discountenanced by the *Moslem* authors, immediately after the reduction of *Balbeis*, *Al Maric* advanced to make himself master of *Cairo*. *Shawer*, now justly considered *Al Maric*, not as an ally, but as a robber. But he resolved that if *Egypt* was to fall a sacrifice, it should be to a prince of his own religion. He therefore apprised *Nureddin* of his distress, and frankly laid before him all that had passed, between him and *Al Maric*. *Nureddin* easily foresaw, both the motives and the consequences of what had happened; and gave orders to *Shairacu* to advance with a fresh army, to the relief of *Cairo*. But *Shairacu*'s expedition must have been ineffectual, had not *Shawer* artfully amused *Al Maric*, by great promises, and in the mean time, he even gave him large sums of money, not to storm the city. This artful conduct saved *Egypt* from falling into the hands of the *Christians*; and it is certain, that had *Al Maric* got possession of it, considering the vast number of *Christians* in *Egypt*, he might have easily bid defiance, to all the *Moslem* power in the East. It is evident however, that *Al Maric*, had no knowledge of the treaty, that was carrying on, between *Shawer*, and *Nureddin*. For expecting every day, that *Shawer* would give up *Cairo*, he shamefully loitered away his time, till he understood that *Shairacu* was upon his march against him. *Al Maric*'s situation then became dangerous; he had lost great part of his army, by heats and fatigue; a superior army was about to attack him, and he had, in his front, a city defended by a strong garrison. He took the bravest, and the wisest course; but it was ineffectual. He wheeled round, and offered *Shairacu* battle; but that politic general, wisely declined it, and having excellent guides, he took a large circuit to avoid the *Christian* army, and threw himself into *Cairo*. This is the best, and the only well attested account, that can be given of *Al Maric*'s expedition into *Egypt*; which would have done so much honour to the *Christian* arms, had it not been for his avarice. The *Moslem*, and the *Christian* authors are agreed in the main,

Injustice  
of the  
latter.



and his  
avarice

main, as to what we have laid before the readers. But the *Moslems*, are more particular, as to the means which *Shawer* used, to amuse *Al Maric*. They tell us, that he paid him down 100,000 *Egyptian* dinars, which amounts to about 70000*l.* sterling, and promised to pay him 900,000 dinars more. This promise had the desired effect with *Al Maric*, who forbore the attack of the place, and even retired from it, because *Shawer* alledged, that while he lay before it, it was impossible for him to raise the money. *Al Maric*'s retreat favoured *Shairacu*'s taking possession of *Cairo*; which he did, without the loss of a man; and all the true *Moslems* of *Egypt* considered him as their guardian angel, sent to preserve them from Christianity. For, no sooner did *Shairacu* enter *Cairo*, than the *Egyptian* califf invested him with the robe of a *Sultan*; and had a long conference with him in his own palace.

which  
loses him  
*Egypt*.

The avarice of *Al Maric*, having thus lost the only opportunity he could have had of making himself master of *Egypt*, *Shawer* was firmly settled in the vizirship; and it is said, to his honour, that he most punctually performed his engagements, with all parties. But all that had hitherto happened, was no other than the prologue to *Nureddin*'s ambition; which was, to become the real, and sole, master of *Egypt*. With this view, he first took the castle of *Monerdiera*, from the *Christians*, and, under pretext that *Shawer* still kept up an alliance with them, he made dispositions for a total conquest of *Egypt*. But to effect this, it was necessary for him to dispossess the *Fatemite* califf, and the *Christians*, of all the strong places they held in *Syria*. He therefore took *Safita*, and *Orciba*, with a great number of other posts of great importance, and reduced *Gazi*, the governor of *Aleppo*, who rebelled against him. His next expedition was against *Jabak* upon the *Euphrates*; which he likewise found means to make himself master of, but with great difficulty.

It is allowed on all hands, that *Al Maric*, king of *Jerusalem*, was bloody and barbarous in his proceedings; and it appears, from the best historians of those times, that he had acted with great cruelty, when he took *Belbeis*, or *Pelusium*, even towards the *Christians*. This rendered him extremely unpopular; and *Shawer* perceiving that his avarice was insatiable, and that he was preparing for another expedition into *Egypt*, encouraged by the division of the *Moslem* princes, he burnt down *Mesa*, once the capital of *Egypt*, and obliged the inhabitants of it to repair to *Cairo*. Some writers have laid the burning of *Mesa* in the former year; but it is most probable, that it happened at the time we now treat of. But *Shawer* had found himself unable to answer all the demands that were daily made upon him, both by the *Christians*, and the *Moslems*, and therefore he formed a design of ridding



ridding himself of *Shairacu*, who was at that time in *Cairo*. With this view, he invited *Shairacu*, his nephew *Saladin*, and other principal officers of *Nureddin's* army to a grand entertainment, in his palace; but *Shairacu*, was not to be imposed upon in that manner. He had punctually performed his bargain with *Shawer*, and he insisted upon his master *Nureddin* receiving a third part of all the revenues of *Egypt*. *Shawer* answering this demand, only by a ceremonious civility, *Shairacu* took that opportunity of giving orders for his being arrested, which he accordingly was, by *Saladin*. *Adid* the califf of *Egypt*, found himself in no condition, to dispute with *Shairacu*, and was obliged to confirm all he did. In an instant, the unfortunate *Shawer* was abandoned by all his friends and domestics; and he had even the mortification to understand that his master, *Adid*, whom he had so faithfully served, demanded his head; which was accordingly cut off, by *Shairacu's* order. After this, *Adid* was obliged to invest *Shairacu*, with the vizir's robe, and *Shairacu* preceded by the head of *Shawer* upon a lance, took possession of his predecessor's magnificent palace.

*Shairacu*  
and *Saladin* in  
*Egypt*

Death of  
*Shawer*.

The *Fatemite* califf, by thus raising *Shairacu* to the post of vizir, in fact, dethroned himself. His people, sensible of his misconduct, resented it so highly, that *Shairacu* was in danger of being torn to pieces, as he went to take possession of his new dignity. But *Shairacu*, knowing the mercenary dispositions of the *Egyptians*, proclaimed aloud, to the populace, that all *Shawer's* prodigious treasures and effects, were their own. This diverted the storm; for they instantly ran, and plundered the late vizir's palace: while *Shairacu*, was, with the highest demonstrations of joy, confirmed in his post of vizir. *Shairacu*, is by some represented, as being of a very diminutive personage, but his conduct, and the vast confidence which *Nureddin* reposed in him, prove that he was an accomplished general, and a great politician. He did not however long survive his good fortune; for we are told, that after being raised to the dignity of the *Fatemite* vizir, he dyed in two months.

Character  
of *Shairacu*.

It is here proper to give some account of *Saladin*; whose memory is to this day so famous in history. His father was *Ayub*, the brother of *Shairacu*, and both of them originally and his were, *Rawandians*, a race we have already given some account of. Being soldiers of fortune, they soon recommended themselves to the government of *Bagdad*, and *Ayub*, was made governor of *Tecrit*; his brother serving as his deputy. This happened when *Baruz* was a *Seljukian* vizir at *Bagdad*; and when the califf *Mostarshed*, had defeated *Zenki*, the latter was received by *Baruz*, with vast humanity and civility. Those virtues, together with a great stock of military merit, recommended him to *Zenki*, the father of *Nureddin*. But *Shairacu's* zeal for the *Moslem* religion was so great, that he

history



killed a *Christian* scribe, and *Baruz*, who it seems was a great justiciary, expelled him and his brother from *Tecrit*. Upon this, they took refuge at *Zenki's* court, and he greatly cared for, and promoted, them. Upon his taking *Balbec*, he made *Ayub* the governor of it, but upon *Zenki's* death, *Ayub*, who was a crafty *Arab*, surrendered *Balbec*, to the *Atabek* of *Damascus*, from whom he received other lands, which he erected into a principality. At the same time the prudent conduct of *Ayub*, by giving up *Balbec* to the *Damascenes*, conciliated their affections to him so greatly, that they considered him as their future lord; while his brother *Shairacu*, was made governor of *Rama*, *Hems*, and other cities upon the *Euphrates*, and every day gave fresh proofs of his great courage and conduct, in the field. As a general, *Nureddin* made him, under himself, the commander of all his troops. After this *Shairacu*, and his brother *Ayub*, had so great credit at *Damascus*, that they prevailed with the citizens to put themselves under the protection of *Nureddin*, and from that time, they were his chief Counsellors and generals.

And that  
of the  
famous  
*Saladin*.

Upon the death of *Shairacu*, his nephew *Saladin*, was by *Adid* made vizir of *Egypt* in preference to many older ministers and generals, some of whom, refused to obey his authority. *Saladin* however, had a greater superiority of abilities, and upon *Shairacu's* death, coming to the possession of his vast riches, he was enabled to bribe the mercenary *Egyptians*, into his interest. At the same time, sensible, as he was, of the value of money, he extorted prodigious sums from the *Egyptian Emirs*; so that by his address, he at last laid a foundation of independent power in *Egypt*.

His zeal  
for *Mu-  
metanism*.

In the mean while, *Nureddin* considered himself as being, in fact, the master of that country; and all his mandates to *Saladin*, were dictated as from the sovereign lord of *Egypt*, to his servant. *Adid*, the *Fatemite* califf, was thus rendered a mere cypher in the government of his own dominions; and some authors, with great probability, say that he advanced *Saladin* to the post of vizir, only that he might be exposed to the greater envy, and thereby be put to death, by other statemen and generals. But *Saladin*, whose moral virtues have been extolled even by *Christian* writers, far above what they deserved, maintained his ground, by profound dissimulation. He affected a deep concern for the *Moslem* religion. He abandoned gaming and drinking, vices, to which he had been greatly addicted; and he took upon himself, the character of the champion of *Moslemism*, against *Christianity*. This gained him amongst that enthusiastic people, a prodigious number of followers; and pretending, that all heretics were equally the objects of *Moslem* resentment, he declared war against the *Abyssinian*, and *African* blacks



blacks, who were employed as life guards to the *Fatemite* califf: and put them all to the sword. This was a great stroke, because the commander of those blacks, had always disputed *Saladin's* authority, and had kept possession of the citadel of *Cairo*, which *Saladin*, by his death, became master of: and appointed a white eunuch to govern it.

Whoever considers the course of this history, must be sensible, that the degeneracy of sovereign princes, rendered their substitutes, their masters. This was the case of *Adid*, and *Saladin*. For *Saladin* at this time began to consider himself as being independent, not only upon *Adid*, but upon *Nureddin*; and he was well acquainted with the means of rendering himself so. He knew he could trust none, who could serve him so well as his own family; and dissembling all his ambitious views, he asked permission of *Nureddin*, to suffer his father and his family to repair to *Egypt*. This favour was granted, and *Ayub* leaving *Damascus*, was received by his son in *Egypt*, as a sovereign prince; and great appointments were settled upon him, and all his relations. In the mean while, *Nureddin* was so well satisfied of *Saladin's* attachment to him, that he obliged *Ayub* to consent that he should not presume upon his right of seniority, but leave *Saladin* in full possession of the vizirship. But the whole of this transaction seems to have been a political artifice, concerted between *Ayub* and his son, to blind *Nureddin*, as will appear by the event.

He usurps  
the mon-  
archy of  
*Egypt*.

*Saladin* had not been long possessed of the *Fatemite* vizirship, when the *Christians*, according to the *Moslem* authors, formed the siege of *Damaita*. Being provided with a numerous and well served artillery, such as was in use at that time, they had a great prospect of success. But *Saladin*, the greatest general who had been seen for many ages, foreseeing their intention, had made such provision for defending the place, that after lying before it fifty four days, and losing a vast number of men, they were obliged to raise the siege. The *Christian* writers tell us, that *Al Maric*, who undertook this siege, was assisted in it by the *Greek* emperor's fleet; but that the floods, occasioned by the overflowing of the Nile, destroyed the besiegers works; while the *Egyptians*, by throwing fire-balls, burnt the *Greek* ships, so that their whole navy was ruined: In the mean while, *Nureddin*, who still maintained his superiority over *Saladin*, entered *Syria*, and took many places belonging to the *Christians* there, and this with great reason, made them apprehensive, that they would be totally exterminated in the East. It appears however from the *Moslem* authors, that the *European* histories we have of the *Crusades*, are extremely imperfect; and that the successes of the *Christians* of the East, were much greater than they mention. For notwithstanding their miscarriage before *Damaita*, they took *Accara*, in *Syria*, and even lo-

*Damaita*  
besieged.



ded, with irons, the governor of the place, who was *Nureddin's* slave. *Nureddin* sought to indemnify himself, by besieging *Al Carac*, a strong place held by the *Christians*, in the stony *Arabia*, but a powerful army of *Christians*, advanced from *Palestine* and defeated his intention, so that he was obliged to raise the siege.

War be-  
tween  
*Nureddin*  
and the  
*Christians*

The *Christians*, it is certain in, all respects, were much superior to the *Infidels* in the field, but famine, pestilence, and heats, were enemies they could not subdue, and it was now evident, that they must either abandon all the conquests they had made, or make a compleat conquest of the East. The power of *Saladin* in *Egypt*, was every day growing. That of *Nureddin* was confirmed, and tho' the valour of the *Christians*, was often attended by success, yet it was evident that their force must at last be exhausted thro' the perpetual supplies, which their enemies could have recourse to. They therefore employed *Frederick*, the Archbishop of *Tyre*, to repair to *Europe*, to lay before the princes there their miserable situation. But *Frederick*, had so many difficulties to encounter in his commission thro' the dissensions amongst the Christian princes, that it was without effect.

State of  
the *Moslem*  
govern-  
ment.

The empire of the East, was at this time, in a manner, suspended between *Saladin* and *Nureddin*; but the genius of the former seems to have had the ascendant. For after *Nureddin* had been obliged to raise the siege of *Al Carac*, he lost his first and most useful minister, *Majoddin*; and great part of his dominions were laid waste by earthquakes. Soon after, he received an account of his brother *Kothboddin's* death. This prince, to whom the *Moslem* authors give a most amiable character, had appointed *Amadoddin* his eldest son to succeed him; but he was afterwards over persuaded, by *Fakroddin* his first minister, to nominate his younger son *Moezz*, the favourite of his wife, for his successor. *Amadoddin* had it seems an attachment to *Nureddin*; and resenting the injury he thought had been done him, he fled to him: that he might be reinstated in his right.

Death of  
the califf  
of *Bagdad*

In this state we are obliged to leave the *Moslem* concerns, that we may attend the death of the califf *Mostanjed*, which happened about this time, in a very extraordinary manner. He ordered *Safiya*, his physician, to write an order in his name to his vizir, to gibbet two of his ministers, *Kothboddin* and the chamberlain of his palace. *Safiya*, very possibly concluding that this severe order proceeded from a delirium, or was the effect of the califf's illness, (for he was then at the point of death) showed the order to the condemned parties; and they, well knowing, that it must be executed if the califf lived, assembling together some friends, they rushed into the palace, and put *Mostanjed* to death, by stifling him in a bath, in the 11th year of his reign, and the 55th of his age.

*Mostanjed*



*Mostanjed*, seems to have preserved the independency which his predecessor had established by reigning without an *Emir Al Omra*, or a *Sultan*. The *Moslem* authors, give him the unmeaning character, of having been one of the best of princes. That he was an excellent justiciary, appears from a particular story, which does honour to his memory. He ordered one who had been guilty of perjury to be thrown into prison; and one of his courtiers, offered above 7000*l.* sterling for his release. No, answered the califf, I cannot agree to that, but I will agree to pay you the same sum if you can find out to me, such a villain in all my dominions.

his character.

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*Al Mostadi the thirty-second califf of the house of Al Abbas.*

**M**OSTANJED was succeeded by his son *Mostadi*, and in the Eastern manner, received the allegiance of his subjects, in the gate, or portico of his palace. He is particularly renowned for even exceeding his father in the strict administration of justice; and he was liberal to an uncommon degree. The veneration which the dignity of califf, and the race of *Al Abbas* still attracted, seems to have rendered the califat, at this time no uncomfortable station; and to have sheltered it from the storms that were now raging in the East.

He is succeeded by *Mostadi*.

*Nureddin* resented *Fakroddin's* setting aside his elder nephew *Amadoddin*, from his father's succession. He saw that his other nephew *Saifoddin*, was intirely under the influence of that minister, whom he hated; and putting himself at the head of a strong army, he passed the Euphrates at *Jabar*, and he took *Rakka*, *Kabur*, and *Nasibin*, all which cities he delivered to his nephew *Amadoddin*, who held his court at *Mawfel*. *Nureddin* then marched to *Balad*, and from thence to *Ninevah*. It appears that the intention of *Nureddin* in this expedition, was chiefly to rescue *Saifoddin* out of the hands of *Fakroddin*. For after he had passed the *Tigris*, he laid siege to *Mawfel*, which we are told instantly offered to capitulate, part of the walls having fallen down, when *Nureddin* came before it. According to the *Moslem* authors, *Nureddin* rendered the articles of capitulation very easy to his nephew *Saifoddin*. It was agreed that *Fakroddin*, and his family should live in safety, but under the inspection of *Nureddin*, who was to carry *Fakroddin* along with him into *Syria*. That *Saifoddin* should remain the sovereign of *Mawfel*; but should pay an annual tribute to his elder brother. After this, *Nureddin* gave the city of *Sanjar*, which



Progress  
of Nu-  
reddin.

he had taken, to *Amadoddin*; and after staying but 24 days at *Mawfel*, he returned to his own dominions. There is however somewhat dark in this part of *Nureddin*'s history, nor does it at all appear, that *Saifoddin* was subdued. On the contrary, he remained sovereign of *Mawfel*, and after *Nureddin*'s departure, he even exacted of his brother marks of obedience, because he was a king. We likewise understand, that *Nureddin* consented to the remission of the tribute to be paid by *Saifoddin*, so that it seems most probable that the latter had, upon his side, the natural interest of the country. It is hard to say, whether *Nureddin* did not cherish the division between his two nephews, in order to weaken them; but it is certain upon the whole, that *Kothboddin*'s succession thereby came to nothing; and was intirely ruined. There is the greater reason to believe *Nureddin* to have been at the bottom of this division, because, tho' he professedly took part with *Amadoddin*, yet he gave *Saifoddin* his daughter in marriage.

War bet-  
ween Sa-  
ladin and  
the Chris-  
tians.

In the mean while, *Saladin* applied himself indefatigably to reduce the *Christian* power; and invaded *Palestine*: where he kept the *Christians* in perpetual alarms, but was too wise to hazard a battle with them. He however took *Aila*, a maritime city, by storm; and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it. But the master stroke of his politics lay in weakening the credit and authority of the *Fatemite* califf. For this purpose he declared himself highly in the interest of the califf of *Bagdad*, and went so far as to displace out of the *Egyptian* schools, all the *Shites*, or adherents of *Ali*; and founded two colleges in *Cairo*, for the sect of the *Sonnites*; or the professors of the *Sbaifei* doctrine. In this he was imitated by his nephew *Fakieoddin*, who founded another college for the same purpose.

*Adid* de-  
throned

*Nureddin*, tho' he was likewise a zealous *Sonnite*, could not without jealousy, behold the uncontrouled power of *Saladin* in *Egypt*. It was plain to him, that *Saladin*, tho' he was only his deputy, had rendered *Adid* the *Fatemite* califf, a mere cypher in the government; and he resolved to try how far, he himself was master over *Saladin*. For this purpose, *Nureddin* wrote to him to order *Adid*'s name, to be omitted in the public prayers; which was the same thing, as the taking from him his sovereignty. *Saladin* foresaw *Nureddin*'s drift, and tho' he himself had done a great deal to mortify *Adid*; yet he could not intirely abandon him to *Nureddin*. He pretended that the bulk of the *Egyptians* being *Shites*, and consequently strongly attached to the memories of *Ali*, and *Fatima*, it would be highly unpolitic, to offer such an affront to the established religion of the country as to leave *Adid*'s name out of the public prayers, and insert that of *Mostadi*; which *Nureddin* required should be done. But all *Saladin*'s remonstrances were in vain. *Nureddin* insisted upon a literal obedience to his commands, and *Adid* dying



dying about the same time, the name of the *Fatemite* califf, *Nureddin* was by *Saladin's* order, suppressed in the public prayers, and highly jealous of that of *Mostadi*, was inserted in its stead; by which the power of the *Fatemite* califf was entirely suppressed. It was observed that *Saladin* did not suffer *Al Adid* upon his death bed to know any thing of his authority being abolished; but he no sooner expired, than *Saladin* took possession of his palace and all the excessive wealth, which the *Fatemite* califfs in that rich trading country, had been amassing for so many years. The largeness of the jewels and precious stones, are incredible. Amongst others, mention is made of an emerald, a palm and half long, a pearl as large as a pigeon's egg, and a jacinth weighing seventeen *Arabian* drahams, and called by way of excellence, the jacinth mountain. *Saladin*, at the same time, came into the possession of a noble library; consisting of a hundred thousand volumes; nor do we know of any disturbance attended this prodigious revolution. It is difficult to say, whether *Adid* died a natural death or not: the time of his departure out of the world was so very critical. Some say that when *Adid* was upon his death bed, he earnestly desired to see *Saladin*, but the latter suspecting treachery, refused to visit him. Some say, he shut *Adid* up in a tower, and there put him to death, and others that he forced him to swallow poison; but that he died a violent death, seems most probable. The persons employed by *Saladin*, to name *Mostadi* in the public prayers, was a religious *Persian*, and a blind man; both of them held in so great veneration by the people, that no remarkable tumult ensued: tho' the *Fatemite* califfs had been for two hundred years possessed of the throne of *Egypt*.

Great revolution in *Egypt*.

History can scarcely parallel so great a revolution brought about so quietly. But perhaps religion was not the sole motive, that influenced *Nureddin* on this occasion. The favourable treatment of the *Christians* in *Egypt*, and the great numbers of that profession there, together with the late connections, between that court, and the *Crusaders*, undoubtedly gave the latter vast advantages, and therefore it was wise in *Nureddin* to endeavour to restore in spirituals the original power of the first califat, that the *Moslem* interest being united, might act with the greater effect, and he knew it would be always in his power to check any temporal ambition, which the califfs might entertain. But the truth is, the people of the East in general, had not any favourable opinion of the claim of the *Fatemite* califfs, to be the successors, and descendants of *Ali*, and *Fatima*. Their pretext on that account, had been sufficiently exposed, by the house of *Al Abbas*; and their being named in the public prayers, was considered as being no better than an usurpation. Upon the whole, therefore, *Nureddin's* conduct upon that occasion, was that of a great and an able politician.

Reflection



Califf of *Bagdad* restored to his spiritual authority. The spiritual authority over *Egypt*, being thus reannexed to the califat of *Bagdad*, public rejoicings were made for some days, in that capital; and *Mostadi* presented *Nureddin*, *Saladin*, and the preachers who had been most instrumental in the late revolution with robes of state; and other magnificent presents. He likewise ordered the black standards, the badges of authority in the house of *Al Abbas*, to be carried in state to *Cairo*, and there deposited. As to *Saladin*, he seems to have acted upon the same principles, and indeed with the same views, as *Nureddin* did. But we are told, that at first he was a little embarrassed in point of conscience till consulting the most eminent amongst the *Moslem* divines, he was satisfied as to the legality of his proceedings, and of the usurpation of *Fatemite* califfs, in matters of religion. No sooner therefore was *Adid* dead, than his family were removed to a private part of the palace, without any marks of distinction; and his slaves were all of them either sold, or manumitted; so that in a short time, not a trace appeared of the *Fatemite* califf's authority.

But tho' *Nureddin* had so wonderfully succeeded in his main view, yet *Saladin's* conduct did not fail to give him great disquiet. For that vizir, instead of his taking his directions from *Nureddin*, sent him part of *Adid's* treasures as a present, and distributed the rest amongst the great officers of the army and state; even, as we are told, to the last dinar. It was easy for *Nureddin* to see *Saladin's* motives for this uncommon generosity. *Saladin* at first attempted to amuse him by his zeal against the *Christians*. He marched at the head of an army into *Syria*, and laid siege to *Shawbec*, then in the hands of the *Franks*, and a strong frontier town on the confines of *Hejaz*. But *Nureddin*, more than suspicious of his real intention, moved at the head of his troops towards *Saladin*, who immediately abandoned the siege, and returned with some precipitation to *Egypt*; being apprehensive of the influence, which *Nureddin's* presence might have upon his army, particularly the *Syrian* troops. Upon his retreat, *Nureddin* openly proclaimed him to be a traitor, and threatened to march against him at the head of all his troops. Upon this, *Saladin* summoned all his general officers to a grand council to deliberate how to proceed, and amongst others, was his own father *Ayub*, who was now grown old in craft and dissimulation. The debate being opened, some were for repelling force by force, should *Nureddin* invade *Egypt*; but *Ayub* publicly declared for *Saladin's* sending a message to *Nureddin*, to beg the honour of his paying him a visit at *Cairo*, and advised his son at the same time, to write to let their master *Nureddin* know, that if he would send a slave with a napkin, he would put it about his neck, and suffer himself to be led out of *Egypt* into *Syria*, that he might prostrate himself at *Nureddin's* feet. Such were the open declarations of this old politic *Arab*, and *Saladin* followed them



them in every point; *Ayub* telling him in private, that tho' his intention was, that he should not give up the value of a sugar cane to *Nureddin*, yet that it would be highly impolitic, openly to disclaim their dependency upon him, as it might make him turn the whole of his force against *Egypt*.

*Nureddin* either was, or affected to be, satisfied, with *Saladin's* submissions, and proceeded to carry on the war with the *Christians*. For this purpose, being joined by his nephew *Gazi*, the governor of *Mawfel*, he laid siege to *Arka*, a strong town in the prefecture of *Damascus*, within twelve miles of *Tripoli*, and took it by storm. *Saladin* still continued to temporize towards *Nureddin*, and he made a second expedition into *Syria*; but upon *Nureddin's* offering to join him, he returned back to *Egypt*, as he had done before, upon pretext of his father *Ayub's* illness, who actually died about this time, by a fall from his horse, leaving behind him the character of having the most politic head of all the *Moslems*.

*Nureddin*, who had a great regard for *Ayub*, upon his death, determined to keep no farther measures with *Saladin*, and nominated his nephew *Gazi* to the command of the army, which was to act against the *Christians*, while he himself was determined to march in person against *Saladin*. But while he was making dispositions for that purpose, he died in the castle of *Damascus* of a quinsy. The *Moslem* writers, have not as usual, run into any extravagant encomiums upon *Nureddin*, when they extoll him, as one of the best, as well as greatest princes, that ever sat upon a throne. During his long reign, *Syria*, and other countries of the East was almost desolated by earthquakes; but he repaired and rebuilt the walls that were thrown down. He was strictly wedded to the tenets of his religion, but so blameless was his life and morals, that an *Arabian* author, elegantly says of him, that, when he was in the house of God, he gave his subjects a view of one sanctuary within another. His charity was so great, that he knew no other use of riches, than to make others happy; and his own private expences did not exceed that of the meanest of his subjects. His wife one time complained that he scarcely allowed her the common necessities of life, upon which he settled three work houses upon her, which brought her in about 13l. a year; telling her at the same time, that it was all he could spare her, in justice to his other subjects; for that he looked upon himself as no other than as their steward. His justice was as eminent as his other virtues, and finding that his great lords, *Shairacu* in particular, were oppressive to their inferiors, he established a chamber of justice, where the meanest of his subjects might enter their complaints, and have redress against the highest. This court was under such admirable regulations, that it restored the police, and tranquility of his

*Nureddin's*  
successes

Death and  
character  
of *Nu-  
reddin*.

Instance  
of his  
great fru-  
gality



his country; and so salutary were the effects, which it had upon his subjects, that after his death, when their sufferings from the great were renewed, they used to call out with a sigh! O *Nureddin*! He likewise founded a number of colleges, for professors and students of orthodox *Moslemism*; and endowed them very richly, with a view of reuniting all the sects of that religion, for the better opposing the *Franks*. In short, he wanted only to be a Christian, to have been one of the best princes and men that ever lived.

He is succeeded by his son *Salah*. *Nureddin's* son, *AlSaleh*, succeeded him, but being only eleven years of age, the affairs of his government were managed by *Mokaddem*, one of his father's ministers; but *Nureddin* was so well beloved, that the young *Sultan* was universally recognized, and money was coined in his name. It was not long however before *Gazi* the prince of *Mawfel*, made an irruption upon his territories in *Mesopotamia*.

Reflections on the character of *Saladin*; It is difficult to conceive the motives of the Christian historians for giving so great a character, as they do, of *Saladin*. It may be said with great truth, that he was brave, politic, and liberal; and all in the highest degree. But he had every other vice that can denominate, or even disgrace, a barbarian, being a monster of ingratitude, cruelty, and bigotry; and without even the virtues that commonly characterize the princes of the East, for he held in disdain, all men of true genius and learning, and if we believe the *Moslem* historians, who knew him best, he was superstitious, even to contempt. Had *Nureddin* lived a few months longer than he did, it is more than probable, *Saladin* must have been crushed; as the *Egyptians* supported by *Nureddin*, were generally inclined to restore the family of the *Fatemite* califfs, to the throne. His danger *Saladin*, was so sensible of his danger, that we are told, he sent his brother *Turan*, a man of a war like, impetuous, disposition, to secure for him a retreat in *Nubia*: in case he should be driven out of *Egypt*. Others say that he communicated his design to *Nureddin*, who approved of it before his death. But either the news of *Nureddin's* death, or the difficulty of the enterprize, made *Turan* suddenly turn his arms towards the rich country of *Yaman*, great part of which he conquered, after overthrowing *Abdalnabi*, the tyrant of it, in a pitched battle; and taking him prisoner. and vast successes This conquest was of infinite service to *Saladin*, as it put him in possession of that strong country, where we are told *Turan* reduced, no fewer than eighty cities of importance, and places of strength.

*Saladin* had now leisure and power to destroy the chief partizans of the *Fatemite* houses, who were very strong, in and about *Cairo*; and, like a barbarian, he caused them all to be crucified, down even to a poor poet, who paid him some compliments in his verses. He then sent *Saffoidin*, another of his brothers, against *Alcand* the governor of *Ajwan*, who had



had taken the field, at the head of a great army of blacks in He de-  
 favour of the *Fatemite* family, and who were entirely defeated. stroy the  
 In the mean while, *Saladin* in person, was acting against *Fatemite*  
 the *Christians*, who, if we credit the *Moslem* authors, had house in  
 under the command of *William*, the second King of Sicily, Egypt.  
 formed the siege of *Alexandria*; and who were obliged to raise  
 it; but there is some reason for believing that they mean the  
 siege of *Damaita*, at which the king of Sicily, seems not to  
 have been present. Be this as it will, it is certain that tho'  
*Saladin*, had even acknowledged *Al Saleh*, for his superior,  
 yet all the princes of the house of *Zenki*, and the descendants  
 of the *Sultans* of the *Seljuks*, were no strangers to his am-  
 bition. *Al Saleh*, was advised to prevent *Aleppo* falling into  
 his hands, by residing in that city. But he had not been History of  
 long settled there, before *Saladin* found means to corrupt *Saleh*.  
 his minister *Mokaddem*, who had been left at *Damascus*.  
*Mokaddem*, was jealous of one *Camosh*, who had succeeded  
 him in his place about the person of *Al Saleh*; and who had  
 been very severe upon some of *Mokaddem's* friends; the latter  
 therefore, in a manner, invited *Saladin*, to come and take  
 possession of *Damascus*; which, with the citadel, was ac-  
 cordingly betrayed into his hands, and he gave the govern-  
 ment of it to his brother *Tagtakin*. After this, he made  
 himself master of *Hems*, and *Hamah*, under pretence of  
 taking possession of them, for young *Al Saleh*, whose deputy  
 he pretended to be, and who, it was said, was in very bad hands  
 at *Aleppo*. But it was not long before *Saladin's* ambition  
 unmasked itself; by marching against *Aleppo*, and demanding  
 to be put in possession of that capital. *Al Saleh*, the son of  
 the great *Nureddin*, tho' no more than twelve years of age;  
 and tho' otherwise a prince of no promising genius, acted on  
 this occasion with vast spirit. For *Saladin* encamping on a  
 mountain near the city, the young *Sultan*, mounted on who re-  
 horseback, and calling together his nobles and people, he pels *Salad-*  
 made a most pathetic representation to them, upon his own *in*.  
 distresses, himself an orphan, and having nothing but the  
 affections of his subjects to oppose to the ambition, and  
 ingratitude of *Saladin*, who owed all he possessed in the  
 world to his father, and his family. The young *Sultan* at-  
 tending this speech with a burst of tears, his words had the  
 like impression upon his people, and they unanimously  
 vowed never to abandon him. Then throwing open the  
 gates, they rushed, while their resentments were yet warm,  
 in a kind of an enthusiasm, towards the hill where *Saladin*  
 was encamped, and attacked him with such intrepidity, that  
 he was obliged to order a retreat. It appears however that  
 he returned to the siege, and made several assaults upon the  
 city, but was unsuccessful in them all, thro' the courage  
 and loyalty of the inhabitants. At last *Saladin* understanding  
 that the *Christians* were in motion to undertake the siege of  
*Hems*,



*Hems*, decamped from before *Aleppo*, and obliged the *Christians* to abandon their enterprize.

Confederacy against *Saladin*.

*Al Saleh* was advised to make use of this respite, in animating the other princes of his house, to oppose *Saladin*. *Saffoidin*, who was then the prince of *Mawfel* immediately raised an army, which he sent to *Al Saleh's* assistance at *Aleppo*, under his brother, and his best general; whilst he himself marched against *Amadoddin*, another prince of the *Zenki* family, who had entered into alliance with *Saladin*. *Al Saleh* was now very powerful, and his army being well commanded, *Saladin*, who by this time had taken *Balbec*, and was upon his return to besiege *Aleppo*, offered to enter with him upon a treaty of accommodation: and, provided *Al Saleh*, would suffer him to govern *Damascus* as his deputy, he proposed to cede to him *Hems*, and *Hamah*. The princes of the house of *Zenki*, considering *Saladin* as the worst of usurpers, rejected those terms; and a general battle ensued; at a place called *Tel Al Soltan*. At first *Al Saleh's* army, had considerably the advantage; and that of *Saladin* must have been totally routed, had it not been for his own activity, in bringing his men back to the charge; by which *Al Saleh's* army was compleatly defeated. This victory made *Saladin* master of a prodigious booty, and he lost no time, in enlarging his conquests; till at last he made himself master of almost all *Syria*, and shut up *Al Saleh* in *Aleppo*; after taking the strong castle of *Azez*, which was the key of that city.

who defeats it.

He is wounded by three *Assassins*.

While *Saladin* was intent upon those sieges, his enemies were far from being idle; and they had recourse to the detestable means of assassination. For this purpose he was attacked successively by three *Batanists*; who, it is said, were hired by *Camoush* *Al Saleh's* minister and general, of *Sinan*, the prince of the *Batanists*, or as they were now called *Ismaelians*. The first murderer who attacked him gave him a slight wound in the head, but *Saladin*, seizing him, held him fast, till his guards rushing in dispatched him, as they did the other two *Assassins*, who attacked him at the same time. *Saladin* looked upon his escape, as being little less than miraculous, and became somewhat more placable than he had been, to *Al Saleh*, since his last victory over him. During the siege of *Aleppo*, a little girl, the daughter of *Nureddin*, was presented to him. He affected to receive her with great affection and asked what he could do to please her, upon which she immediately demanded the fortress of *Azez*, which *Saladin* accordingly ordered to be evacuated. But this story is dark and seems to have been confounded, with an incident of the same nature, which happened some time after; nor is it indeed at all suitable to that infidel's character. For instead of so generously relinquishing his conquest, he took advantage of *Al Saleh's* distressed situation, by obliging him to yield up all his territories to him, excepting



excepting the city, and district, of *Aleppo*; and he even He sub-ordered *Al Saleh's* name to be struck out of the public dues *Saleh* prayers, the greatest indignity that could be done to the son of *Nureddin*.

This treaty, as has been already hinted, seems to have been forwarded, by *Saladin's* desire to be revenged for the attempts made upon him by the *Batanists*. For upon his raising the siege of *Aleppo*, he marched into the country of the *Ismaelites*, and after laying it desolate, he laid siege to *Massiat*, their strongest and most important place, situated upon that mountain, from which their prince has the appellation of the old man of the mountain. This city and fortress he took and demolished, after putting most of the inhabitants to the sword. *Sinan*, finding himself and his dominions thus upon the point of being ruined, applied to *Haremi*, *Saladin's* uncle, who undertook the mediation, and after *Sinan* had made his most humble acknowledgements, for the attempts that his subjects had made against his Majesty's life, *Saladin* was prevailed upon to pardon him, and even to take that monster into his alliance. He then made preparations for returning with his whole force into *Egypt*; where his presence was extremely necessary. Before he left *Syria*, he committed the government of *Damascus*, and his principal concerns in that country, into the hands of his brother *Turan*; and abolished a tribute that was exacted by the governor of *Mecca*, from the *Pilgrims* travelling from that city, giving in the place of it, a certain allowance in money and provisions. Arriving with his army at *Cairo* he found that an *Egyptian*, near *Coptos*, pretending to be *David*, the son of *Al Adid*, the late *Fatemite* califf, had taken the field, at the head of ten thousand *Egyptians*, who declared in his favour; but we are told, that eighty thousand of them were cut to pieces, by *Saladin's* troops, and amongst others their leader.

*Saladin* during all his successes, expressed always the highest veneration for *Mostadi*, who still continued to be califf of *Bagdad*; and head of the *Moslem* religion. He was however, sometimes unfortunate, both in his ministers and danger generals; and was obliged to put to death *Adadoddin* his and ad vizir. *Dahiroddin* his successor, proved to be a man of great drefs. virtue and abilities; but could not bear the insolence of *Kimar*, *Mostadi's* general; who seemed to act independently of his master. *Kimar* was sensible that the califf's affections, were alienated from him, and accusing the vizir of having done him ill offices, he invested his house, with the califf's own guards. The vizir knew his danger, and escaped to *Mostadi's* palace. He was followed even thither, by the general, at the head of his troops, who demanded the vizir's life. *Mostadi* saw his own, as well as his ministers, danger from their insolence; and ordering his palace gates to be shut, he showed himself from a balcony to the people, who were

Hej 572.  
A. D.  
1176.

His expedition  
against the  
*Ismaelites*.

his regulations

*Mostadi's*  
danger  
and ad  
drefs.



were excessively tumultuous: as they hated the vizir, as much as *Kimar* did. The appearance of the califf having somewhat quieted their noise; 'Friends, and children', said he, '*Kimar*, has usurped and abused my authority. You have now before your eyes a fresh instance, with what indignity he treats me, and to punish him for it, I make you masters of all his riches, and effects, but will myself order the punishment of his person.'

His deliverance,

This speech had the desired effect, and *Kimar* was obliged to retreat with his guards from the palace to protect his own house, into which he threw himself. But the people of *Bagdad*, who of all others in the East, were the most giddy and venal, having the califf's authority on their side, were not to be controuled. They forced the general to fly to *Mawfel*, where he soon after died, and in an instant they pillaged his house, of all his immense treasure, and wealth.

and death. *Mostadi* died in the year of the Hejra 575; and left behind him, the character, common to the princes of his house, Hej. 515, that of being just, gentle, liberal, even to a fault, compassionate, and a munificent patron of letters. At the time A. D. of his death, he is said to have been thirty nine years of age, 1179. of which he reigned nine. That he was a prince of little or no ambition appears from the transactions of his califat, being scarcely mentioned by the *Moslem* historians; tho' he was, at the time of his death, no inconsiderable prince, and the undisputed head of the *Mahometan* religion.

### *Al Naser the thirty-fourth califf of the house of Al Abbas.*

He is succeeded by *Naser*.

UPON *Mostadi*'s death, his son *Al Naser*, was by the indefatigable application of his father's vizir, acknowledged as califf; and received, as such, the oaths of allegiance from the grandees of his court. He proved however, extremely ingrateful to the vizir. For he took into his particular confidence one *Majoddin*, who ruled under him, with an authority little or nothing inferior to that of the *Emirs Al Omra*. This minister hated the vizir, and began his administration, with giving him up to the populace, who hated him also; and treated his dead body with indecencies, that only the lowest of human brutes could have been guilty of. *Naser*, however, took care to keep *Saladin* on his side, by sending him his robe of investiture, as his *Sultan*, or *Emir Al Omra*; which honour, tho' it was only an empty name, was considered by *Saladin*, as a mark of high distinction,



distinction, as it came from the hands of the sovereign pontiff of the *Moslems*.

Before we proceed farther, it may be proper and necessary to give some account of the affairs of the state of the crusade at this time; because they greatly interested the *Moslems*, and *Saladin*, and the califf of *Bagdad*. At the time that *Saladin* seized *Damascus*, *Baldwin*, the fourth, was king of *Jerusalem*; but he was not only an infant in his cradle, *Baldwin* and subject to a disorder, which rendered him unfit for all an infant business, at certain intervals during the remaining part of king of his life, at last terminated in a leprosy. *Raymond* the count *Jerusalem* of *Tripoli*, being his father's cousin german, and nearest of kin to young *Baldwin*, was regent of the kingdom during his minority. *Raymond* stood at nothing to gratify his ambition, and *Christian* as well as *Moslem* authors agree that he entered into a convention with *Saladin* to remain neutral in all *Saladin's* contests with the *Mahometan* princes of the East. This most certainly was a very fatal step, for the interest of the *Crusaders*; because *Saladin* having a vast superiority of abilities and genius, over all other *Moslems*, acquired in the mean time, an extent of power and territory, which brought on the ruin of the *Christians* in the East. *Neutrali-ty of Raymond*, The young king *Baldwin*, as he grew up, discovered great infirmities both in body and mind, weak and suspicious, he dreaded *Raymond*, and likewise *Bohemond* the young prince of *Antioch*, perhaps not without reason. But he threw himself into the hands of one who was as weak, as the other was ambitious, this was *Guy de Lusignan*, third son to the Earl of *March*, in *France*. *Baldwin* had a sister who was widow to the marquis of *Montferat*; and this lady, by his influence being married to *Guy de Lusignan*, assumed great authority in the affairs of a kingdom governed by so weak a prince. *Baldwin* by her influence, was easily prevailed upon to declare him regent of the kingdom, tho' *Lusignan* had no qualifications, to recommend him to such a distinction. For *Baldwin*, weak as he was, finding *Lusignan's* incapacity resigned his own power to a nephew, another *Baldwin*, *Baldwin's* who was but five years of age, and had him crowned king of sister *Sy-Jerusalem*. This apparently was done to give *Sybilla* his *billa* fav- sister, mother to the young king a sway in the government; ours her but *Raymond* still maintained himself in the regency. *Sybilla* husband loved her husband to distraction, and was prevailed upon *Lusignan* only by her affection for him to suffer her brother to abdicate his power. *Lusignan* tho' weak, was not without ambition, and being husband to the mother of the king, he disputed the regency, with the count of *Tripoli*. *William* archbishop of *Tyre*, a prelate of infinite zeal, interposed in the dispute; and compromised matters so, that the contending parties should wait the event of an embassy, to be sent to *Europe*, for a fresh supply of *Crusaders*. The most proper person, who could be employed for this, was *Heraclius*, the pa- triarch



An embassy sent to Europe.

Death of the Greek emperor.

Policy of Manuel his son and successor;

who cuts off the Crusaders.

triarch of *Jerusalem*, who had been appointed so by the pope, and in fact had more real power, than the king himself. Along with him were joined the masters of the temple, and the hospital knights, institutions which do not belong to this part of our history to describe. But this triumvirate, at that time directed the affairs of the *Christians* and *Palestines* in the *Holy Land*. They set out for *Europe*, and explained the purpose of their commission to the several princes, who were most likely to assist them. But it happened, unfortunately for them, that the situation of affairs in *Europe* at that time, were extremely critical; and did not admit of any prince, sending an army to such a distance.

Their dissensions and distresses were increased by the resentment which the *Greek* emperors, who lived at this period; still entertained against the *Crusaders*; to whom they were equally enemies as to the *Turks*. The emperor *John Comnenus*, had reigned with great glory; and having driven the barbarians out of *Armenia*, he intended to have reunited *Antioch* to his empire: but he was unfortunately killed, by an accidental wound from a poisoned arrow. Upon his death bed, he nominated his youngest son *Manuel*, to succeed him; in prejudice of *Isaac* his elder. *Manuel* upon his accession renewed his operations against the barbarians in *Asia*; with great success: but understanding that fresh armies of *Crusaders*, were preparing to march into *Asia*, he formed private connections with the *Seljukian Sultans*, and other chiefs of the *Turkish* tribes; and even gave them intelligence from time to time of the motions of the *Christians*, who took him for their friend. He had married the sister in law of the *German* emperor, *Conrad*, who was at the head of the second *Crusade*; and finding he could not prevent it from taking place, he was determined if possible, to make it miscarry. As he was a most exquisite dissembler, he easily insinuated himself into the confidence of *Conrad*, and he undertook to supply his troops, with provisions, and guides upon their march. According to Christian authors, he acted most villainously in all his engagements. He laid ambuscades, either of his own troops or barbarians, in all the dangerous passes thro' which the *Crusaders* were to march; by which, they lost an incredible number of men; and they found the gates of all the towns belonging to the *Greeks* shut against them, nor could they procure subsistence, even for money. The *Greek* emperor, is charged with still more detestable practices, for he is said to have caused quick lime, and other poisonous materials to be mingled in the flower made use of by the *Germans*, and the other *Christians*, which carried them off by thousands. To add to their misfortunes, *Conrad* himself was a rash, tho' a credulous prince; and suffered himself to be amused so much by the treacherous guides, sent him by the *Greek* emperor, in his march to *Antioch*, that they entangled him in the almost impassable

defiles



defiles of mount *Taurus*, and they were even artful enough under the to perswade him to march without provisions, under pre- the em-  
tence that a day or two at farthest, would bring him into peror  
a most plentiful country. But after that, they made their *Conrad*.  
escape, leaving the *Christians* in the most dreadful distress,  
surrounded, on all hands, by armies of barbarians and *Greeks*:  
who slaughtered them without danger to themselves, by  
the advantage of their situation. In short, *Conrad*, after  
being wounded, escaped, with the greatest difficulty, with  
not above the tenth part of his army, to the *French* camp.

The other head of the *Christians*, in this unfortunate ex- The ex-  
pedition, was *Lewis* King of *France*; who followed *Conrad*, pedition  
at the head of another army. He passed, without molestation, of *Lewis*  
thro' *Austria*, and *Hungary*, but arriving upon the territories king of  
of the *Greek* emperor, he was advised to be upon his guard. *France*.

It may be proper here to remark, that the *Christian* writers,  
who charge, as they do, *Manuel*, with the most horrid  
treachery, are very inconsistent with themselves; or the heads  
of the expedition must have been strangely infatuated with  
zeal, and presumption. For tho', every step they proceeded,  
they had fresh proofs, that *Manuel* was openly, as well as  
secretly, their enemy; and tho' he even treated them, as  
well as their ambassadors, with great disrespect, yet they still  
continued to trust him; and to be ruined by him. This  
was the more extraordinary, as they might, if they had  
united against him, with the greatest ease, have driven him  
out of *Constantinople*. Instead of that, *Lewis* proceeded to  
that capital, and *Manuel*, who was apprehensive of his  
power, treated him with the highest marks of esteem, and  
even affection. *Lewis* had, in his youth, been guilty of some who neg-  
crying cruelties, which had touched his conscience; so that lects to  
it was easy for the famous *Saint Barnard* the *French* abbot, take *Con-*  
to over-rule all the remonstrances of his most faithful *stantinople*  
counsellors, and to inspire the young king, as well as the  
emperor, with a most furious desire to take upon him the  
cross. It seems to be incredible, but it is a most indispu-  
table fact; that such was the influence *Barnard* had over the  
minds of his contemporaries, that his appearance and looks,  
in a few months, brought 100,000 *Germans* to the field;  
tho' he preached to them in a language, of which they did  
not understand one word. *Lewis* did not yield in zeal, to  
the meanest, and most ignorant of his subjects. He was  
attended by the bishop of *Langres*, a prelate of the stamp of  
those times, eaten up with zeal; tho', if we are to give any  
credit to the *Christian* writers of those times, it might have  
been of great service, had his advice been followed. For the  
*Greek* emperor, being extremely earnest, that the *French*  
should evacuate his capital, *Lewis* summoned together his  
chief counsellors, to deliberate on the course he was to  
pursue. The bishop of *Langres*, without any hesitation,  
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and passes  
over to  
*Asia*.

forced to  
make  
peace  
with *Ma-  
nuel*.

Rejoins  
*Conrad*.

was for their immediately making themselves masters of *Constantinople*; and very justly observed, leaving it behind them, in the hands of so dangerous a man, as *Manuel* was, their expedition could terminate only in their own ruin. His advice, tho' none of the most religious, was rejected; not from a principle of virtue, but of zeal: which would not suffer them to employ their arms in any other cause than in that for which they had taken them up. They therefore were, fatally for themselves, prevailed upon to leave *Constantinople*; and the emperor, who was master of the most insinuating address, offered them his fleet to carry them over to *Asia*; and ordered it to be given out, that if they did not make haste, the *Germans* would enhance all the glory of the expedition; and that they had even taken *Iconium* from that *Sultan*. Those reports gave such a spur to the ambition, and vanity of the *French*, that the king, with great part of his army, was landed on the *Asiatic* side; but the ships returning, under pretext of carrying over the remainder, the emperor ordered them all to be stopped, and to be plundered; under frivolous pretences: neither would he suffer the king, and the troops that were with him, to be supplied with any provisions, unless *Lewis* would comply with all his demands. *Lewis* was attended by his wife *Eleanor* of *Guienne*, who pretended to love him so, that she would not leave him. He saw, but could not remedy his distress; and he was obliged to make a treaty with the emperor, promising to carry on no attempt, against any part of the *Greek* dominions: and that the *French* nobility, should pay to him the same kind of homage, which he alledged those in the first *Crusade*, had paid to his predecessor *Alexius*. The *French* king, and his court, were obliged to comply with those conditions, mortifying as they were. The emperor however taking care, which was no hard matter for him to do, that the *French* should know nothing of the true state of the *German* army, undertook to furnish the *French*, with provisions, and guides on their march. A few days made them sensible of *Manuel's* insincerity, and happening to meet with a party of *Germans*, under Frederick of *Swabia*, afterwards the famous emperor *Barbarossa*, they were no longer in doubt as to their fate, if they should depend farther upon *Manuel*. They therefore directed their march towards *Nice*; where the *German* emperor was encamped, with the pitiful remains of his army. A moving and melancholy interview ensued between those two princes; but at last, they agreed to proceed in a body, between the sea and *Phrygia*, towards the *Lesser Asia*. But the *Germans*, by this time, were so heartily tired of crusading, that scarcely the face of an army was left with *Conrad*; and he found he must either abandon his expedition, or serve under a king of *France*. He chose the former, and took the opportunity of returning to *Constantinople* with the *Greek* noblemen, that



had been sent as guides to *Lewis*, and who were now by him dismissed, with vast disdain and contempt. *Lewis* now pursued his march to *Laodoea*, and at last he stopt upon the banks of the famous *Meander*, which he proposed to pass. But while he was making dispositions for that purpose, he perceived both banks of the river lined with *Turks*; drawn up in such excellent order, as rendered his passage extremely difficult. He however at last effected it, after an obstinate dispute, in which the *Turks* were entirely defeated; and the *French* were suffered to proceed on their march, or rather, to entangle themselves with fresh difficulties. For it is certain, that, tho' the *Infidels* were no match for the *Christians*, in a plain field where they could come to blows, yet they had perhaps the advantage of them, in the management of the bow and arrow; and by the thorough knowledge they had of the country, they were always enabled to take such posts, as gave them the advantage of fighting at a distance. When *Lewis* came into the defiles of *Laodoea*, he found himself obliged to divide his army; and, by the misconduct of the general, who led the van, his rear, which he commanded himself, was attacked by the *Turks*, and so entirely defeated, that he was left without a man to fight by his side. He acted however with incomparable courage and address, and climbing a rock, he defended it, against great numbers of the *Turks*; who not knowing his quality, left him to go in quest of plunder: at last he was delivered by his van returning to his aid, and then he proceeded with more caution, repulsing the enemies on all hands, till he arrived at *Attelia*, on the coast of *Pamphilia*. By this time, his army were almost as tired as the *Germans* had been, of their expedition. *Lewis*, for some time, was amused by the *Greek* emperor's governor of *Attelia*, offering him ships, to shorten his march, and to carry his army by sea, to *Syria*; but finding himself deceived, he was obliged to embark in a small vessel, and to leave his army to proceed by land, where the flower of them was lost, by hunger, fatigue, and the arms of the barbarians. *Lewis*, however, with his chief attendants, and his queen, arrived at *Antioch*, which was then governed by *Raymond*.

The distresses of his march

he is defeated.

Arrives at Antioch.

This prince, who was related to *Eleanor*, the *French* queen, pretended love to her, and she was so passionately fond of *Saladin*, a young *Turk*, that their intrigue was no secret even to the king himself. It is probable that *Raymond's* view in courting the queen, was to engage her to prevail with her husband to conquer for him *Aleppo*; which lay extremely convenient for his principality of *Antioch*. But *Lewis* being not only unprovided with every thing necessary for carrying on a siege, but greatly disgusted with the queen's behaviour, he precipitately left *Antioch*, and marched towards *Jerusalem*: where the emperor *Conrad* was already arrived, as a pilgrim, almost single, and unattended. *Lewis* was pressed

His queen's amours.

Policy of Raymond



pressed by the king of *Jerusalem* to this march, and without suffering himself to be further amused on the road, was received in *Jerusalem* as a guardian angel. But property, in that country, as well as *Syria*, was at the time we now treat of, greatly altered. The *Christians* of the first crusade, and their descendants, had many of them intermarried with the natives of the country, by which they very justly thought they had acquired a natural interest in the soil. It was not therefore, without secret heart burnings, that they saw new armies poured into their country; and the method followed to allay those heart burnings, increased them. A great number of the *German* princes and prelates, hearing that *Conrad* was in *Jerusalem*, repaired to that city; and as there was the greatest harmony between *Conrad*, and the kings of *France*, and *Jerusalem*, it was resolved that a general assembly of princes and prelates, should be held at *Ptolemais*, to concert the measures to be pursued against the common enemy. The assembly was very august, and it was resolved to besiege *Damascus*; and when taken, to give it to the Earl of *Flanders*. This resolution proved fatal to the interests of the *Christians*, who lost a great many men before the place, and, by the intrigues of the *Christian* natives, were obliged to abandon their enterprise.

The  
*Christians*  
besiege  
*Damascus*  
but in vain

They  
leave *Pa-*  
*lestine*

Saint *Ber-*  
*nard*  
named

His apo-  
logy.

The crusading princes, zealous, and credulous as they had been, could not be longer imposed upon, or persuaded to fight the quarrels of men, who, tho' *Christians*, hated them as much as they did the *Moslems*; and they saw there was no possibility of success, by any union of the *Christian* interest in those countries. In short, the crusaders, both *French*, and *Germans*, returned as fast as they could to *Europe*; and were followed by the emperor and the king of *France*; who after his return, obtained a divorce from his wife. As to Saint *Bernard*, whose zeal in a ridiculous expedition, had sacrificed almost half a million of *Christians*, his intrepidity upon this occasion was amazing. He was now as much cursed all over *Europe*, as he had been before venerated. But notwithstanding the mortifying reproaches he every moment met with, from the friends and relations of those who had perished, he justified all he had done, by observing, that his case was the very same with that of *Moses*; who, by the sins of the people he led, had been prevented from making good his promise, of bringing them to the land flowing with milk and honey. The truth is, *Otho Frisingensis*, brother to the emperor, and who was in this expedition, which he has described, has acknowledged, that the sins of the *Christians* who undertook it, were of the most horrid and infamous kinds. We have already seen, the great distresses of the *Christians*, at the return of *Conrad* and *Lewis* to *Europe*; and have inserted as much of their history, as was connected with our subject.

But



But it is greatly for our purpose, to mention that the Brave *Christian* writers of those days, were so strongly prejudiced against *Raymond*, the prince of *Antioch*, and the other *Christian* princes, who, by the means above mentioned, had acquired a property in the East, that they have omitted many brave actions they performed against the Infidels. This appears from the Moslem authors themselves, who have appealed to *Saladin's* own letters for what they advanced.

For *Saladin*, whom we left in *Egypt*, having settled the affairs of that country, got together a prodigious army, at the head of which he marched against *Palestine*, with an intention to clear the East of the *Christians*. Though this expedition falls about two years more early, than the time we now treat of; that is, the accession of *Naser* to the califat; yet we could not regularly mention it sooner. He arrived in *Palestine*, about the 24th of May 1177, according to our computation, and he was opposed by *Arnold*, whom the Moslem historians call, the prince of *Al Carac*. But, according to the *Christian* writers, his name was *Renaud de Chattillon*, and he was governor of the countries beyond *Jordan*, and lord of *Sidon*. This great warrior, at the head of the few *Christian* troops that still remained in the East, made wonderful efforts to keep the field against *Saladin*, 'till the success of their patriarch's embassy in *Europe* could be known. *Saladin* advancing to *Ascyon*, or, according to others, to *Romla*, and not suspecting that the *Christians* had any forces in the field to oppose him, had sent out considerable detachments to lay waste the estates of the *Christians*. But *Renaud* watched his opportunity, and attacked the barbarian in his camp. *Takioddin*, one of *Saladin's* best generals, being more upon his guard, opposed the *Christians*, with great vigour, and at first obliged them to retreat. But *Renaud* rallying his men, renewed the charge with so much fury, that *Takioddin* was killed upon the spot, and the wing he commanded was entirely cut in pieces; and had not *Saladin* betaken himself to a most precipitate, and indeed, shameful, flight, he must have fallen alive into the hands of the *Christians*. But the latter were not proof against the vast plunder of *Saladin's* camp, which he abandoned to their possession, and thereby favoured his escape. We are informed, by the Moslem authors, that the whole *Egyptian* army was cut off after this battle; for *Saladin* had not even been provident enough, to secure for himself a place of retreat: so that we are told, his army was followed, and slain by the *Christians*, through those vast burning plains, that separate *Palestine* from *Egypt*; and when the *Christians* could pursue, and kill them no longer, almost all of them perished for thirst in those dreary deserts; before they could reach the inhabited country. On the other hand, when the *Christians* returned from the pursuit, they attacked *Saladin's* detached parties, with so much success, that few,

Who gives a signal defeat to *Saladin*.



*Saladin's  
danger.*

or none of them escaped being either killed, or made prisoners. Though the particulars of this battle have not been so much as mentioned by the *Christian* writers, yet nothing could have been more glorious for *Renaud*, because *Saladin*, in one of the letters I have taken notice of, mentions it as the greatest check, and his deliverance the most wonderful of any he had ever received; and concludes it, by observing to his brother *Turan*, that he was convinced, by the manner of his escape, that God Almighty was about to employ him in other great designs; the language which the enthusiasts of all ages, have ever made use of.

*The  
Christians  
in vain  
besiege  
Hama,*

It was the middle of *June* before *Saladin* reached *Cairo*. He left his *Syrian* affairs in great disorder, through his late defeat. His brother *Turan*, continued still his governor of *Damascus*; and is said to have been a great general. But the troops he had under him, were neither numerous nor well provided, and he had given himself up to the enjoyment of all the luxuries those enchanting countries produce. In short, the *Christians*, believing that *Turan* was in no condition to disturb them, laid siege to *Hama*, which was under the government of *Haremi*, *Saladin's* uncle, who was now old and infirm. All those circumstances encouraged *Renaud* to form the siege of *Hama*; but he was ill supported, and after attacking it with vast vigour, for four days, he was obliged to draw off his troops towards *Harem*.

*and  
Harem.*

This place, which was very strong, belonged to the principality of *Aleppo*, where *Saleh*, the great *Nureddin's* son, still continued to reside. But *Harem* had been taken possession of by *Camosh*, *Saleh's* first minister, who was then a prisoner, by his master's orders, for abusing his authority. *Haremi* had died the very day that the *Christians* had raised the siege of *Hama*; and *Saleh's* affairs were, at that time, in great disorder. He produced his minister in irons, before the garison of *Harem*, but they refused to deliver it up to *Saleh's* order, for which *Camosh*, whom they refused likewise to obey, underwent the torture, and was put to death before their eyes. *Renaud* availed himself of those favourable circumstances, and summoned *Harem* to surrender to him; but he had no better success than *Saleh* had; and he was obliged to form a siege of the place, which continued for four months; so that the inhabitants must have been obliged to surrender it, when *Saleh* prevailed upon them, for a sum of money, to put it into his hands, rather than suffer it to fall into those of the *Christians*. This being agreed to, the garrison admitted a body of *Saleh's* troops, under one *Serkbac*, one of his father's mamluks, or slaves, into the place, of which *Serkbac* was made governor.

*Renaud  
invades  
Medina.*

This miscarriage did not discourage *Renaud*, who soon after formed a project, worthy of his high courage; which was that of surprising the city and territory of *Medina*. To carry this project into execution, it was necessary, he should communicate



communicate it to the native *Christians* of *Syria* and *Palestine*, some of whom discovered it to *Azzoddin*, the governor of *Damascus*. This *Azzoddin* was a kind of a deputy to *Turan*, *Saladin*'s brother; who had gone to take possession of the government of *Balbec*, which he had prevailed with *Saladin* to confer upon him. But as he was a brave, and a vigilant general, he chose to prevent *Renaud*; and he immediately fell into his territories, with a strong body of forces, which obliged *Renaud* to give over his great design. In the mean while, according to the Moslem authors, *Saladin*, who remained still in *Egypt*, had not yet recovered the great defeat that had been given him, by *Renaud*; and his dominions, in *Syria* and *Egypt*, being laid waste, by pestilence and famine, he was unable, for two years, to undertake any thing of importance against the *Christians* in *Palestine*, whose affairs were then in a most deplorable condition. According to *European* authors, the patriarch *Heraclius*, was a man very ill fitted for the business for which he went; which was to re-unite the princes of *Europe*, to undertake a fresh crusade. The king of *Sicily* was then at war with the *Greek* emperor; and the emperor *Frederick Barbarosa*, was embroiled with the pope; and even the pope had so much upon his hands in *Europe*, that he could not give the same attention his predecessors had done, to the affairs of the *Holy Land*.

Bad state  
of the  
affairs of  
the *Christians* in  
*Europe*.

The master of the temple of *Jerusalem*, who was joined in the embassy with the patriarch; and the great master of the *Hospitallers*, dying during the voyage, the surviving ambassadors proceeded to *France*, where they found *Philip Augustus*, a young, but a politic and ambitious prince, upon the throne. He was embroiled with *Henry* the Second, of *England*, so that notwithstanding all the nauseous adulation, paid him by the ambassadors, they could not prevail upon him to engage personally in the expedition. They therefore passed over to *England*, where they thought themselves more secure with *Henry* the Second. That prince, in right of his father *Foulk de Anjou*, had a claim of inheritance upon the crown of *Jerusalem* himself; and his ordering the archbishop of *Canterbury* to be put to death, was thought to have rendered him entirely subservient to the see of *Rome*. But though he treated the ambassadors with great marks of distinction, and even ordered the affair to be debated in parliament, he excused himself for engaging personally in the expedition; though he said, he was willing to advance a sum of money towards it. It was easy for the patriarch to see, that *Henry*, in fact, was jealous of *Philip*; but instead of endeavouring to win him over, by gentle means, he treated him with language that would have disgraced the meanest of the vulgar.

The patriarch applies to the *Christian* princes there.

*Heraclius* being thus obliged to return to the *Holy Land*, without success, the *Christians* there, were struck with despair.



Without  
success.

*Lusignan*  
crowned  
king of  
*Jerusalem*

pair. *Baldwin* the Fourth, by this time, was dead, and the young king *Baldwin* the Fifth, did not long survive him; having been poisoned, as is said, either by *Raymond* the prince of *Tripolis*, or by his own unnatural mother *Sybilla*, that she might make way for her husband *Lusignan*, to the throne. *Raymond*, who, notwithstanding the hatred which *Baldwin* the Fourth bore towards him, had been by him left regent of the kingdom, to the exclusion of *Lusignan*, his brother-in-law; and *Raymond*, upon that, and his consanguinity, founded a claim to the throne; as being the male heir, in which he was supported by the body of the people, who had a great opinion of his abilities. The nobility, on the other hand, declared for *Sybilla*, but they could not brook any dependance upon *Lusignan*; whom they knew to be a weak prince, and who was a stranger amongst them. *Alfred de Thoron*, the husband of *Isabella*, the youngest sister of *Sybilla*, was proposed by many to be king; but he declined it; and *Sybilla*, who had as much art, as she had affection for her husband, gained over to her interest the patriarch, and the great masters of the *Temple and the Hospital*; who were, in fact, the heads of the church and the army; and before it was well known that the young king was dead, her husband and she were crowned; to the astonishment of the nobility, and the people.

Apostacy  
of count  
*Raymond*

*Saladin* had excellent intelligence of all that passed amongst the *Christians*. We are told, that an *English* knight of the *Temple*, one *Saint Albin*, offered him his service, and to convince him of his sincerity, he turned *Mahometan*; and was entrusted by *Saladin*, with the command of some troops, with whom he undertook to surprize *Jerusalem* itself, and we are informed, he was defeated and killed in the attempt. But the great dependance of *Saladin*, was upon the count of *Tripoli*, who, upon *Lusignan*'s being raised to the throne of *Jerusalem*, had retired to his own dominions. He then, according to the *Moslem*, as well as *Christian* authors, entered into a negotiation with *Saladin*, but what the articles were, do by no means appear. It is certain that, about the same time, died *Saleb*, the son of *Nureddin*, who nominated his cousin *Azzoddin*, the prince of *Mawfel*, for his successor. Soon after *Amadoddin*, who was likewise of the *Zenki* family, came into the possession of *Aleppo*, by a convention with *Azzoddin*, who received *Sanjar* in exchange.

*Moslems*  
and *Christians*  
unite

But the princes of the *Zenki* family, having the greatest reason to be jealous of *Saladin*, invited the *Christians* to enter into a confederacy against him; and this negotiation, probably, by the information of *Raymond*, came to the knowledge of *Saladin*, who remained still at *Cairo*. Upon this, the politic barbarian put himself at the head of a great army, and concluded a treaty with the emperor of *Constantinople*, and prepared to set out from *Cairo* for *Damascus*.

The



The Moslem authors inform us, that when he left *Cairo*, he was possessed with the most melancholy apprehensions, that he never should see it again, on account of the meaning of certain verses, presented him by a poet; and that all his court condoled with him. Though this is a fact of little importance, yet it serves to confirm the character of superstition, which we have given to this mighty conqueror. It appears from history, that the troops he brought into the field, upon this occasion, were raw, and undisciplined; but *Saladin* knew well how to exercise them.

Supersti-  
tion of  
*Saladin*

His first motions were directed to break the confederacy formed against him, by the princes of the *Zenki* family. He arrived at *Damascus*, where he appointed his general rendezvous, about the middle of *February*. While he was upon his march, he was opposed by the brave *Raymond*, which gave *Fark*, one of his generals, an opportunity of surprising a defenceless castle, belonging to *Renaud*, and of ravaging all that part of the country where it lay. All *Saladin's* towering schemes were now in danger of been crushed. He had laid siege to the antient *Berycus*, then called *Bayrut*; but was unsuccessful in his attacks, and was obliged to return to *Damascus*, with an intention to make himself master both of *Aleppo* and *Mawfel*; but he was bravely opposed, by the princes of the *Zenki* family. For though, about the middle of *May*, he brought a vast army before *Aleppo*, and attacked it for three days very furiously, yet he was obliged to raise the siege with great loss. He then applied himself to sow dissensions amongst the heads of the confederacy against him; in which he was more successful than he was in opposing it. For the prince of *Harem* being jealous of the prince of *Mawfel's* power, was detached from the alliance; and joined his forces with *Saladin*; who, by his assistance, made himself master of several cities of importance; and about the 11th of *July*, he formed the siege of *Mawfel*.

His  
progress

He be-  
sieves  
*Aleppo*,

It appears from Moslem authors, that *Naser*, the califf of *Bagdad*, sought to avail himself of the confusion of the times; and had formed some pretensions upon *Aleppo*, in which he was defeated. The princes of the house of *Zenki*, upon *Saladin's* preparing to act against them, likewise invited him into the confederacy, but he declined it; and he seems to have acted all along, as the creature of *Saladin*. He however, still kept up the badges of his supremacy as califf, by sending to that *Sultan*, and the princes of his family, robes of honour, from time to time. It appears, that *Mawfel* was, at this time, one of the largest and strongest cities in all the East, and it is said to have been built upon the same spot where the antient *Nineveh* stood. Its garrison was composed, both of horse and foot, and *Azzoddin*, who had not yet resigned the possession of it, was extremely beloved by the inhabitants. *Azzoddin* however, being apprehensive of *Saladin's*



His in-  
gratitude. *Saladin's* power, made an effort to prevail upon him to raise the siege; for he sent his own mother, with the daughter of *Nureddin*, and a great many ladies, and noblemen of distinction, to beg that he would desist from his undertaking. *Saladin*, tho' he desired the ladies to sit down in his tent, and behaved to them with an aukward civility, yet was so far from granting their request, that he made dispositions for continuing the siege more vigorously than ever.

Remark-  
able de-  
fence of  
the *Maw-*  
*felites*.

the siege  
raised.

*Saladin's*  
barbarity  
and pro-  
gress.

Upon the return of the ladies to *Mawfel*, the inhabitants were exasperated to the last degree, at *Saladin's* ingratitude, to the daughter of *Nureddin*; (of whom we have related a like adventure before, tho' probably it is the same with this) and resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. As the city was very large, it was with some difficulty that he could compleatly invest it on the eastern side of the *Tygris*, where the inhabitants frequently attacked and defeated his troops. This obliged him to change his manner of proceeding, and to endeavour to cut off all communication between the city and the *Tygris*; by which alone it was supplied with water. But the courage of the inhabitants defeated this expedient likewise; and his army was greatly weakened by their frequent sallies: and at last a very ridiculous accident convinced him they were not to be subdued. For in one of their sallies, a *Mawfelite* having lost his sword in the conflict, pulled off an iron shod shoe, with which he attacked *Jawalli*, one of *Saladin's* best officers, and wounded him severely in the breast. The party being repulsed, *Jawalli* called for the shoe, which had been left in the field of battle, and carried it to the *Sultan*; to whom he declared that he was determined to have no farther concern in the siege, where he was treated with such an indignity, as being attacked with old shoes. In short *Saladin*, notwithstanding all his experience and courage, was obliged to raise the siege.

From *Mawfel*, *Saladin* marched against *Sanjar*, which he took by assault, on the second of *September*; but he sent the garrison, under an escort to *Mawfel*. He then took the important city of *Nasibin*; and in the same campaign made himself master of *Edessa*, and *Rakka*; but wherever he went he destroyed the territories of the *Christians* with fire and sword, and gave themselves no quarter. He acquired all those successes, and many others, more by his address, and the force of his money, than by his arms; for he found means, in a manner, to dissolve the confederacy that had been formed against him. The prince of *Mawfel*, upon this, was joined by the prince of *Aklat*, in *Armenia*; whose subjects seem to have been *Christians*. But after the confederate army was brought into the field, *Saladin* found means to detach the *Armenian* from his allies, which entirely defeated the ends of their union. He then formed the siege of *Amida*,  
and



and took it in eight days time, giving the plunder of it to one of his generals, and the government of it to another.

Such were the arts, and such the conduct, by which this great emperor closed this campaign, so much to his glory. Nor was he less fortunate by his brother *Saif*, who reduced to his subjection the rich country of *Yaman*, or the *Happy Arabia*; where he found immense treasures; all which he got possession of by fraud and treachery. *Saladin* however, amidst all his successes, was not without his checks. The brave *Renaud* had been able to fit out some ships, on the *Red Sea*, on board of which, he put a number of land forces; he then left part of his little fleet to block up *Aila*, a considerable maritime city belonging to *Saladin*, upon the same coast. *Malec*, *Saladin*'s brother, was, at that time, his governor of *Egypt*; where he and all the *Moslems*, were amazed at seeing the *Christian* flag upon the *Red Sea*. He appointed one *Lulu*, an excellent sea officer, to the command of the *Egyptian* marine; and *Lulu* soon sailed with a fleet, which defeated that of the *Christians*, before *Aila*. But, in the mean time, *Renaud* had landed his soldiers out of his other division, and advancing up the country of *Hejaz*, he is accused, by the *Moslem* authors, of having put a great many *Mahometan* pilgrims to the sword; of threatening to destroy the holy temple of *Mecca*, and to take, by storm, both that city and *Medina*. It appears, from the best testimonies, that he probably would have succeeded in all he proposed, had not the want of water obliged him to return to his ships: the *Moslem* writers say, but with no appearance of probability, that the squadron under him was likewise defeated by *Lulu*. It is certain, however, that the latter made a most inhuman use of his victory, by putting to death, in cold blood, all the prisoners who fell into his hands. This expedition, so glorious for *Renaud*, as I apprehend, has been omitted by the *Christian* writers; a fresh proof of their inaccuracy and prejudice.

The alliance between the house of *Zenki*, and the prince of *Aleppo*, seems still to have subsisted; and the next campaign was opened by the joint operations of their armies: against several places belonging to *Saladin*, or his friends, but with no great success. Upon this, *Saladin* resolved, once more, to form the siege of *Aleppo*, which some have mistaken for a *Christian* city; and on the twenty second of *January* he took *Tel Kaled*, an important post in the neighbourhood of that city, and four days after he opened the siege. *Amadoddin*, the prince of *Aleppo*, was then in the place, the chief strength of which lay in the citadel; which *Amadoddin* had fortified very strongly. But *Amadoddin*, who, notwithstanding his alliance with the *Christians*, and his aversion to *Saladin*, was a good *Moslem*, seeing himself now unsupported by the *Zenki* family, and exposed to all the rage of *Saladin*,

Expedition of  
*Renaud*.

against  
*Mecca* and  
*Medina*.

Hej. 579.  
A. D.  
1183.

*Saladin*  
again  
besieges  
*Aleppo*.



which is  
given up  
to him,

*Saladin*, whose arms had now penetrated into *Galile* itself, begun to entertain some thoughts of an accommodation; especially as the *Christians* had returned home, to defend their own dominions. He was the more disposed to this, as his principal officers disliked his alliance with the *Christians*; and as *Saladin* was at great pains to convince all the princes in the *Moslem* interest, that he had no other view, than to unite them all against the enemies of *Mahomet*. *Amadoddin* therefore, employed one of his officers, upon a private treaty with *Saladin*; who shewed no aversion to an accommodation, tho' his brother was mortally wounded during the siege: which was continued with vast vigour. After some interviews, about the middle of *February*, a convention was concluded between *Saladin*, and *Amadoddin*; by which it was agreed, that the latter should yield up the citadel of *Aleppo*, but should remain in possession of all his treasures and effects; and that, in exchange for *Aleppo*, he should receive from *Saladin*, the cities of *Sanjar*, *Nasibin*, *Kabur*, *Rakka*, and *Saruj*, in *Mesopotamia*; and that he should serve, with his troops, under *Saladin*, whenever required.

by capitu-  
lation.  
*Amadod-  
din* re-  
proached

Nothing of this negotiation was known in public, till *Saladin's* troops peaceably took possession of the citadel, and then the citizens, upon application to *Saladin*, were received into his protection, and confirmed in all their possessions, having first taken an oath of allegiance to him. But when the capitulation which *Amadoddin* had made with *Saladin* came to be known, his subjects of *Aleppo* could not refrain from giving him the most opprobrious language, "You afs," said they in their eastern strain, "you have sold your cream for skimmed milk." In fact, the bargain was disadvantageous on the part of *Amadoddin*, because *Saladin* had dismantled all the cities he had ceded by the capitulation. But *Saladin* strove to make *Amadoddin* amends by a profusion of compliments he paid him. He made presents of robes of state to him and all his chief ministers and generals, and in return accepted of an invitation to a magnificent entertainment given by *Amadoddin* in his tent; but in the midst of the festivity *Saladin* was told that his brother *Moluc* was dead of the wound he had received. *Saladin* so tenderly loved this brother, that he was often heard to say, that *Aleppo* was too dearly purchased since it had cost his life. But he would not disturb the mirth of the entertainment by publishing the melancholy news, and whispered one of his officers to take care that the body should be privately interred.

Complai-  
ance of  
*Saladin*.

He takes  
*Harem*.

*Saladin* having gained the favourite end, he had so long aimed at, he extended his conquests far and near, over all *Syria*. The governor of *Harem* refusing to surrender that fortress, the garrison sent him in chains to *Saladin*; and put themselves under his command: and its example was followed



followed by the strong fortrefs of *Azaz*; the prevailing opinion amongst the people being, that they must otherwise fall under the power of the *Christians*. *Saladin* then appointed his son *Gazi*, to the government of *Aleppo*, which, next to *Damascus*, he prized, as the fairest jewel of his crown; and in order to make, if possible, the campaign decisive, he sent for powerful reinforcements from *Egypt*, and his other countries, under his brother *Adel*. He then, according to the *Christian* authors, made dispositions for executing the plan he had concerted with *Raymond* earl of *Tripoli*; who, according to the same authors, had actually offered to renounce *Christianity*, and embrace *Mahometanism*. But this is against all the evidence of common sense. For tho' it is more than probable, that *Saladin*, and he, had an understanding, if not a treaty together, yet it is plain, that it was upon such terms, as should leave *Raymond* in Conjecture about *Saladin's* intention. For every step he took was a demonstration, that he intended to retake *Jerusalem*, and drive the *Christians* out of the East. For this purpose, he had, again and again, attempted to take the important city of *Al Carac*; which in a manner cut off the communication, between *Syria*, and *Egypt*, and belonged to *Renaud*. But tho' he and his generals had, vigorously, attempted to take the place, with very strong armies, they were still baffled before it. But after the taking *Azaz*, *Saladin* passed the *Jordan*, burnt *Beisan*, drove the troops of the *Templars*, and *Hospitalers* out of the field, and once more besieged *Al Carac*. It does not appear, that he was present in person, at the opening the siege, the care of which he committed to *Arflan*; besieged a general he had sent for out of *Egypt*, and who attacked the place very vigorously. Meeting with an obstinate resistance, the *Christians* had time to reassemble their troops, and they encamped at *Wali*, a place in the neighbourhood, with an intention to give *Arflan* battle, and to raise the siege.

*Saladin* was at this time at *Damascus*, where the fame of his power, and his zeal against the *Christians*, brought ambassadors, and many sovereign princes, from all parts of the *Moslem* world, to congratulate him, or to court his alliance. *Saladin*, who was now attended by his favourite son, whom he had made governor of *Aleppo*, received them all, with great kindness; provided they had no connections with the *Christians*, and would enter into no communication with those who had. Accordingly, the princes of *Fazir*, and *Arbel*, renounced even the connections they had formed with the prince of *Mawfel*, because of his correspondence with the *Christians*; and were received into alliance with *Saladin*, who appeared now in great glory. But he no sooner understood, that the *Christians* were in motion to raise the siege of *Al Carac*, than he put himself at the head of a fresh body of troops, and, passing the *Jordan*, he encamped

*Saladin's*  
great  
pomp.



He is obliged to raise the siege of *Al Carac*. camped at *Ma Ain*, either to cover the siege; or to give battle to the *Christians*; but he succeeded in neither of his designs, tho' *Arflan* had taken the lower town of *Al Carac*. For the *Christians* having thrown a strong reinforcement of men and provisions into the place, he thought fit to evacuate the lower town, and to raise the siege. He then marched into the open country, which he ravaged with his usual cruelty; and put to the sword all the *Christians* he met with. Whenever he came to an open place, belonging to the *Christians*, he entered and destroyed it; but was unable to take the citadel of *Nablos*. After those unmanly exploits he returned, as it were, in triumph, to *Damascus*; and gave orders for driving the troops of *Mawfel* out of the territories of his new ally, the prince of *Arbel*; which was effected. After this, *Al Naser*, the califf of *Bagdad*, endeavoured to reconcile *Saladin*, and *Azzoddin*, the prince of *Mawfel*; but in vain: for *Saladin* would hear of no accommodation, unless *Azzoddin* would renounce all correspondence with the *Christians*. This, perhaps, was only a pretence, to lower the extream desire he had to make himself master of *Azzoddin's* capital. Under pretence therefore of the hostilities *Azzoddin's* army had committed, against the prince of *Aklat*, he again laid siege to *Mawfel*; in which he was assisted by a large army formed of the troops of his confederates, or rather tributaries; for he now declared himself to be at the head of the *Moslem* interest, and exacted great deference, and marks of respect, from them, even to the putting them under an arrest, if he thought they failed in either.

The *Seljukian Sultan* of *Rum*, so called from his empire being conquered from the *Greeks*, or, as the *Turks* used to term them, the *Romans*, was the most independant, at this time, of all the *Moslem* princes. His name was *Kilij Arflan*, and being jealous of *Saladin*, he was prevailed upon by *Azzoddin*, to send an embassy to that *Sultan*, to inform him, that if he did not desist from his enterprize against *Mawfel*, a general confederacy of all the *Moslem* princes would be formed against him. *Saladin* laughed at this menace; which he knew to be false, and proceeded in the siege; in which making but little progress, he raised it, in order to make himself master of *Aklat*, the prince of which was just dead. But being disappointed in that project, he turned his arms against *Mayabarakin*, and then returned to the siege of *Mawfel*. By this time, *Azzoddin*, sensible that he could not singly withstand *Saladin's* power, applied to him for terms; which *Saladin*, who had failed so often in his attempts upon *Mawfel*, very readily granted. By this treaty, several cities, and territories, were ceded to *Saladin*, who gave *Azzoddin*, who continued to govern *Mawfel*, some territories in return. It was likewise agreed, that the *Sultan* should be prayed for in all the mosques of *Mawfel*, and its territories; and that the public money should bear his name. By the two last articles,



It is plain that *Saladin*, by this treaty, became sovereign of *Maroufel*. About this time, *Saladin* fell so dangerously ill of a fever, that he was obliged to retire to *Haran*, where his life was despaired of. His nephew *Mohammed*, the son of the famous *Shairacub*, then governor of *Hems*, upon this, formed some intrigues with the principal lords of *Damascus*, to render himself governor of that city. But *Saladin* recovering his health, by the assistance of an able physician, brought to him by his brother, no sooner was informed of *Mohammed's* practices, than he ordered him to be poisoned; notwithstanding the vast obligations he lay under to his father. It is further probable, that the charge against *Mohammed* was all a fiction, to colour his seizing all his treasure and effects, which he did, tho' he pretended to leave the government of *Hems* to his son *Asadoddin*, a child of twelve years old; and in the hands of tutors, appointed him by *Saladin*. It is said that, after *Saladin* had seized upon *Mohammed's* effects, he ordered *Asadoddin* to attend him; and he asked the boy, how far he had advanced in his reading the *Koran*. Upon which he readily answered, "I am come, sir, to that passage, which says, that they who unjustly take from an orphan, his inheritance, shall swallow down living flames, and broil in endless torments." This treatment of the son, and grandson of a man who had been more than a father to *Saladin*, whose sister *Mohammed* had likewise married, is a fresh instance of that unjust partiality, with which the memory of this tyrant has been treated by historians; and the rather, as the facts we have related, are admitted, by his greatest admirers, to have been true.

By some surmises which have dropt from the pens of *Christian*, as well as *Moslem*, authors, it appears as if *Renaud* had forced *Saladin* to consent to a cessation of arms; but upon what terms, or within bounds is not said. We are only told that, in the beginning of this campaign, that active prince had intercepted a large caravan of pilgrims travelling to *Mecca*, and had carried into captivity all whom he did not put to the sword. When *Saladin* heard of this, he broke into a terrible passion, accused *Renaud* of having violated the truce, and swore, if he ever took him, he would cut off his head with his own hand. But there is no necessity for us to suppose, that the barbarian required any additional motive for this inhuman resolution, which he afterwards most faithfully performed; or indeed that any engagement farther than that formed between him and *Raymond*, whom perhaps he might think *Renaud's* superior, subsisted between him and *Renaud*. As *Raymond's* treaty, therefore, with *Saladin* was kept a secret, *Renaud* could not be guilty of breaking it: tho I perceive that the *Christian* authors make mention of another *Renaud*, in their army, who was suspected of having a correspondence with *Saladin*.

A caravan  
of *Moslems*  
pilgrims  
intercep-  
ted.

Early



Hej. 583.  
A. D.  
1187.  
*Saladin's*  
intrigues  
with *Ray-*  
*mond* ex-  
amined.

Early in the year 1187, *Saladin* took the field with all the forces he could muster. If we are to believe the *Christian* authors, *Raymond*, by an excellent train of dissimulation, had by this time reconciled himself to the king of *Jerusalem*, the patriarch, and the other *Christian* nobility there, by pretending to abjure all his connections with *Saladin*. But we are told that, in the mean time, he pointed out to the barbarian, the method how to conquer the kingdom of *Jerusalem*; a piece of treachery very unlikely to be true, if he had himself an eye upon that crown. It is therefore much more probable, that, seeing the danger with which the kingdom was threatened by *Saladin's* power, he became a real penitent, and broke off all correspondence with the *Infidels*; and every step of his after conduct, shows that to have been the case.

*Saladin's*  
army.

*Saladin* had then in the field above ninety thousand foot, and a proportionable number of horse, which were as many troops as that ruined country could subsist; but he never had been, before, at the head of so many good soldiers. His first operation was to block up *Al Carac*, in order to protect the pilgrims travelling to *Mecca*. He then sent a large detachment, under his son *Malec*, to lay waste all the country about *Ptolemais*, called by the *Turks* *Acca*, which he did with inspeakable rapaciousness; and that district being less exhausted than the neighbouring ones, he returned to his father with a vast booty. Upon the return of the caravan in safety, *Saladin* moved to *Asptara*, where he was joined by all the detachments he had sent out; and particularly by the troops of *Mawfel*. He then made a general rendezvous of all his army, which he marched towards the lake of *Tiberias*, near which he pitched his camp, about the end of *April*.

He be-  
sieges  
*Tiberias*.

In the mean while, as it was now plain that *Saladin's* intention was to besiege *Tiberias*, a city of the utmost consequence to the *Christians*, a great council was held at *Jerusalem*, to deliberate how they were to proceed. The princess *Eselina*, who had brought to *Raymond*, whom she married, the principality of *Galile*, of which *Tiberias* was a part, was then in that city; which by all accounts was but poorly garrisoned. The king of *Jerusalem's* council were divided in opinion. As *Tiberias* could not be relieved, but by bringing a great army into the field, which must be drawn forth from other garrisons, some thought it best not to attempt the relief of the place, since it might bring on a battle, that must give all *Palestine* to *Saladin*, if he was victorious; whereas, by keeping upon the defensive, fatigue and heat must ruin his troops; while they, the *Christians*, had a fair chance of receiving reinforcements from *Europe*. *Raymond*, on the other hand, represented, the indelible disgrace that must attend their abandoning a princess, to the mercy of barbarians, and how unlikely it was, if *Tiberias* was not relieved,

A resolu-  
tion is  
taken to  
raise the  
siege.



relieved, that any other place durst stand out against them; he added, they were able to bring into the field a force which, former experience told them, must be superior to the barbarous, undisciplined troops of the *Infidels*, however numerous they were.

*Raymond* was seconded in his opinion by many of the assembly, and particularly by four sons of *Eschima*, of a former marriage; and got upon his side, even *Sybilla* the queen of *Jerusalem*; upon which it was resolved, that an army should take the field, and give battle to the *Infidels*. This army consisted of twenty thousand infantry, and twelve thousand cavalry, besides militia, and undoubtedly, had they been well armed, and disciplined, and fighting upon equal terms, the *Infidels*, numerous as they were, must have been defeated. For, tho' *Saladin* had introduced into his troops a most excellent discipline, yet they were not comparable to the *Christians*, who had much better armour; but, excepting *Knights Hospitalers*, and *Templars*, not above one half of this army were soldiers, and they were to march against the most cautious, and most experienced, general in the world. *Saladin* had, by this time, taken by storm the city of *Tiberias*; but the princess continued resolutely to defend the citadel. It is allowed by *Moslem* authors, that he was guilty of the most shocking cruelties against the inhabitants of *Tiberias*. He affected to call all the *Knights Hospitalers*, and *Templars*, *Bataniſts*, or *Assassins*. He gave fifty dinars for every one of their heads that were brought to him, and suffered none of them to receive any quarter. He was but too well countenanced in those barbarities, by the practice of those holy fraternities, who seldom themselves gave quarter to *Infidels*; or if they did, kept them in chains in slavery. At last, receiving intelligence that the *Christian* army was in motion to fight them, and perceiving he could not take the citadel of *Tiberias*, he set fire to that part of the town that was in his hands; and leaving part of his troops to block up the citadel, he made a most advantageous disposition for receiving the enemy.

*Saladin's*  
cruelty.

On the twenty second of April both armies met. According to *Christian* authors, the situation of the *Christian* army was highly disadvantageous, and deplorable; and all owing to the perfidy of *Raymond*, who was chosen to conduct it. But the fact is, that *Lusignan* was hated by the great lords of *Palestine*, and *Lusignan* hated *Raymond*; so that upon the whole, there was no concord, and scarcely command amongst them. The *Christian* writers pretend that *Raymond* intangled the army amongst rocks and mountainous passes, so that they fell an easy prey to the *Infidels*; who, by his advice, were possessed of all the most advantageous posts. They pretend that this broke the *Christians* into so many small divisions, that they could not act in a body: and that they could not get out of the defiles, but by two or three in a

An ac-  
count of  
the deci-  
sive battle  
of Hittin.



breast, which gave the *Infidels* an opportunity of cutting them off. It is certain, that the great master of the *Templars* acted with prodigious courage upon this melancholy occasion; for he and his knights overthrew all opposition. The *Christian* authors say, that they were ill supported by *Raymond*, who led the second division, (it being the prerogative of the master of the Temple to lead the first;) and that the divisions after him being commanded by men in concert with him, none of them would venture to follow the *Templars*: every man of whom were either killed upon the spot or taken prisoners, and consequently reserved for certain death.

which Sa-  
ladin wins. The *Moslem* writers, on this occasion, seem to have been better informed. They tell us that the battle begun upon the twenty second of April in the afternoon, and that it continued very fierce and bloody till night parted the combatants. The next day, the battle was renewed, but without any decisive advantage on either side. But, on the twenty fourth, the *Christians* having pushed the *Moslems*, towards the banks of the *Jordan*, and the latter being hemmed in on all sides, found their safety in despair. *Raymond*, undoubtedly to wipe from himself all suspicion, charged the *Infidels* in their first ranks, with unparalleled courage; but was opposed by the prince of *Hamali*, who received him so warmly that he obliged him to retreat, and in his retreat he lost every man who attended him, by the ambuscades of the *Infidels*, that had been planted in the defiles of the mountains, and he escaped single to *Tripoli*. As this is a fact that is not contradicted by any writer of that time, it is a full proof that *Raymond* was not guilty of that atrocious treachery with which he is charged, upon this occasion; it even serves to show that he behaved with as much resolution as any general who fought on the side of the *Christians*. The flight of *Raymond* threw the *Christians* into such a panic and confusion, that the *Turks*, attacking them on all hands, gained a compleat victory. The brave *Templars*, and *Hospitalers*, were all cut off, excepting two hundred who remained about the person of the king. Notwithstanding this, the *Christians* who survived, formed themselves into a body, and retired towards their camp, which lay upon a rising ground, called the hill of *Hittin*; where they formed themselves with such a shew of resolution, that *Saladin* durst not attack them, and was about to have ordered his soldiers to retreat, when, by means of six deserters, who came over to him, he understood, that the *Christians* were so faint with thirst and fatigue, that they could not handle their arms. Notwithstanding this information, the tyrant did not think proper to attack them; but observing that their camp was surrounded by vast groves of combustible wood, he ordered his forces to advance and pen them up on all sides, in as narrow a compass as possible. In the mean



mean while, he caused the wood to be set on fire around them, and the dreadful conflagration obliged the *Christians* to surrender at discretion. A *Moslem* author, who was well informed, tells us, that a single soldier of the *Infidel* army finished off thirty of them, tied one to another with his tent ropes.

*Saladin* behaved towards the *Christians*, as they, very possibly, would have behaved to his army, had it been defeated. He massacred all the common men, from whose ransom he had nothing to expect. *Lusignan* the king of *Jerusalem*, endeavoured to make his escape, but was pursued closely by *Tyo Kaidin*, one of *Saladin's* nephews, and taken. The butchery of the common men being over, *Saladin* ordered the two hundred *Knights Templars* and *Hospitalers*, who had likewise been made prisoners, to be brought before his tent, where they were massacred under his own eyes. This inhuman sacrifice being performed, *Saladin* called for the two chief prisoners, and ordered them to be brought into his tent, which was most magnificently fitted up for their reception. These were, *Lusignan* king of *Jerusalem*, and the brave *Renaud*, who we have so often mentioned. He seated the first upon his right hand, and the latter upon his left. He called for a bowl of sherbet, which had been cooled with snow water, and after drinking to the king of *Jerusalem*, he gave it to his hand. After that prince, who was perishing with thirst, had drank, he presented the bowl to *Renaud*, who was in the same condition. "Hold, called out *Saladin*, I will not suffer that execrable villain to drink, because that would insure his life, according to the noble customs of the *Arabs*." He then turned towards *Renaud*, and in a most unmanly manner, upbraided him with his impiety, in undertaking so many expeditions against the holy cities of *Mecca*, and *Medena*; in blaspheming the name of *Mahomed*, and in killing so many *Pilgrims*, as had fallen under his sword. But notwithstanding all those horrible offences, *Saladin* offered him his life, if he would turn *Mahometan*. But *Renaud* answering him like a man of virtue and resolution, the tyrant drew his scymeter; and at one blow smote his head from his body. *Lusignan* sat all this while trembling by; but *Saladin* perceiving his uneasiness, desired him to take courage; telling him, that one king ought not to put another to death. By this expression, which is taken from the *Moslem* authors, it appears as if this barbarian had some notion of the right which the law of nations gives sovereign princes. He accordingly, by all accounts, treated *Lusignan* very respectfully; as he likewise did the old marquis of *Montferrat*, queen *Sybilla's* father in law, who had come, according to the ridiculous customs of those times, to perform his devotions at the holy sepulchre in *Jerusalem*. He likewise reserved the grand master



History of  
the holy  
cross,

and its  
bearer.

Conse-  
quences of  
the vic-  
tory of  
*Hittin*.

of the Temple, for whom he expected a large ransom. Before we leave the subject of this battle, which proved so fatal to the *Christians* in the East, we are to observe, that the *Christians* who had taken *Jerusalem*, had been lucky enough, to discover a piece of wood, which they imagined was the identical cross upon which our Saviour suffered. This piece of wood they divided into two or more parts; and one part of it, in all their battles and encounters, had been carried in front of their army, by a bishop, who thinking that his sacred charge rendered him invulnerable, never had put on armour. It happened that on the fatal day of the battle of *Hittin*, *Rufin*, the bishop of *Ptolemais*, was honoured with carrying the precious relique. But not being so strong in faith, as those who had the like honour before him, and who never had been either killed or wounded, he dressed himself in armour, but was shot thro' the heart by an arrow; and the holy wood fell into the hands of *Tyo Kaddin*, who layed it at his uncle's feet, as the noblest trophy of his victory.

The victory which *Saladin* obtained at *Hittin*, if we are to judge by its consequences, which are the most rational grounds of judging, was as compleat as any we read of. Though the places which the *Christians* held, in *Palestine* and *Syria*, were so well fortified, that, if properly garrisoned, they would have been impregnable to the barbarians; yet as the flower of their garrisons had perished in the field, they could make but a feeble resistance. It appears that the heroic princess *Eschina* still held out the citadel of *Tiberias*, the siege of which *Saladin* resumed, immediately after the battle of *Hittin*; and it was surrendered to him, upon an honourable capitulation. From *Tiberias*, he marched his army to *Acca*, or *Ptolemais*. This city was then very flourishing; it had a vast trade, and a noble harbour, extremely convenient for a fleet with provisions, and the necessaries of war, which *Saladin* had ordered out of *Egypt*; and at that season of the year, it was full of merchants, and the richest commodities of the East. According to the best authorities, this great and strong city opened its gates to him, when he appeared before it; upon his granting them a capitulation, which was, that every man might retire with as much of his money and effects as he could carry: but that the conqueror's troops should be intitled to all the residue. This happened upon the first of *May*, according to the *Moslem* authors, so rapid was this barbarian's marches and conquests. They tell us likewise that he found four hundred *Moslems* in chains in *Ptolemais*; all whom he released: and that the booty he made there was immensely rich. While *Saladin* continued in *Ptolemais*, his brother *Malec* took the strong fortrefs of *Madeleyba*, near *Al Ramla*.



It cannot be imagined that the descendants of those *Christians*, who had conquered *Palestine* only eighty-eight years before, were very numerous. It is true, they had received a few accessions from *Europe*, but those were very inconsiderable, as the conquerors, and their descendants, looked upon themselves to be the absolute proprietors of all their acquisitions. The loss of thirty thousand troops therefore, who perished at the battle of *Hittin*, rendered *Palestine* bare of men; and many of those who were left, with their families, fled towards *Jerusalem*. It was therefore not surprising, that *Saladin's* conquests were so quick. He divided his army into detachments, for the sake of expedition; and met with no opposition in taking *Nablos*, *Haifa*, *Cæsarea*, *Scpphoris*, *Nazareth*, *Maltha*, *Fawla*, and a great number of other places, in the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*. In the mean while, *Malec* took *Joppa* by storm. It appears that the good faith which *Saladin* showed, in his observing the capitulation of *Ptolemais*, was of infinite service to his affairs, and encouraged the inhabitants of all the places before which he appeared, to submit to him. *Saladin's* next attempt was upon *Tebnin*, a fortress of some strength near *Acca*. It held out for six days, but was taken on the eighteenth of *May*; and the conqueror, to strike the greater terror in those who presumed to resist him, ordered the place to be demolished and the garrison to be massacred. *Saladin* then marched to *Sidon*, which he took possession of without resistance; *Renaud*, the prince of it, whom we have already mentioned, being shut up in *Jerusalem*. He then formed the siege of *Berytus*, which before had baffled his arms; and took it by capitulation on the twenty ninth of the same month. The prince of *Habeil*, a *Christian*, was here taken prisoner, but it does not clearly appear, whether in the town or in the field, and *Saladin* obliged him to ransom himself, by meanly delivering into his hands his principality. Tho' this prince is not mentioned by *Christian* authors, yet we learn from the *Moslem* ones, that he was in great esteem amongst the *Christians* of *Palestine*; and is by them severely censured for his pusillanimity. *Saladin* then appeared before *Askalon*, which, according to *Christian* authors, was one of the bulwarks of *Palestine*, and so well fortified that, at that time, he was obliged to desist from his enterprize. There is some reason for doubting of that fact. The best informed *Moslem* authors say, that the siege lasted fourteen days; and that then the place was given up by capitulation: one of the terms of which was, that the king of *Jerusalem* should be set at liberty; but this condition seems to be incompatible with what we are told by *Christian* writers, that *Lusignan* was a captive and attended *Saladin's* triumphal entry into *Jerusalem*. The *Moslem* authors likewise tell us, that one, whom they called *Beth Gabriel*, the commandant of the fort, was likewise suffered to go with five hundred of his garrison,

Remarks  
on the  
state of the  
*Christians*

Great pro  
gress of  
*Saladin's*  
arms;

he takes  
*Askalon*.



to *Europe*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that, about this time, *Saladin* took *Romla*, *Yasra*, which is called *Jabneh*, in holy writ, *Darun*, *Gaza*, *Bethlehem*, and other places, which cleared his way for besieging *Jerusalem*.

Dejection  
of the  
*Christians*

*Jerusalem*  
besieged,

battered  
and

The *Christians* were as much dejected as their enemies, were elevated by their loosing the battle of *Hittin*; and having neither the spirit nor means to oppose *Saladin*, his conquests scarcely cost him a man. When he sat down before *Jerusalem*, his army was prodigiously numerous; for he had called in all his lesser detachments, that he might make the conquest of that his great object, well knowing, that all the fortresses that still stood out in *Palestine*, must fall of course, when *Jerusalem* was reduced. It was the fifteenth of *July* before it was fully invested. The city was at that time overstocked with inhabitants, but most of them women and children, who had fled thither from the *Infidels*. Queen *Sybilla*, the patriarch *Heraclius*, *Renaud* the prince of *Sidon*, and other persons of great distinction were likewise within it, and their consternation at seeing from the walls the prodigious numbers of the *Infidels* who besieged them, was inexpressible. *Saladin* spent five days in reconnoitring the place, that he might make a proper choice of the part he was to attack. At last he planted his engines near the gate of *Amida*, and the church of *Sion*. Before he began his operations, he sent a formal summons for the inhabitants to surrender; requesting them, at the same time, to reflect upon his justice, moderation, and equity, and the punctuality with which he had fulfilled all his engagements; promising them greater advantages than he had granted to the inhabitants of the other places he had taken, and to preserve them in all the privileges and immunities, they enjoyed under their kings.

This summons being rejected with great indignation, *Saladin* began his operations; and he battered the place for ten days, with vast fury; upon that side which was least defensible. It does not appear that the *Christians* were destitute of the means for a vigorous resistance, but the vast number of souls enclosed within the walls, must have reduced them to famine, had *Saladin* even turned the siege into a blockade. For some time, however, the besieged, as well as the besiegers, behaved with the greatest intrepidity, but the former soon perceived, that it was impossible for the place to hold out much longer, against the dreadful engines with which the *Infidels* battered it. Upon this, according to the *Moslem* authors, one *Balian*, the prince of *Romla*, was sent out by the besieged to treat of a capitulation. *Saladin* at first received him with great haughtiness, and told him he was determined to grant the besieged no terms, but to take *Jerusalem* as the *Christians* had taken it, sword in hand. Upon this, *Balian*, like a man of spirit, replied, that if that was his majesty's answer,



answer, the inhabitants were determined to kill their wives and children, to set fire to all their valuable effects, and to endeavour with their swords, to force their way thro' the camp of the besiegers. This language struck the tyrant, who desired *Balian* to wait till he should call a council of war, which he accordingly did, and it was there resolved to grant the besieged a capitulation. The terms were, that the inhabitants might depart out of the place with freedom and security, upon paying the following sums. For every man ten dinars, for every woman five, and for every person under a certain age two. Such are the terms, mentioned by the *Moslem* authors, who lived at the time, and who seem to be much better informed, than the *Christians*. They tell us farther, that *Balian* paid down thirty hundred dinars, by way of ransom, for the poorer sort, who were not able to pay any thing for themselves. The *Christian* authors say, that, by the same capitulation, no *Christians*, excepting *Greeks*, *Syrians*, *Armenians* and *Jacobites*, were to be suffered to continue in *Jerusalem*.

The *Christian* writers have given prodigious encomiums upon *Saladin* for the generous manner in which he executed this capitulation. They tell us, that nothing but weeping and wailing was heard in the city, the night before the capitulation was to take place; and that the tyrant was extremely impatient to have the terms executed. According to them, the unhappy *Christians* passed in a kind of a review before his face, and he was so moved, by their mournings, and distresses, that he gave to the wives of all who had been taken at the battle of *Hittin*, the liberty of their husbands. They likewise say that he made magnificent presents to all the young ladies who left the place, and whose quality was greater than their fortunes. Partiality of Christian writers,

As all those circumstances, so honourable to *Saladin's* memory, had been related by his enemies, they ought to weigh in his favour; but as we have already hinted, the *Christian* historians have discovered an unaccountable partiality for this mighty barbarian, which was, perhaps, owing to the dissentions that reigned amongst the *Christians* themselves, that made both sides agree in giving *Saladin* those virtues which they refused to one another. This is the more probable, as the *Moslem* authors, some of whom are *Saladin's* cotemporaries, are entirely silent on the head of his generosity upon this occasion. The money which each was to pay was laid down at the gates, and every one who paid were put under a guard that was to escort them to *Tyre*. According to the same *Moslem* authors, the tyrant evaded, the generous intention of *Balian's* present, for he put in chains, and threw into prison, all who could not pay the stipulated ransom; such a mercenary conduct gives the lye to all the fulsome, ill judged panegyrics, bestowed by *Christians* upon this barbarian. It is likewise certain, that the affliction



*Heraclius*  
saves the  
church  
plate for  
himself

affliction of the *Christians* within the place was nothing so great, as their historians have represented it; for the *Asiatic Christians* hated the *European* ones more than they did the *Moslems* themselves. One *Batith*, a *Melchite*, or *Egyptian Christian*, a merchant and a man of great wealth, prevailed with the *Asiatic Christians*, who formed the bulk of the inhabitants at *Jerusalem*, to shake off the yoke of the *Franks*, as the *European Christians* were called, and to submit to *Saladin*. The patriarch *Heraclius*, a man of intemperate zeal, but abandoned morals, was the only person, who had weight enough to have opposed this capitulation. But *Saladin* made him his friend, by permitting him to carry with him all the magnificent services of gold and silver, and other rich furniture, of the church of the *Holy Sepulchre*. The *Moslem* authors tell us farther, that *Saladin* perceiving that his machines had not the desired effect on the west side where they were first erected, he transferred them to the north; and that, by sapping a part of the wall which was contiguous to the valley of *Gabnion*, he made a breach, which facilitated the reduction of the place: no fewer than fourteen thousand *Christians*, who were unable to pay the ransom, were detained in prison upon this occasion.

*Saladin's*  
triumphal  
entry into  
*Jerusalem*

*Saladin*, during the time of evacuating *Jerusalem*, which continued for several days, refused to enter into that city. When the evacuation was compleated, he made his entry in the manner of a *Roman* triumph, at the head of his army, and according to the *Christians*, with his illustrious prisoners, the king of *Jerusalem*, the marquis of *Monferrat*, the high constable, and other *Christian* lords, attending his chariot.

where he  
re-estab-  
lishes *Mos-*  
*emism*.

His first care was to abolish all marks of *Christianity* in that holy city. He caused the holy cros, or a piece of wood which was believed to be part of it, all covered with plates of gold, to be taken down from the top of the church of the *Hospitalers*, where it had been erected, and to be dragged from thence with ignominy, to the tower of *David*. He then applied himself to cleansing all the *Mahometan* mosques, or places of worship, and obliged his *Christian* prisoners to purify them with rose and common water, as they had been so indecently abused by the *Christians*. He likewise ordered a most magnificent pulpit, which had been prepared for *Nureddin*, while he was meditating the re-conquest of *Nureddin*, to be brought thither, and erected in the chief mosque. But, far from imitating the brutality of the *Christians*, he ordered the church of the *Holy Sepulchres* to remain in the same state in which he found it; and he expressly commanded, that no insult or indecency should be offered to those who paid their devotions there. But we are not to attribute this to *Saladin's* generosity, so much as to his avarice. He knew the ridiculous devotions of the times, and that,



If he should demolish, he would deprive himself of the immense sums, that accrued from *Europeans* visiting it.

It happened about this time, that *Conrade*, the youngest son to the old marquis of *Montferrat*, being disgusted with his brother-in-law *Isaac Angelus*, whom he had very signally served, took upon him the cross; and prevailed with some troops to follow his fortune. He then embarked on board some ships, and directed his course to *Ptolemais*; where, according to the *Moslem* authors, he actually landed. *Afdal*, *Saladin's* brother, then governed that city, and might easily have secured the person of *Conrade*, but the latter amused him so dexterously, who knew nothing of the place being in the hands of the *Infidels* before he arrived in it, that he slipped out of his hands, and putting to sea, he landed in *Tyre*. That city was now the object of *Saladin's* ambition, as it had a port extremely commodious for receiving the troops and supplies which he expected out of *Egypt*. He had it likewise in his view, to retake in it the great wealth which had been carried thither out of *Jerusalem*, and to oblige the *Christians*, a second time, to ransom themselves. But he was disappointed, by the valour and judgement of *Conrade*; who landed just at the time when *Saladin* was about to attack it. *Conrade*, who, in some sense, was a soldier of fortune, declared himself the protector of *Tyre*, provided, if he was successful, the inhabitants would give him the sovereignty of it; to which they agreed. He then applied himself with infinite assiduity to render the place as strong as possible. *Saladin*, who had a maxim, to leave as little as he could to fortune, applied by his agents to prevail with *Conrade* to induce him to desist from his undertaking, and offered upon that condition to set his father at liberty. His offers made no impression on *Conrade*, and *Saladin* ordered five of his best ships to block up the harbour, to prevent the *Tyreans* from receiving any succours by sea, which were daily expected out of *Europe*; especially from *Genoa*, and *Sicily*; and, at the same time, he besieged it by land. But all his precautions were fruitless. *Conrade* made so many successful sallies, that he was obliged to draw off his troops by land, and the *Christian* fleet appearing before the harbour, destroyed all *Saladin's* *Egyptian* ships, with every soul on board; to the infinite mortification of the tyrant, who saw the action; but could afford his people no relief: and finally was obliged to raise the siege. *Conrade* then looked upon himself as sovereign of *Tyre*; and, as such, he ordered several persons, who were suspected to be agents from the earl of *Tripoli*, to be publicly executed, for intending, as *Conrade* alledged, to deliver the place into their master's hand. The succours expected from *Europe* having now easy access to *Tyre*, *Conrade* grew strong enough to act offensively against *Saladin*; and in one of his encounters, he made prisoner one of *Saladin's* subjects, of so high quality,



as to be exchanged with his father, the old marquis of *Monerrat*.

*Raymond*, prince of *Antioch*, was, at this time held in the utmost detestation, by all *Christians*. They imputed to him the loss of the battle of *Hittin*, and of the kingdom and city of *Jerusalem*; and being a man of a sour, melancholy cast, he was at very little pains to clear himself; tho it appears that he behaved with great courage at the battle of *Hittin*, nor indeed is there the least room for thinking he had then any correspondence with *Saladin*; who loudly reproached him, for breaking his treaty with him. During *Saladin's* successes, after his victory at *Hittin*, numbers of the inhabitants of the places he took were sent to *Tripoli*, where, it is said, that *Raymond* stript them of all the *Infidels* had left them; and then permitted them to starve. This increased the general detestation against him, and he began now to be odious to his own subjects; so that he fell into a deep melancholy, a fate which the *Christian* writers supposed to have been inflicted upon him by Heaven, as the just reward of his impiety.

Hej. 584.  
A. D.  
1188.  
The Mo-  
slems de-  
feated by  
*Conrade*.

Whatever may be in this, it is certain that, in *January*, in the 584th year of the *Hejra*, *Saladin* besieged *Cancab*, in the neighbourhood of *Tiberias*. But while he lay before the place, *Conrade* had defeated *Saifoddin*, one of his generals, at a place called *Afarbala*; and had gained a compleat victory. This news obliged *Saladin* to march against *Conrade*, who, by this time, had retired to *Tyre*, and to leave the siege of *Cancab* to the command of *Kaymaz*, one of his generals. It appears from many instances, that when the *Christians* were united, and well commanded, they always proved superior to the barbarians. Notwithstanding the vast armies which *Saladin* at this time had in the field, this fortress was so well defended, that he ordered the siege to be entirely raised, and he himself went to *Damascus*; from whence he had now been absent sixteen months; with an intention of taking some repose. But he had not been there above five days, when he received an account, that *Conrade* had formed a design to surprize *Habeil*. This brought him again into the field; and *Conrade* thereby failed in his design. But *Saladin* now fell into the principality of *Antioch*, which he ravaged, and according to the *Moslem* authors, the spoils which his generals brought to his camp, from that capital, were immense. He then took possession of *Antaradus*, a fortress belonging to the principality of *Tripoli*, and, after demolishing it, he marched to *Marrakiya*, upon the sea coast; which, like *Antaradus*, was deserted by the *Christians*; and *Saladin* immediately took possession of it. He then marched against *Merkab*, but that place being provided with a garrison, resolving to defend it, he did not besiege it, but proceeded to *Gabala*, which surrendered to him upon the first summons, upon condition, that the garrison should have leave to retire. He then un-

dertook



dertook the reduction of the important city of *Laodoea*, which made a shew of resistance; but, on the twenty fifth of *May*, the garrison capitulated; and the inhabitants were permitted to retire, with all their money and effects, excepting their cattle of all kinds, their provisions and military stores. On the twenty ninth of the same month, *Saladin* formed the siege of *Sebyun*; a place of prodigious strength; but on the third of *June*, he obliged it to capitulate, on the same terms that he had granted to the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*. On the ninth of the same month he carried the fortress of *Bacas*, by storm; and put to the sword, or carried into captivity, the garrison; and in short, he proceeded so victoriously that he stript the *Christians* of every place of strength in the East, excepting *Tyre*, *Joppa* and *Antioch*; tho' some of those places, particularly *Barziya*, were so strong, that they were deemed to be impregnable: and at last he even reduced the strong castle of *Carcab*.

Great conquests of *Saladin*.

It appears from the detail of *Saladin's* successes against the *Christians*, that the acquisitions they had made, in *Palestine*, and *Syria*, formed upon the whole, a far more powerful empire, than *Christian* writers have represented it to have been. But it appears likewise, that, from the causes we have already hinted, the *Christians* were most miserably divided; and many of them chose to submit to *Saladin*, who was always ready to grant them favourable terms, rather than be under the command of *Europeans*. There is likewise great reason to believe, that *Saladin's* gold was more effectual than his arms were in the progress of this campaign. For being himself abstemious, and temperate, he knew no use of money, but for the purposes of ambition; and then his liberality had no bounds. The inhabitants and garrison, of every place before which he appeared, were treated according to their pliancy, or obstinacy, either with lenity, or severity: but we do not find, that *Saladin* often violated his capitulations; which undoubtedly contributed greatly to his successes.

Disunion of the *Christians*

But notwithstanding all the splendour of *Saladin's* victories, he was far from being easy, even in his own army. The prodigious fatigues his troops had undergone, in the winter, as well as summer, for almost two years, rendered them clamorous for some repose; and *Amadoddin*, the same who had exchanged *Aleppo* for *Sanjar*, demanded leave to return with his troops, in such peremptory terms, which showed that he was resolved not to be denied. *Saladin*, by this time, had marched as far as the famous iron bridge, on the *Orontes*, about six miles from *Antioch* itself: and then he took the castles of *Derbasac*, and *Bagras*, which were situated, in a manner, at the gates of *Antioch*. He then formed the siege of that capital; but found himself unable to carry it on, on account of *Amadoddin's* uneasiness. *Behmond* was then prince of *Antioch*, and intimidated by *Saladin's* almost uninterrupted career

*Saladin's* troops mutiny.



His regu-  
lations.

career of success, he entered into a negotiation, and *Saladin*, greatly against his inclination, desisted from the siege, upon condition that all the *Moslem* princes in *Antioch* should be released; and that the city should be given up, if in seven months, for which time a truce was concluded, it was not relieved by the *Christian* powers. *Saladin* then dismissed *Amadoddin* and his troops, and the rest of the tributaries who served under him were very importunate for the like indulgence. But *Saladin* was far from complying with their request, and all the answer they received, was, that life is short, and its period uncertain. He however, for some time, suspended his warlike operations, and after staying a few days at *Aleppo*, he made his kinsman *Fakioddin* governor of *Cabala*, and *Laodocea*; and it was, indeed, one of the greatest excellencies of *Saladin*'s government, that he made an excellent choice of his substitutes, who were generally extremely faithful to him. This *Fakioddin* is remarkable for the magnificent buildings he erected at *Laodocea*, *Amar*, and other places of his government. *Saladin*, about the same time, performed a kind of a pilgrimage to the tomb of the califf *Omar*, and other places of devotion; and then returned to *Damascus*: from whence he made a most magnificent progress all over his late conquests, and paid a visit to *Jerusalem*, where he kept the feast of the *Oblation*.

Quarrel  
amongst  
the *Mo-*  
*slems*.

While *Saladin* was thus pursuing his conquests, a quarrel happened between the conductors of the pilgrims of *Syria*, and those of *Irak*, about the right of precedency. The name of the conductor of the latter was *Tastakin*, and, as he derived his authority from the califf of *Bagdad*, as the other did from *Saladin*, he not only opposed *Saladin*'s conductor, but killed him, in a very bloody encounter which happened on the occasion. *Saladin*, notwithstanding his veneration for the califf, was not a little piqued at what had happened, and the califf was obliged to send him a minister, disclaiming all knowledge of what had been done by his substitute, or his giving him any orders for the same.

History of  
*Togrol*.

*Togrol*, the son of *Arslan*, was then the *Seljuk* Sultan of the *Persian Irak*, and had differences with *Kizil Arslan*, another *Seljukian* prince; but subject to *Togrol*, whom *Kizil Arslan* drove out of his capital; and soon after retired to his principality of *Adherbijan*. Soon after *Togrol* returned to his capital; but he was made a prisoner by his own nobility, and *Kizil Arslan*, by the persuasion of the califf of *Bagdad*, took upon himself the sovereignty. But *Togrol* finding means to escape out of prison, was soon at the head of a great army; and *Kizil Arslan* applied to the califf *Naser*, for assistance. The minister employed on this occasion succeeded so well, that *Naser* looked upon himself as a party in the quarrel, and sent his vizir *Kilal* with an army to *Kizil*'s assistance; which advanced as far as *Hamadan* in the *Persian Irak*. While they were in the neighbourhood of  
that



that city, *Togrol* attacked them, and gave them a compleat defeat; the vizir himself being taken prisoner, and put in chains. After this victory, *Kizil* was put to death by his nephew *Kutluk*, who, in his turn, usurped the sovereignty. This *Kutluk*'s mother was still alive, and was entertained in *Togrol*'s Haram or Seraglio; but was, by her son, prevailed upon, to undertake to poison the *Sultan*. *Togrol* however, was so much upon his guard, that he discovered the conspiracy, and obliged the lady herself to swallow the poison; he then made himself master of *Kutluk*'s person; but generously gave him his life and liberty. Upon this, *Kutluk*, who was a man void of all honour and gratitude, applied to *Takash*, the king of *Karazm*, and invited him to undertake the conquest of the *Persian Irak*. *Takash* accordingly invaded it, but he was defeated by *Togrol*, who proved superior to all his enemies, and obliged *Kutluk* to fly to *Korazm* for refuge. After this, *Togrol* might have reigned gloriously, but he abandoned himself to all manner of excess; and was generally drunk. This encouraged *Takash* again to invade *Irak*, to which he was invited, even by some of *Togrol*'s principal subjects, who were disgusted with his manner of living. Tho' *Togrol* had sufficient intimation of the preparations that were making against him, yet he could not be awakened to a sense of his danger, till *Takash* was at the gates of his capital, *Ray*, attended by *Kutluk*. The *Sultan* was then persuaded to put himself at the head of his troops, and repeating some distichs out of a *Persian* poem, in a kind of bravado, he discharged a blow with a vast mace he had in his hand, which falling upon the fore legs of his horse, brought both of them to the ground; and before *Togrol* could recover himself, *Kutluk* cut off his head at one blow, and *Takash* sent it in a present to the califf of *Bagdad*, whom all the *Moslem* empire, at this time, seemed to recognize as their head: and ordered the *Sultan*'s body to be gibbeted. The *Seljukian* dynasty of *Irak*, ended in *Togrol*, who reigned about nineteen years. He is commended as a prince of the brightest qualifications, both in body and mind, till he ruined himself by intemperance; he having all the virtues of the *Seljukian* family, who owed their ruin to the too great power they vested in their governors, particularly those of *Karazm*, who succeeded them in the sovereignty of the *Persian Irak*. We know but of one son, left by *Togrol*.

Who is  
killed.

When the news of the loss of *Jerusalem* reached *Europe*, all orders and degrees of men, were affected by it in a most wonderful manner. In fact, the crusade was not, as many imagine, intirely a matter of religion, for some of the *European* princes had begun to think it very practicable to drive the *Turks* out of those fine countries. They had already seen one kingdom, two very powerful principalities, and a great many very considerable cities and governments, erected

A new  
crusade  
under-  
taken.

by



Consternation of the Christians.

The kings of England and France reconciled.

by the *Christians*; and had it not been that *Saladin* had the good fortune to unite the *Moslem* interest against them, or had they continued firm to one another, they might have made still greater acquisitions. But the hopes of ambition, and the fruits of piety, were now blasted. Pope *Urban* the Third, died with grief, when the news of the loss of *Jerusalem* reached him, and his successor *Gregory* the Eighth, published bills, by which he gave, to all who would take up the cross a new, the same privileges, as had been enjoyed by the first Crusaders. At the same time, he began so thorough a reformation amongst his clergy, that the face of the church was intirely altered; and the luxurious cardinals, inflicted upon themselves, the most rigid penances, even to their resolving to march on foot, with no other equipage than the cross, at the head of the next crusade. To second those pious intentions, *Gregory* compromised matters between the two powerful republics of *Genoa*, and *Pisa*; but, in the midst of his labours, he was carried off by a fever. His death did not damp the public ardour for the crusade. *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, one of the ablest men, as well as writers of his time, and the author of the history of the *Crusaders*, down to the time of *Baldwin* the Fourth, had come to *Europe*, to lay before the princes there a true state of the affairs of the *Christians* in the East, and was joined by the pope, in a commission with the cardinal of *Albano*, to compromise all differences, between *Philip Augustus*, and *Henry* the Second of *England*, who were the two leading monarchs in *Europe*. *William* acted with so much address, that it procured an interview to be held, between those two princes, at which he was present, and remonstrated how much it concerned them, in a political as well as a religious capacity, to send succours to *Tyre*, *Antioch* and *Tripoli*, which still held out. His persuasions were so effectual, that the two monarchs embraced each other, in the sight of their subjects, who called out as one man, to be led against the enemies of *Christ*, and to take upon them the cross. The two sovereigns were the first who set the example, and received that badge from the hands of the pope's legates; as did *Richard*, the king of *England's* son, and almost all the chief nobility of *Europe*. The *French* being distinguished by red, the *English* by white, and the *Flemings* by green crosses. The two kings then erected a fund, for defraying the expences of the expedition; and subjected the real estates, of all who did not go upon it, to the payment of a tenth, which they called *Saladin's* tythe, and even ecclesiastics were not exempted from this tax. Benefices, as well as lay inheritances, were rendered alienable for three years; and the Crusaders during their absence, were exempted from paying any interest for money they were owing; lastly, all games at chance, swearing, blasphemy, and other immoralities, were prohibited, under the highest penalties. Other regulations were



were made, with regard to extravagant expences in apparel and equipages. But the wisdom of the heads of this crusade was seen in nothing more, than their ordaining that no person should take upon himself the cross, excepting those, who could afford to spend a certain sum, and that only a few old women in the quality of landresses, should be suffered to follow the Crusaders.

The pope's legates went next into *Germany*, where *Frederick* duke of *Swabia*, surnamed *Barbarossa*, the same who had served under the emperor *Conrade* in his crusade, was emperor. *Frederick* was, about this time, near seventy years of age, and was esteemed the most complete general in *Europe*; and a man, in other respects of great abilities. But he was touched with the epidemical disease of the time, and the legates found him, as much disposed as they could wish, for answering their purpose. He held the diet of the empire at *Ments*, where he proposed the crusade, in such a manner as shewed, that he was fully determined to undertake it; and, when he took the cross, his example was followed by most of the great princes of the empire. *Frederick*, having vast experience, was intirely sensible of the causes thro' which the former crusades had miscarried; and endeavoured to avoid them. The *Sultan* of *Al Rum*, or *Iconium*, was then *Kilij Arslan*, whom we have already mentioned; and who equally hated the *Greek* emperor and *Saladin*, but professed a most profound veneration for the califf of *Bagdad*.

The emperor of *Germany* takes the cross.

This *Arslan* was one of the three sons of *Masud*, the *Seljukian* *Sultan*, amongst whom he divided his empire; and being expelled by his other brothers, he was received and protected by the emperor *Manuel*, to whom he promised, if he was reinstated in his throne, to restore many noble cities and possessions, that had been dismembered from his empire. But tho' *Arslan*, by *Manuel's* assistance, was replaced on his throne, and proved successful against all his enemies; and tho' he called *Manuel* father, yet he was so far from performing any of his promises, that he took from the emperor *Laodoea*, where he put to the sword a great many *Greeks*, and, amongst the rest the bishop; and committed a great number of other insults upon the emperor. *Manuel* upon this raised a great army, with which he invaded the *Sultan's* dominions; he was met by ambassadors from *Arslan*, who proposed to accommodate matters with him, and complained bitterly of his breaking his treaties. *Manuel* had with him some counsellors of sober judgement, who informed him that the *Turkish* cavalry were excellent troops, and advised him by all means, to make peace; but his principal favourites were thoughtless, hot-headed young men, who reminded him of the *Sultan's* ingratitude, and persuaded him to return for answer to the ambassadors, he would treat with him when he had taken *Iconium*. The imprudence of this answer exasperated the *Sultan*, who had lately received a great reinforcement

Remarkable war

between the *Seljuks* and *Greeks*.



Prefump-  
 tion of the  
 Greek em-  
 peror.

Who is  
 enclosed  
 and de-  
 feated,

with vast  
 slaughter.

His won-  
 derful  
 escapes.

forcement from *Mesopotamia*; and he immediately laid hold of the passes of *Sabrizza*, thro' which *Manuel* must pass. The emperor, tho' sensible of his situation, had too great a contempt for the *Turks*, not to proceed. He divided his army into six bodies, and reserved the command of the sixth, consisting of the flower of his troops, to himself. The *Turks* suffered the first two or three divisions to advance into the valley, which was bounded on all sides with steep hills, and passes impracticable to horse, but no sooner had the last division passed the narrow defile, by which they must enter the valley, than the *Turks*, upon an appointed signal, took possession of that, as well as of a like pass, which terminated the valley on the other side, and by, in a manner, barricading them, the *Greeks* were hemmed in on every side. Valour, and even despair, were now useless. The valley was so narrow, that the enemies arrows from both sides of the eminences, where the *Turks* had entrenched themselves, reached the centre of *Manuel's* army, in which they made a horrible slaughter. The troops, who had been suffered to pass on, were much in the same situation, with those about the emperor's person; for the valley being intercepted with other narrow passes, which the *Turks* had fortified, they could not return to his assistance. In the mean while, a whirl-wind, which is very common in those parts, arose, and added to the disorder of the *Greeks*, whose bodies now lay piled upon one another; and the brooks that run thro' the valley were swelled with their blood. To compleat their misfortunes, the *Turks*, as soon as they thought they could do it with safety, their cavalry especially, opening the barricades, rushed sword in hand, upon the few guards that were left with the emperor, who fought with incredible valour, and, attended only by one horseman, cut his way thro' the middle of his enemies, after being wounded in several parts, his buckler pierced, no fewer than thirty arrows sticking in it, and his casque all battered. Throwing himself under a wild fig-tree, he was attacked by several *Turks*, whom he and his horseman dispatched one after another; and at last, with incredible fatigue, he had the good fortune, attended by ten more *Greeks*, who had joined him, to come up with one of the first divisions of his troops which had suffered the least. Faint with thirst, he called for water, but could get none, that was not mixed with blood, tho' a river run thro' the valley; and he had the mortification to be reproached to his face, with being the author of so much blood shed, and with the other enormities of his government. His troops, however, stood by him, and repulsed the *Turkish* cavalry, which attacked them on all sides, till night came on. They continued still surrounded by the *Turks*, who were so near them, that they could hear them encourage one another to renew the attack next morning, and not suffer a *Greek* to escape. The emperor's courage at last was shaken; and he

imparted



imparted to those about him, an intention he had to make his escape; and to leave his army. This was overheard by a soldier, who upbraided him with cowardice, and the emperor finding there was equal danger in going as well as in staying, preferred the latter.

But next morning, while *Manuel* and his attendants, for he had now scarcely the face of an army, expected to be slaughtered, the *Sultan's* moderation saved him. It happened lucky for *Manuel*, that his liberalities, had made many of the *Seljukian* noblemen his friends; and they advised him by all means to an accommodation: Accordingly *Arflan*, the following morning sent a minister, with the welcome offer of terms; and orders were given in the mean time, that hostilities should cease. In short, *Manuel* agreed to whatever was proposed, and having received the present of a fine horse from the *Sultan*, he consented to demolish the forts of *Doryleum*, and *Sableum*; which, the former especially, were very incommodious for the *Sultan*. The peace being concluded, the emperor, who amongst his other losses, sustained that of his military chest, which was seized before his eyes, was reconducted to the mouth of the valley by which he had entered it; over the horrible carnage of his own subjects; and he proceeded on his march homeward, with all the speed he could. But the *Sultan* is said to have repented himself of the terms he had granted the *Greeks*; and sent out parties to harass them in their return, when it was too late, and all that the barbarians could do, was to butcher the sick, and the wounded. But this, if true, happened probably after the emperor refused to demolish *Daryleum*, and declared, that he did not think himself obliged to do it by a treaty, which had been extorted from him by force; an excuse he would not have made, had the barbarians previously violated the capitulation.

He obtains a peace.

Returns,

is pursued

Be this as it will, the *Sultan* resented his refusal so much that he sent one of his *Attabecks*, or head noblemen, with an army of thirty thousand chosen men, with orders not to return home without bringing him sea water sand, and an oar; or in other words, that he should carry his conquest to the sea coast. The *Attabeck* was proceeding with great success in executing his master's commands; and had already laid all *Phrygia* waste, with fire and sword, when *Manuel* sent his nephew, *Vataces*, with other two generals, at the head of an army, which attacked the *Turks* so critically, as they were passing the *Meander* incumbered with spoil, that every man of the barbarians were cut off; or drowned in the river. This and other advantages, which *Manuel* afterwards got over the *Turks*, discouraged them extreamly; and *Arflan* being now very old, made a division of his empire amongst his sons. They were so ingrateful, that not waiting for his death, four of them seized the territories allotted to them, and the eldest of them *Kothobeddin*, confined his person; but

The *Greeks* give a great defeat to the *Turks*.



he found means to escape to *Kay Kosraw*, the only son who remained loyal to him.

The emperor  
*Frederick*  
begins his  
march.

Such was the state of affairs amongst the *Seljuks* of *Rum*, when the emperor, *Frederick Barbarossa*, took upon him the cross. *Arslan*, had always professed himself a great friend to the western *Christians*, who he knew hated *Manuel*. and therefore *Frederick*, before he set out sent him an embassy demanding the liberty of passing thro' his territories, without molestation. He sent a like embassy to *Manuel*, who granted his request, but in a very awkward manner; and not till after he understood the answer that had been returned, by the *Seljukian Sultan*. *Frederick* sent a third embassy to *Saladin*, requiring him to restore *Jerusalem*, and to deliver up our Saviour's cross to the *Christians*; a demand, which he could not hope to succeed in. It is necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, here to attend the history of *Frederick* to his death, that we may fall more naturally in with the siege of *Acon*, which was at this time formed, by *Guy of Lusignan*; and proved one of the most memorable, perhaps, of any ever undertaken.

Arrives in  
the Greek  
territories

That *Saladin*, and the *Greek* emperor were in alliance together, is proved by unquestionable records in the *Moslem* history; nor can we well suppose that *Frederick* was ignorant of it. In the spring of the year 1189, *Frederick* set out upon his expedition, and having taken his measures with wonderful sagacity, he crossed *Hungary*, without losing a man, but was harrassed in his march thro' *Bulgaria*, by the barbarians, during two months, tho' without any considerable loss, but that of time. The *Greek* emperor *Manuel*, by this time, was dead; and his son murdered by the tyrant *Andronicus*, who was succeeded by *Isaac Angelus*. This emperor is represented in very black colours by *Christian* writers. All we shall say of his character is, that his alliance with *Saladin* was both natural and wise, since it tended to exclude from the empires of both, a set of lawless invaders, tho' dignified by the name of *Christians* and sovereigns. He accordingly made preparations to oppose *Frederick*, who was no sooner arrived upon his territories, than he was attacked by ambushes on all hands; against which however he defended himself with wonderful courage and address. It does not belong to our history to recount the particulars of the actions between him and *Isaac*. It is sufficient to say, that a small handful of the *German* army routed a great army of the *Greeks*, under *Manuel Isaac's* general, and *Frederick* in a short time, made himself master of all *Thrace*, *Nicopolis*, and *Adrianople*, and all the places between the *Egean* and *Euxine* sea, with very little difficulty. *Isaac* then, who had imprisoned the *German* ambassadors, set them at liberty, with a very bad grace, and offered to treat with *Frederick* as an emperor, (a title he had refused to him before) to grant him provision and shipping for transporting his troops, provided

which he  
conquers.



he did it speedily. *Frederick* treated those advances with infinite contempt, claiming the rights of conquest, and telling *Isaac*, that he was to receive, and not to prescribe, terms. That he was resolved to winter in *Thrace*, which he had made his by the sword. But at the same time, he told the ambassadors that in the next spring, if their master would have in readiness a sufficient quantity of shipping, and give twenty four of his principal lords as hostages into his hands, together with eighty others of a subordinate rank, and set at liberty the ambassadors of the *Sultan Al Rum*, whom he detained against the law of nations, he would evacuate his empire.

And pre-  
scribes his  
own terms

*Isaac* accepted those terms with great pleasure, and *Frederick*, after passing the winter with his army, in the richest provinces of *Greece*, in the spring, found a sufficient quantity of shipping to carry it over the *Hellepont*; which he passed without losing a man. He then directed his march to the right, towards the *Meander*; and reposed for some days at *Laodoea*, where he passed that river: and entered upon the territories of the *Seljukian Sultan*, of whose good faith he had a very high opinion.

He pro-  
ceeds on  
his expe-  
dition.

It belongs to our history to remark here, that the *Christian* writers; have charged *Isaac* with having been assisted in this war, by a body of auxiliaries sent him by *Saladin*. But this is extremely unlikely, because about the time that *Frederick* was entering upon the *Seljukian* territories, an ambassador arrived with a letter from *Isaac* to *Saladin*, in which he informs *Saladin*, that tho' the *Christians* had made an irruption into the *Greek* territories, yet they had given out a great many false reports, and that they had suffered a great deal more than his subjects had done; that they had spent all their money, lost almost all their beasts of burden, and that vast multitudes of their men had been put to the sword; or had been carried off by malignant fevers. He added, that as his garrisons would during their march attack them, on all hands, they probably never would be able to annoy *Saladin's* frontiers; and if they should, that they must be in such a weak destitute condition, as to be unable, either to distress his subjects, or to benefit themselves.

Curious  
letter to  
*Saladin*.

"Why, concludes this curious letter, "is your highness so unmindful of the alliance in force between us, that you kept our majesty in the dark, as to your intentions and designs. Our majesty can say with great truth, that the friendship we have cultivated with your highness, has been attended by no other advantage to our majesty, than by exposing us to the rage and resentment of the western *Christians*." From this unquestionable authority, it appears no way probable that *Isaac* was assisted by any of *Saladin's* troops at this time; but rather that the barbarian, who hated all *Christians* alike, had deceived *Isaac*: and had made his territories, a kind of a frontier to his own. But the



professed design of this letter, was to make a demand upon *Saladin* of the treasure and effects, of a *Greek* ambassador, who had died at *Saladin's* court; that they might be distributed amongst his relations. *Saladin*, excessively well pleased with the intelligence contained in this letter, entertained the ambassador with great marks of distinction.

Success of  
the Ger-  
man em-  
peror.

It appears from the best authorities, that when the emperor *Frederick* arrived upon the *Seljukian* territories, the old *Sultan Arslan*, was not possessed of *Iconium*, which was held by his rebellious son *Kothboddin*; and that *Arslan*, disclaimed the obstructions they met with, and sent even an apology for that purpose, from *Taxara*, where he had taken refuge. *Frederick*, however advanced, and was so well received in *Laodoea*, that we are told, he prayed upon his knees, for the prosperity of that city, proceeding forward, finding himself beset on all hands, and that it was impossible for his heavy armed troops, to get up with the barbarians, he feigned a retreat. This encouraged the *Turks* to fall upon his camp, which he left with a small guard; who kept the barbarians in play so well, that about twenty thousand of them descended to the plain, and were by a sudden motion of *Frederick's* army, surrounded, and entirely cut in pieces. By this victory, *Frederick* opened his way to *Iconium*, and at last arrived at the famous pass, which we have already described, where the emperor *Manuel* lost his army. *Frederick*, understanding before he entered the pass, that the *Turks* had made the like dispositions against him, wisely offered rewards, to such of his prisoners, as best knew the country, and they conducted him over a mountain, that was so extremely difficult, that, in passing it, he lost upwards of one thousand of his cavalry; and as many of his draft and baggage horses; who tumbled over the precipices.

His great  
difficulties

His pro-  
gress.

Descending however to a fine open country, where there was plenty of provisions, *Frederick* reposed for some days. But they were quickly surrounded with fresh armies of barbarians, who, tho' they made very little impression upon the persons of the *Christians*, by reason of their armour, extremely incommoded them in their march, and carried off part of their baggage; at last, the multitudes of the barbarians increased so much, that they ventured to encounter the *Christians* upon more equal terms. They were commanded, according to a most curious letter from *Bar Crecor* an *Armenian* general, (and probably a *Christian*) (who corresponded with *Saladin*) by *Kothboddin*, and a battle was fought near the fort of *Filomelion* in which six thousand of the *Turks* were put to the sword: the rest by the lightness of their armour escaping to their passes. According to the *Moslem* authors, another battle was fought, in which the loss of the *Turks* was much more considerable; but the last mentioned battle, seems to have been the same which we have already mentioned *Frederick* gained by stratagem.

But



But tho' *Frederick* triumphed so gloriously over the barbarians, he was unable to resist the attacks of famine. Notwithstanding the richness of the country, the infidels had rendered all that part of it, which lay within the reach of the *Christians*, a desert; and by their vast numbers, they had either surprized all the provisions that were in the rear of the *Christian* army, or had cut off all their convoys, and forageing parties; so that they could have no fresh supplies. In this distressful situation, they were obliged to feed upon their baggage horses, and their mules, many of whom scarcely could drag themselves along, so that the soldiers were obliged to lead them on foot; according to the *Christian* historians. But in this they are a little inconsistent with what follows afterward; when the *Moslem* writers tell us, that the victory which followed was gained by the services of the *Christian* cavalry. Upon the whole, however, it is certain, that the miserable condition of the *German* army, determined *Frederick* at all events, to push forward, and make himself master of *Iconium*. As it was a common cause of all the *Seljukians*, *Kothboddin* is said to have brought to the field, upon this occasion, two hundred thousand men, which he posted in the hedges, vineyards, and the avenues leading to his capital. *Frederick* wanted nothing more than to fight the barbarians upon terms somewhat equal. Notwithstanding that advantageous situation, he ordered each horseman of his army to take behind him a footman, lightly armed; and to charge the enemy in front. This was a very wise precaution; the horsemen, as well as the fore part of their horses, were cased in armour, so that they were proof against the arrows and darts of the barbarians, and the infantry, which was highly armed, being thus led up to the baracades, made a most horrible slaughter of their enemies. It appears, that the emperor, upon this occasion, led the attack in person, and that he charged his son, the duke of *Suabia*, with the command of the rear, with orders to give the horsemen as they returned from the baracades, fresh supplies of infantry to carry back. The battle was very dreadful, and at last became general. But after the *Germans* had broken in upon the baracades, nothing but a butchery, was to be seen. Ten thousand *Turks*, who had been brave enough to make a stand, were cut in pieces before *Kothboddin's* face, and incredible numbers of them were killed in their retreat. *Kothboddin*, who is said, by the *Christian* writers, to have behaved very bravely, escaped with difficulty, at the head of his reserve, which was commanded by his brother; while the emperor, made himself some amends, for the losses and fatigues, he had sustained, by being now in sight of *Iconium*.

He is distressed by famine.

He marches to *Iconium*.

Fights a battle.

The loss which *Frederick* sustained, was so inconsiderable, and his victory so wonderful, that many visionaries, under him said, that they saw two chevaliers, mounted on white horses,



He be-  
sieges  
*Iconium*.

And his  
troops  
take it.

He fights  
another  
battle.

horses, who they took to be *Victor* and *St George*, fighting against the barbarians, at the head of their armies. This notion, however ridiculous, gave vast spirits to the *Germans*, and he encamped, within a short distance of *Iconium* the very night of the day on which he gained the battle. *Kothboddin*, seeing what irresistible enemies he had to deal with, offered to suffer *Frederick* to pass upon his expedition, and to furnish him and his army with all manner of provisions, upon his paying down thirty thousand crowns, and obliging the *Armenian Christians* to restore certain forts, and territories, which they had taken from him, in *Cilicia*. *Frederick*, with indignation, rejected those proposals, which seemed to come rather from a conquering, than a conquered enemy; and made dispositions for attacking the city. With this view, he divided his army into two parts; the one to be commanded by himself, and the other, by the duke of *Suabia*, and the earl of *Holland*. The enemy, on the other hand, notwithstanding all their losses, still kept the field, with upwards of two hundred thousand men, besides the garrison of the city, which was very numerous, and which they could reinforce at pleasure. *Frederick*, ordered his son, and the earl of *Holland*, to assault the city, while he undertook to cover them, against all attacks, from the main body of the barbarian army. *Kothboddin*, who was in person in the city, and his generals, who were in the field, seeing this division of the *Christian* army, thought that *Frederick* must now be ruined. *Kothboddin*, himself, made a sally with a numerous body, upon the duke of *Suabia*, and the earl of *Holland*; but they were received so well by the *Germans*, that they instantly fled to the city, and before they could shut its gates, the *Christians* entered them. It appears from *Christian*, as well as *Moslem* authors, that the *Christians*, upon this occasion, were guilty of vast excesses; and put to the sword, great numbers of the inhabitants. This is confirmed by an original letter, written by the above mentioned *Bar-Crecor*, to *Saladin*, in which he calls the inhabitants of *Iconium*, *Persians*: because of the *Seljuks* coming from *Persia*. It likewise appears, from the same letter, that *Arslan*, had by this time, compromised matters with his son *Kothboddin*, who only commanded under him, and was reinstated in the sovereignty of *Iconium*.

While the *Christians* before the town were thus successful, *Frederick* was engaged in a very doubtful, dangerous battle, with the barbarians in the field, who, upon this, fought with uncommon vigour and firmness. His troops, had been of late extremely harrassed, and had passed the preceeding night in the field, exposed to a very heavy rain, which had greatly disheartened them. But the emperor's vast courage, and discipline, made amends for all the disadvantages he was under: and the enemy was at last obliged to retreat with great loss. Instead of pursuing them, he  
marched



marched towards the city, which we are told he gave up to be plundered by his soldiers: reserving to himself one hundred thousand marks (a million, and half sterling) which he found in *Arslan's* treasury. The other booty which his soldiers made was likewise immense; but their most valuable acquisition was, the vast plenty of all kinds of provisions, with which they recruited their spirits and persons. Booty of the city.

*Arslan* and his family, remained all this time shut up, in the strong citadel of *Iconium*; but despairing to be able to hold out, he sent a respectful message to *Frederick* to yield, upon the latter's own terms. His zeal.

By the complexion of the history it appears as if *Frederick* had always entertained a good opinion of *Arslan* himself; and attributed all the opposition he had met with, to his sons. Those princes could have no manner of idea, that a great emperor, would expose himself, as *Frederick* had done, to the most dreadful fatigues and dangers, upon the chimerical view of taking a city, which he probably never could take, and when taken, he had no farther to do with, than to say his prayers in it. They heard at the same time of other great armies coming from *Europe*, and the example of *Jerusalem* had taught them, that the *Christians* even in foreign countries, could maintain their conquests. The same in fact, were the sentiments of *Philip Augustus*, and the most sensible amongst *Christian* princes; nor could they conceive, that a prince, having with immense loss of blood and treasure conquered a great and a flourishing empire, would relinquish all advantages accruing from his acquisitions. But all of them were mistaken in *Frederick's* character, which was that of being, thoroughly and sincerely zealous, in the cause he had embraced. His great age made him impatient to finish his vow; and he would have thought it the worst of sacrilege, had he been diverted from it by any views of ambition however promising or glorious. It was therefore no hard matter for *Arslan* to buy his absence, by putting into the emperor's hands twenty of his prime nobility as hostages, for the performance of his engagements; which were, provided the emperor would evacuate his dominions, and leave *Iconium* in the same state he found it, that the *Sultan* should furnish provisions for the *Christian* army during its march thro' his dominions. *Arslan* could scarcely believe his good fortune, at getting rid of his guests upon such easy terms. The *German* army reposed for five days, according to the *Moslem* authors, but for seven according to the *Christian*, in or near *Iconium*; and then he proceeded on his expedition, towards *Tarsus*; according to *Arslan's* advice. An *armenian* prince called *Laun*, by the *Moslem*, and *Livon*, by the *Christian* authors, the head of one of those many little principalities, that had been set up in *Asia*, by the first *Crusaders*, when *Frederick* left *Iconium*, sent some of his chief nobility to wait upon him, and persuade him to conclude a peace, and march forward.



His death

suade him by all means to return, and keep possession of that empire. This we learn from *Bar Crecor's* letters to *Saladin*; by which there is reason to believe, that this *Laun*, was a friend to *Saladin*; tho' the *French* say he was originally of their country; and it is certain that the descendants of the first *Crusaders*, looked with a very evil eye, upon *Frederick's* expedition: for the reasons we have already given. *Frederick* being obstinately determined to proceed, the ambassadors returned, and according to *Bar Crecor's* letter, *Laun* prepared to set out to have a personal interview with *Frederick*, to persuade him to return to *Iconium*. *Frederick* in the mean while, was proceeding on his march in which he was harrassed by the troops of the barbarians, which gave him a pretext for detaining the hostages of *Al Rum* of *Iconium*, till he arrived with vast difficulty in a vally watered by the river *Sydnus*. The beauty of this river, together with the intolerable heat of the season which happened to be about the end of *June*, invited him to bathe in it; after making a hearty meal upon its banks; but the chilness of the waters were such, that he died a few days after he came out of the river. Some say that he was drowned in passing it; but the best accounts of cotemporary writers, particularly of *Bar Crecor*, in his letter to *Saladin*, have represented the matter as we have.

He is succeeded in the command of the army by his son

Upon *Frederick's* death, *Saladin*, to whom we now return, was delivered from such an uneasiness, as had almost brought him to a resolution of returning to *Egypt*; and giving up all his conquests in *Palestine*. The intrepidity and perseverance of that great monarch, made him think that he was equal to the conquest of all the East; and the fame of his conquests, had struck him with terrible dismay. *Frederick's* son, as great a bigot as himself, immediately upon his father's death, took upon himself the command of the army: and *Laun*, the *Armenian*, whom we have already mentioned, according to *Bar Crecor's* letter to *Saladin*, retired to one of his castle's which he fortified against the *Germans*. Finding himself however, by no means able to withstand so great a power, as the duke of *Suabia* still commanded, he was obliged to declare himself the duke's dependent, and ally; and his submission seems to be justified by *Bar Crecor's* letter to *Saladin*.

Who loses most of his army.

We are now to return to the siege of *Acon*, or *Ptolemais* in which all the powers both in *Europe*, and *Asia*, were interested. It was, as we have already seen, begun in a kind of fit of despair, by *Guy de Lusignan*; but the vast spirit of crusading, which then obtained in *Europe*, sent him such a large body of recruits, that *Saladin* justly began to be apprehensive for the consequences. The *Christians* hearing of the prodigious successes of the *German* emperor, imagined upon his arrival, the siege must be determined in a very few days; but they were mistaken. The duke of *Suabia*, had still a tedious march to make; and was surrounded on all sides with



with enemies: either secret or avowed. By them, he lost vast numbers of his men, but notwithstanding all difficulties, he reached *Antioch*; where his army suffered, more by the sudden change of want and penury, for luxury, than they had suffered in all their march. In short, when he left *Antioch*, the diseases of the climate, and the sword of the enemy had reduced the *German* army, which originally was upwards of fifteen thousand men, to about seven hundred infantry, and six hundred cavalry. It seems to have been greatly in the power of *Laun* the *Armenian*, to have interrupted the march of the *Germans*; but according to *Bar Crecor's* letter to *Saladin*, when the duke of *Suabia*, convinced him that neither his father nor he, had the least intention of making conquests, or any view but to proceed to *Jerusalem*, he desisted from his opposition.

By the best histories we find that *Christians* and *Turks* of this age were equally disregarding of good faith. *Saladin*, *Lusignan* according to *European* writers, had agreed to grant *Lusignan* set at his liberty, upon the surrender of *Ascalon*; but he still detained him in prison, and when at last he set him free, he exacted from him an oath, that he should transport himself to *Europe*; and never more disturb the tranquility of the East. *Lusignan*, when free from his imprisonment, consulted his bishops and clergy, whether he was obliged by that oath, and their determination was, that he was not. He therefore reassumed his character of king of *Jerusalem*, and put himself at the head of all the troops he could muster up at *Tripolis*. The *Crusaders*, now, pouring in from *Europe*, his army soon amounted to thirty thousand infantry, and two thousand horse. His first design was to have surprized *Tyre*. But that city as we have already seen, was in the possession of the marquis of *Montferrat*, who asserted his sovereignty over it. Thus the first attempt, which this distressed *Christian* prince made, was against *Christians*, tho' the *Infidels*, were the objects of the *Crusade*; and every day gathering strength in the field. *Lusignan* was persuaded with great difficulty, to abandon this enterprize; and all of a sudden, he marched to *Acon*, having sent a detachment to attack the *Moslems* at *Alexandretta*, who were dislodged from thence, and the *Christians* took possession of the place. *Acon*, was at that time so prodigiously strong, and was so well garrisoned, that *Saladin*, who lay with his army at *Shakif*, could not imagine he would have attempted it: but when he perceived that the siege was actually formed, he immediately ordered all his tributaries, dependants, and allies, to furnish him with their respective contingencies, and he advanced to the relief of *Ptolemais*.

Gets an  
army.

Besieges  
*Acon*.

This city happened to be then of vast importance to both parties. *Lusignan* wanted it, as being the only port within his dominions, from whence he could receive succours from *Europe*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, being in a manner his that city. declared.



Progress  
of its siege

Saladin's  
oversight.

The mar-  
quis of  
Montferrat  
and many  
others  
join the  
besiegers.

declared enemy: and it was extremely convenient to *Saladin* as a port; for landing his troops, and receiving his *Egyptian* fleets. The *Christian* authors are certainly in the right, when they tell us that there was a vast disparity in the numbers of the two armies. The garrison of *Ptolemais*, at first looked upon *Lusignan's* attack, with such contempt, that they did not think it even worth their while to shut their gates; and *Saladin's* army was now so greatly increased, that he besieged the *Christian* camp, much more freightly than the *Christians* did *Ptolemais*. *Lusignan*, upon this occasion, is most unjustly blamed by the *Christian* historians, for fortifying his camp, upon an eminence called *Turan*: for it appears from *Moslem* authors, had he not taken that precaution, his army must have been entirely ruined. Notwithstanding this vast superiority, *Christian* historians admit that *Lusignan* and his army did wonders. No day passed without skirmishes, many of which might have been accounted battles; and the *Christians* at last forced *Saladin* to remove his camp: to a ground less incommodious for them. The *Christian* writers tell us, perhaps with some reason, that *Saladin* upon this occasion, was guilty of an irreparable fault, in not storming the *Christian* camp, upon his first coming up. This they attribute to his too great security, as thinking he could do that at any time, for he thanked God, that the *Christians* had now delivered themselves up to his chains; and in the mean time he besieged the fortrefs of *Beaufont*. But tho' the marquis of *Montferrat*, looked upon *Lusignan* with an eye of hatred and perhaps contempt, yet he was far from being an enemy to the *Crusaders* in general, and was easily persuaded to suffer the troops, who were daily arriving from *Europe*, to land at *Tyre*. At last, he agreed to join them with all his own forces, who were the best troops in the East; and the *Christian* army, soon amounted to one hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse, all of them well provided, vigorous, and in high spirits. *Saladin* trembled for the event, and tho' he kept *Lusignan's* army still coopt up; he saw himself besieged in his turn. The situation of both parties, was equally singular as critical, *Lusignan*, who lay nearest the town, was so far from being able to attack it, that he could not cut off the communication between it, and the camp of *Saladin*, who threw into it what reinforcements he pleased; nor could the *Christians* who formed the grand army, numerous and brave as they were, pretend to force *Saladin's* camp. *Saladin's* numbers, without and within the city, were likewise superior to those of the *Christians*; add to this, he now had had leisure, to bring his men into an excellent discipline, and therefore he was far from declining a general battle, with the *Christians*; who by this time had opened a communication with *Lusignan's* army, so that their whole force, formed one great body. The right wing of the *Christians*, was commanded by *Lusignan*, who had under him his own troops,



troops, with those of *France*, and *St. John of Jerusalem*. The left wing was commanded by the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was at the head of his own troops, and most of the *Italians*. The third division, which composed the center, was commanded by the landgrave of *Thuringia*, and consisted of *Germans*, *Danes*, and *English*. Besides those three divisions, a body of reserve was formed, under the great master of the temple, and the duke of *Guelderland*, consisting of their own troops, and some *Spaniards*. *Saladin's* army, was divided into eight bodies, and was drawn up, by that great captain, with admirable foresight. For sensible as he was, that his troops were unable to stand the brunt of the *Christians*, he himself took the command of his strongest and best body, which he held as a reserve.

Who fight  
*Saladin*.

Every circumstance fell out as *Saladin* had foreseen. The *Christians* had an infinite contempt for the *Moslems*, and their cavalry charged with such vigour, that *Saladin's* main body was entirely routed; but the *Christians* instead of pursuing, as they ought to have done, this fortune at the beginning, pushed on towards *Saladin's* camp, and dazzled with its magnificent appearance, where all the pomp and splendour of Eastern luxury was displayed, they fell to plunder. *Saladin* availed himself accordingly. He found not, upon all the field, a regular body of *Christians*, excepting the great master of the temple, whose generous band, despising plunder was pursuing victory: him *Saladin* attacked with the flower of his troops; and notwithstanding the disparity of their numbers, the *Infidels* must have been routed, had not the *Christians* been flanked with six or seven thousand fresh men, who sallied from the city, and turned the scale in *Saladin's* favour: for the great master lost his life, as did many of his bravest officers, and his troops were put to the route. *Saladin's* way was now clear to his camp, which he found the *Christians* intent upon plundering. Some of the most regular troops, rallied, and made a stand against him; but the *Germans*, instead of opposing him, quarrelled amongst themselves, concerning the booty, and especially, about a beautiful *Arabian* horse, richly caparisoned. In short, *Saladin* made such advantage of every circumstance, that, in a manner, he snatched the victory out of the hands of the *Christians*; and it must have been complete on his side, had not *Lusignan* and the *French*, who guarded the camp, during the time they had been engaged, presented themselves to his front: upon which he ordered a retreat.

But lose a  
complete  
victory  
thro' avarice.

Such was the famous battle of *Ptolemais*, the honour of which, has been arrogated by the *Moslems*, to themselves: but the consequences evinced, that all they did, was to preserve themselves from a total defeat. Ten thousand *Turks*, were killed in the first charge, with many of the best of the *Moslem* generals; and *Saladin* lost as many more, in the course of the battle, whereas the whole loss of the *Christians*,

They  
have how-  
ever the  
advantage



For *Saladin* retires.

Circumvallations formed.

Ecclesiastick generals.

*Saladin* sends for reinforcements.

*tians*, did not amount to two thousand men. But the consequences of this battle, have irrefragably proved, the *Christians* to have had the honour of the day. For *Saladin* was now sensible, that the advantage he had gained was entirely owing to an accident, which he could not flatter himself would happen again, and it was with pain, he dissembled his uneasiness. He pretended sometimes to be afraid of a pestilence from the stench of the dead bodies, that remained unburied on the field of battle; and that it had already infected his own health, for which reason, he broke up his blockade of the *Christian* camp, and retired to a strong post at *Keruba*, which he fortified, and kept upon the defensive till he should be joined by the vast reinforcements he expected, under his brother *Adel*.

This retreat, which was in a manner an acknowledgement of his having been defeated, left the *Christians* at liberty to continue without molestation, the operations of the siege of *Ptolemais*. They made two lines of circumvallation, one against *Saladin's* army, in case he should attack them; the other against the city. The marquis of *Mentferrat*, was posted on the north, and commanded as far as the sea; on his left lay the knights of the hospital, and the *Genoese* upon mount *Mursard*. The *French*, under the command of their nobility, were encamped between the north and the East, and on the east lay the *English*; next to them were the *Flemings*. *Lusignan* king of *Jerusalem*, with his queen *Sybilla*, occupied their old camp upon mount *Turon*; and the *Germans*, *Danes*, and *Friezlanders*, possessed all the south quarters, while the *Pisans*, *Venitians*, and other *Italians*, extended themselves quite to the south.

Such were the dispositions made at this memorable siege, and the reader is not to be surprized, when we acquaint him, that most of the general officers amongst the *Christians*, were bishops, and other ecclesiasticks; the *English* in particular being commanded, by the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the bishop of *Salisbury*. *Saladin* received his reinforcements from all parts of the *Moslem* dominions; his cause being considered, as the cause of Mahometanism itself; and in fact it was so, nor perhaps could any prince, but one of his experience and sagacity, have prevented the whole East, at this time, from falling under the *Christian* powers. He still kept up his communication with the city, and he sent an ambassador, *Bohahoddin*, the same who has wrote the history of this siege, to *Bagdad*, and all the other *Moslem* princes his allies or dependents, to persuade them to unite as one man, in the cause of *Mahomet*. *Bohahoddin*, as we understand from himself, met with success, answerable to the importance of his embassy; and was extremely caressed at all the courts to which he went. The califf of *Bagdad* particularly sent with him one of his subjects, an engineer, who did *Saladin* prodigious service;



service; for the *Christians*, according to the awkward manner of besieging in those times, had erected a most stupendous tower, which overlooked the walls of the city, and which being filled with soldiers, must have put an end to the siege, had it not been, that this young man, made combustible compositions, principally of *Naphtha*, which reduced to ashes this enormous machine, and all who were in it. About the same time, *Saladin's Egyptian fleet*, defeated one from *Europe*, and made a triumphal entry, with the ships that it had taken into the port of *Ptolemais*. All those circumstances, together with the daily increase of the *Infidel* army, discouraged the *Christians*, in proportion as they had been elated before. The destruction of the machine, which was of *German* construction, entirely disheartened that nation, and the landgrave of *Thuringia* entirely abandoned the siege, not without a violent suspicion of his having been bribed by *Saladin's* gold. *Saladin* laid hold of this *Crisis* to make himself master of *His ac-*  
*Shakif*, to the garrison of which he gave a most honourable quifitions, capitulation; and suffered them to march to *Tyre*.

The vast execution which had been done by the *Naph-* Distress of  
*tha* composition, which it seems, was the product of the the *Chris-*  
califf of *Bagdad's* dominions, made *Saladin* apply, to that *tians*.  
court for a fresh supply; which was accordingly sent him,  
together with some able engineers, and bills of credit drawn  
by the califf's court, or divan, upon certain merchants, for  
money payable to *Saladin*. That prince continued all this  
time at *Keruba*, where he often took the diversion of hun-  
ting; but carefully avoided any general action with the  
*Christians*. His dispositions were so excellent, that the latter  
soon began to be in want of provisions; and *Saladin's* supe-  
riority at sea cut off all their hopes of receiving any supplies.  
The famine at last, in the camp of the *Christians*, grew so  
pinching, as to drive them to despair; so that the officers  
and generals, in a manner, lost all their authority: and the  
common men, knowing how well *Saladin's* camp was pro- Make a  
vided, took an opportunity one day, that they understood he desperate  
was at hunting, to make a desperate attack upon it. But attack.  
they were repulsed with great slaughter by *Saladin's* brother  
*Adel*; and in their retreat they suffered greatly by an ambus-  
cade, he had planted against them. It appears however,  
even from the *Moslem* authors, that *Saladin's* men, suffered  
severely upon that occasion. The *Christians* about this time  
received vast spirits, from the magnificent accounts they  
received of the emperor *Frederick's* victories, over the *Sultan*  
of *Iconium*; and *Saladin* was alarmed by *Bar Greco's* accounts  
of the same. It was therefore resolved on both sides, that  
something decisive should be done. *Saladin* had been joined  
by his son *Daher*, by the prince of *Aleppo*, and almost all  
his allies; so that his army was stronger than ever; and he  
left his camp of *Keruba* for another, nearer to that of the  
*Christians*. The latter on the other hand, resumed their  
operations



Their  
machines  
destroyed.

operations of the moving towers, and built three of a most amazing construction: each of them being filled with men, and warlike machines of all kinds. In order to preserve them from being burnt as the former were, they were secured with iron, and covered with the hides of oxen soaked in vinegar. But all those precautions, could not defend them from the destroying flames of the *Infidels*. A brazier of *Damascus*, contrived a kind of pots, or shells, from which he discharged his combustible *Naphtha*, with such execution, that those machines, with all within them, were entirely destroyed.

Their  
famine  
relieved.

This misfortune, with the growing famine in the camp of the *Christians*, must have obliged them to give over the siege; had it not been for the brave marquis of *Montferrat*, who went to *Tyre* and fitted out a fleet, with which he engaged and defeated *Saladin's* ships: and left the sea open to convey provisions to the *Christians*; which came under the conduct of the earl of *Champaign*, who brought at the same time, a powerful reinforcement of soldiers. This turned the scale of war entirely in favour of the *Christians*; but they were now divided amongst themselves. *Sybilla*, the queen of *Jerusalem*, in whose right her husband held that crown, together with her only child, had attended her husband thro' all the inconveniences of the siege, during which both she, and her daughter died. *Thoron*, the husband of *Isabella* queen *Sybilla's* sister then put in his claim to the crown in right of his wife; but *Lusignan* insisting upon his own recognition, he being crowned, and annointed king of *Jerusalem*, refused to give up his title. *Mary* the dowager of *Elmeric* king of *Jerusalem*, and mother to *Isabella Thoron's* wife, was still alive. *Thoron* himself by all accounts, was a most despicable creature. The marquis of *Montferrat* on the contrary, had every thing to recommend him; a graceful person, wisdom, reputation, riches, and courage: and notwithstanding his having, no manner of legal claim to the crown of *Jerusalem*, he laid a plan for acquiring it, but carried it on by most detestable means.

By mar-  
rying  
*Thoron's*  
wife.

For having gained the affections of *Isabella Thoron's* wife, she and her mother queen *Mary*, who had married *Balvan*, the same who was mentioned in the last siege of *Jerusalem*, cited *Thoron* before the bishop of *Acon*, upon pretence, that *Thoron* had forced the princess when she was under age to marry him. The obsequious bishop, found the plea to be good, the marriage was dissolved, the marquis of *Montferrat* married *Isabella*, and assumed the title of king of *Jerusalem*: to the vast scandal of every man of virtue. It is said in particular that *Baldwin* archbishop of *Canterbury*, laid to heart so much, the divisions which the marquis's ambition produced, that he sickened and died in five days time. All the power and address of the marquis of *Montferrat*, were insufficient



insufficient to suppress the resentment of the public at his conduct. For tho' it undoubtedly was for the interest of the *Christians*, that he should be made king of *Jerusalem*, yet the flagrant injustice, that had been done, both to *Thoron* and *Lusignan*, rendered all disinterested persons, amongst the *Christians*, extremely uneasy; so that the marquis of *Montferrat*, was obliged to compromise matters with his rivals; and to refer the decision of their differences to the emperor *Frederick*; who they understood was upon his march, tho' soon after they heard of his death. His son, the duke of *Suabia*, who as we have seen, took the command of his army, still continued his march towards *Tyre*, but under prodigious disadvantages. For *Saladin*, who was minutely informed by *Bar Crecor*, of all *Frederick's* motions, gave orders to all his governors of the territories, thro' which he was to pass, to harass him as much as they could, and to cut off all his convoys. By those means, *Frederick* lost a vast number of his men, and his army was obliged to subsist itself upon their horses, by which, his march became extremely tedious and fatiguing; he however with wonderful patience surmounted all difficulties, and reached *Tyre*, where he and his army was received on board, the marquis of *Montferrat's* fleet, and carried to the siege of *Ptolemais*. The disappointments the besiegers met with at seeing so miserable a handful, instead of a numerous triumphant army, is not to be expressed; but they were excellent soldiers, hardened to the field and the climate, and well disciplined. Their commander the duke of *Suabia*, was in high reputation, and he took up the quarters of the landgrave of *Thuringia*, being recognized in general, by the *Germans* for their head.

Upon the arrival of *Frederick*, the *Christian* generals, immediately resolved to make a new attack upon the city, and if possible to carry it by storm. For this purpose they brought up some of their largest ships, they being now in possession of the harbour close to the walls; and erecting high towers upon their decks, they attacked the besieged from thence, with their machines. The assault was given with so much fury, that the *Christian* standards, were several times planted on different parts of the walls, and the place must have been carried, had not *Saladin*, at the very instant of the attack, attempted to storm their camp. This obliged the *Christians*, from being assailants, to become defendants. They saw their attack was no longer practicable, and the *Infidels* in the midst of their camp. They immediately drew off from the storm, and fell with such intrepidity upon the barbarians, that they cut off the foremost and the bravest of their troops; and *Saladin* himself, whose chief intent was to draw them off from the storm, with great difficulty escaped being killed, or taken prisoner.

Notwithstanding



Death of  
the duke  
of Suabia

Saladin  
chooses a  
new camp

His diffi-  
culties.

The char-  
acters of  
the kings  
of Eng-  
land and  
France.

Notwithstanding the loss the *Infidels* sustained, it was plain that when *Saladin* besieged the besiegers, it was impossible for the latter to take *Ptolemais*. The duke of *Suabia*, worn out by fatigue, fell sick, and according to *Christian* writers, he might have saved his life, by using of a female; but he refused to comply, the remedy being inconsistent with his vow. Whatever may be in this ridiculous story, it is certain that *Frederick* died about this time; and the *Germans* in general, were so disgusted, with disappointment and fatigue, that they all returned home, excepting a few of the most zealous, who served under *Leopold* duke of *Austria*; a prince, who had performed prodigies of valour during the siege. But besides this desertion, a mortality and famine, again afflicted the *Christians*; and it was entirely owing to the marquis of *Montferrat's* fleet, that they were not starved. For *Saladin*, who by means of pidgeon messengers, so common in that country, had an almost instantaneous correspondence with the different parts of his dominions, which were receiving daily fresh reinforcements; and threw what troops he pleased into the city. But he now resolved to remain upon the defensive in hopes that the famine and pestilence, would finish the army of the *Christians*. He therefore chose a strong camp upon mount *Shaferam*, where he knew he could not be attacked, with any probability of success; about three miles distance from *Ptolemais*. The *Christians* on the other hand sought every opportunity to bring him to a decisive engagement, which he as carefully avoided. For no sooner did they make dispositions, for attacking him, as the marquis of *Montferrat*, and prince Henry of *Champaign* often did; than they themselves were attacked in the rear, by sallies from the garrison.

Notwithstanding the disheartning situation of the *Christian* affairs, those of *Saladin*, were not very promising. He himself thro' incessant fatigue, had contracted, a bilious disorder, and numbers of the princes, who served under him, particularly *Amadoddin* and *Zenki*, whom we have so often mentioned, demanded their dismissal; and some of them were even bold enough to separate from his army without leave; tho' a few of them were brought back by force. *Saladin's* distress was increased by the *Christians* remaining masters of the field, and intercepting one of his ships, laden with money for the payment of his troops, the loss of which had occasioned *Amadoddin*, and others, to mutiny.

In the mean while, the spirit of crusading revived in *Europe*; and *Richard* king of *England*, with *Philip Augustus* king of *France*, having patched up their differences, made most prodigious preparations, for undertaking the expedition in their own persons. Those two princes, were, in every circumstance, the reverse of one another, in temper and disposition; and agreed in nothing but their zeal against the *Infidels*.



*Infidels.* *Richard* was brave, even to temerity; *Philip* was cautious, almost to cowardice. *Richard*, was magnificent and generous, *Philip*, was frugal, if not parsimonious. *Richard*, had many great vices, and *Philip* few amiable virtues. *Richard*, had spared no means, even the most rapacious, to amass prodigious treasures, that he might appear, with a pomp as well as a power, suitable to his high rank; which *Philip* however; considered as being subordinate to his, as being *Richard's* sovereign in *France*; where the latter held vast possessions. Notwithstanding this disparity of characters; such was their zeal, that before they set out, they had several interviews with one another, at which they engaged themselves, to cultivate a mutual harmony, and if either died upon the expedition, the survivor was to be heir to all the deceased's ready money; which he was to apply to the purposes of the *Crusade*. The passion for this new expedition was greatly encreased, by a number of little pictures, or drawings, sent over by the *Christians* in the East; representing sometimes a *Turkish* horseman, treading under foot, the holy church of the sepulchre at *Jerusalem*; sometimes a *Moslem*; whipping our Saviour with rods; and defiling the place of his burial with all kinds of impurities. Infinite numbers of those delineations were sent to *Europe* by the direction of the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was now considered by the *Christians*, as king of *Jerusalem*; or at least the person, most worthy to wear that crown.

Who take  
the cross.

It is foreign to this history to give any particulars of the adventures of *Richard* and *Philip* before they arrived at the siege of *Acca*. It is however necessary, to mention in general that they were perpetually embroiled with one another, and their differences broke out a fresh every day. *Saladin* was no stranger to the reinforcements that were expected from *Europe*; and the sagacity with which he acted, upon this, and all other occasions, is almost incredible. Finding it necessary to return to his former camp, that he might the more easily intercept the reinforcements that came to the besiegers from *Europe*; he took prisoners, according to the *Moslem* authors, one of the *French* generals; and *Philip's* treasurer, whom he treated with the utmost politeness; even to the admitting them to sit at his own table. He shewed the like moderation to all the princes who served under him; and whom he persuaded to remain with his army as long as he judged necessary. When he dismissed them, which he did not before winter came on, he made magnificent presents; and gave robes of state, to them all, particularly to *Amadoddin* and his son; by which he gained their affections so much, that they engaged to rejoin him early in the spring.

And set

out for

*Acca*.

Hej. 587.

A. D.

1191.

Politeness  
of *Saladin*

The siege of *Ptolemais* had now continued upwards of two years, with prodigious loss to the *Christians*. The place was indeed of importance to *Saladin*, but was far from being

Continu-  
ance of  
the siege.



Its gar-  
rison  
changed.

in itself, worth the blood and treasure he had expended in its defence, had it not been that the siege of it, amused and diverted the *Christians*, from more considerable conquests; nor indeed, as they were situated, could they abandon it, without the most imminent danger. Hitherto, both parties had, during the severity of the winter, remained inactive, but in the beginning of the spring, the season was so stormy, that the marquis of *Montferrat*, found himself under a necessity of sending his ships into harbour at *Tyre*. *Saladin* did not lose a minute in improving this circumstance to his own advantage. *Bobahaddin Karakusk*, and *Hofamoddin*, were the two generals, who had hitherto defended *Acca*, but both they and the garrison under them were now worn out, with incessant labour. *Saladin*, therefore, now that the sea was open, entirely changed the garrison and threw into the place a fresh body of men, under *Saifeddin*, while his brother *Adel* covered the disembarkation at *Haifa*, with a strong body of troops, to prevent any interruption from the *Christians*. According to some of the *Moslem* authors, however, the new garrison, was far inferior in number, as well as experience, to the old one. *Saladin's* next care was to throw a supply of provisions into the place, which he attempted. This was a work of great difficulty, on account of the tempestuous weather; and seven transports, laden with money and provisions from *Egypt*, were dashed to pieces, in sight of the garrison. Notwithstanding this misfortune, he afterwards found means to throw a whole year's provisions into the city; while the garrison covered their debarkation. The *Christians* took this opportunity, of making a fresh and most furious attack, upon the place; and were very near taking it, had not the besieged destroyed the scaling ladder; and received such a diversion from *Saladin*, that they retired with vast loss. They however opened a breach in the walls, and next day renewed the assault, but with no better success than before.

Difficul- Such a train of disagreeable events, as had attended the  
ties of the *Christians*, ever since the opening of the siege, and the  
*Christian* dilatory repair of reinforcements from *Europe*, occasioned  
army and by the disagreement between the kings of *England* and  
desertions *France*; but, above all, the famine which was renewed in the  
from it. *Christian* camp, drove, according to the *Moslem* authors, a  
vast number of deserters into *Saladin's* service. He enter-  
tained them all, and formed out of them, a body of seamen,  
whom he put on board a large ship, with orders for them to  
cruise off upon the *Christians*; and to do them all the da-  
mage they could. Those renegades, well knowing, that they  
had nothing but death to expect, if they were taken, inter-  
cepted a great number of transports, dropping in from *Europe*;  
some of them richly laden with money and plate; all which,  
together with the ransom for the prisoners they took, *Saladin*  
wisely gave up to the captors. According to the best  
accounts,



accounts, during this winter, little or no respite was given, by either party to the other; and the *Moslem* authors have been very minute, in recounting even the smallest skirmishes that happened, especially when to their own advantage, either by sea, or land.

Early in the spring, after a voyage of twenty two days, arrived in the *Christian* camp before *Ptolemais*, *Philip Augustus* king of *France*. He was attended by a noble army, which he brought in a hundred transports, and six great ships of war; together with provisions and supplies, of all kinds. If we are to believe the *French* authors, he was received by the *Christians*, as their tutelar genius. He no sooner landed, which he did on Easter eve, than he entered upon action; and he took up his quarters so close to the walls, that they were within reach of the enemies engines. Having landed his battering machines, he played them so advantageously, that he soon made a breach in the walls. But, according to the same authorities, he was restrained by a ridiculous scruple from pursuing his advantage, and taking the place. He had made an agreement with *Richard*, that all their conquests should be in common, and doubted whether he could in honour deprive *Richard* of his share of glory, in taking the town before his arrival; and this scruple weighed so much with him that he withdrew from the attack.

Arrival of  
*Philip*  
king of  
*France*.

His  
foolish  
scruples.

In the mean while, *Richard*, after a variety of delays, and disappointments, which gave him vast uneasiness, put to sea, from *Messina*, with a noble fleet and army, but his ships were so rudely handled by a storm, which happened on *Good Friday*, that he was obliged to put into *Cyprus*. This Island was then governed by a prince of the house of *Comneni*, who had so long held the *Greek* empire; but he is said to have been no other than an usurper and a tyrant, and had acquired his power by the assistance of *Sicilian* fleets, which served against the *Greek* emperors, of that family. Instead of giving shelter to *Richard*, he ordered as many of the ship wrecked *English*, as he could seize, to be plundered, and thrown into chains; and upon *Richard's* complaining of this usage, he had the insolence to threaten him with the same treatment, if he did not instantly leave the Island. *Richard* resented this brutality. He was the first who jumped ashore from a shallop in the face of the tyrant and all his troops, and by amazing efforts of courage, first defeated them, and afterwards made himself master of the whole Island; and even of the tyrant's person, whom he reduced to submit to the most mortifying terms, even to his parting with his crown: but the particulars of this conquest, which was so glorious for *Richard*, are so well known, that we shall insist no farther upon them.

*Richard*  
king of  
*England*  
conquers  
*Cyprus*.

*Richard* having conquered *Cyprus*, and sent the tyrant of it in silver chains to *Tripolis*, made dispositions for joining



And proceeds to the siege of *Acca*.

His successes at sea.

the *Christians* before *Ptolemais*; whose affairs, notwithstanding the boasted arrival of king *Philip*, continued still in a very untowardly situation; chiefly through the dissensions, that still prevailed, between the parties of *Lusignan*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*. *Philip*, had highly espoused the interest of the latter, and *Lusignan* with his brother *Geffrey*, the princes of *Antioch*, and *Tripolis*, with others who were jealous of the marquis, had repaired to *Cyprus* during *Richard*'s continuance on that Island, and had engaged him in their interests; which he was sufficiently disposed to do, from his enmity for *Philip*. Having settled the affairs of *Cyprus*, he sailed towards *Tyre*; where by the marquis of *Montferrat*'s orders, he was denied admittance. When he drew near *Ptolemais*, he observed a ship of an enormous size under *French* colours. This vessel had been prepared by *Saladin*, and fitted up by that crafty *Saracen* in the nature of a fireship, with a vast number of combustibles, and according to the accounts of the *Moslem* authors themselves, six hundred and fifty seamen on board, in hopes of approaching under the *French* colours to the *English* fleet, and burning it. But *Richard*, discovering the truth, attacked this vessel with such fury, that she sunk to the bottom, without a soul on board being saved, but one seamen; who was taken up, and sent by *Richard*, by way of bravade, to acquaint *Saladin* with what had happened. He himself however lost five small transports which fell into the enemies hands, but next day he sunk another great *Egyptian* ship laden with provisions and ammunition, for the garrison of *Ptolemais*; and took prisoners two hundred of their principal officers, and engineers, who jumped over board.

He lands.

Next day *Richard* landed, and entered the camp before *Ptolemais*, with great triumph. *Philip* by this time had got over his scruples, and having built seven towers of a new construction, he had pressed the town with great vigour, but without being able to take it. For *Saladin* again removed his camp to *Keruba*, and harassed the besiegers so incessantly, as to give the garrison leisure to repair all the breaches of their walls and works. The arrival of *Richard*, who was looked upon to be incomparably the most powerful prince, and the ablest general of all the *Christians*, soon altered the state of the siege. The garrison informed *Saladin* in plain terms, that unless he relieved them, by gaining a general battle, they must surrender. But *Saladin*'s intelligence was too good for him to be directed by them. *Richard*'s sister, who attended him on his expedition, had brought with her from *Sicily*, two *European Moslems*, who had disguised their religion, by pretending to be *Christians*, and gave *Saladin* information of all that passed in the *Christian* camp. He likewise found means to detach the marquis of *Montferrat* from the common cause, by persuading him that *Richard*'s intention, was to deprive him of the principality of *Tyre*; and

streightens the city.



and the marquis with his troops returned to that city. It happened, at the same time, that *Richard* fell dangerously ill, so that his life was despaired of; and this for some days created a total cessation of the operations of the siege. Upon *Richard's* recovery, he perceived that *Philip* had carried on his works so far, that the greatest share of the honour in taking the place, must fall to him, and therefore he was disposed to an accomodation with *Saladin*; and even entered into a secret treaty on that head. Tho' this has been denied by *English* authors, yet there is too much reason, from *Moslem* He proposes to *Richard* proposed a personal interview with *Saladin*, by a treat *Moslem* prisoner, to whom he gave his liberty for that purpose. But *Saladin*, either distrusting *Richard's* sincerity, or being determined by other motives of policy, rejected the proposal; but did not seem averse to treat with *Richard* by an interpreter, provided *Richard* would open to him the terms he proposed as the basis of the future treaty. Perhaps his chief reason was founded upon the vast reinforcements he was expecting, which accordingly joined him in the beginning of *June*; and which enabled him to draw his lines closer to the *Christians*. But *Saladin's* ideas of the *Christian* power, were greatly altered by *Richard*. He had held the king of *France* in contempt, notwithstanding all he had done against the city, and he gave a memorable instance of it, by his refusing to return a white falcon, which was a favourite with *Philip*, and was taken by *Saladin's* soldiers; tho' the *Moslem* authors say, that *Philip* offered no less than a thousand dinars for her ransom. *Saladin* found another genius in *Richard*. He was himself at the head of every assault, and conceiving himself to have been affronted by *Saladin*, in refusing him the interview, he gave the garrison no respite; but kept them in perpetual alarms. They sent to *Saladin* on the seventh of *June*, now that *Richard* was entirely recovered, a letter, expressing the excessive hardships they suffered from *Richard's* vigour, and telling him, that they would be obliged to surrender the next day if not relieved, or be obliged to stand a storm, and the chance of being every man of them put to the sword. *Saladin* had some time *Acca* reduced to under *Mashtub*, *Karakush*, and others, of his ablest generals; extremity so that the extremity they were reduced to, gave him vast disquiet. The *Infidels* had been barbarous enough to carry on the war in a most cruel manner, and the *Christians* had been but too exact in copying that example. On the nineteenth of *January*, *Richard*, as the besieged had foreseen, ordered a general storm; and with the loss of a hundred and fifty of his best troops, he carried the outer wall. Notwithstanding this, *Saladin* was not without hopes, from the divisions that reigned in the *Christian* camp; and there is some reason for believing, that the two heads of the *Christians* hated



Disagree- ment be- tween *Richard* and *Philip*. hated each other more than they did *Saladin*: for we are told, that each accused the other of tampering with him. It is certain that there was a kind of an intercourse between them, and that the barbarian behaved to them, with a politeness, very foreign to his disposition. This was far from being the case of his generals, who still believing that it was in *Saladin*'s power to relieve them, put to death in cold blood, six *Christian* noblemen; who had fallen into their hands, at storming the outer wall. One of those noblemen, probably *Almeric Clement* marshal of *France*, was a person of the highest distinction; and offered if they would spare his life, to procure good terms for the garrison; but they barbarously put him to death. *Philip* was apprized of this inhumanity, by a spy, whom he had in the place.

The outer wall of *Acca* taken.

The be- sieged send to treat,

The outer wall being thus taken, *Saladin*, whose troops began to be very uneasy at their situation, and who had been at such immense expences, that he scarcely had any money left, intimated to the garrison that it was out of his power to relieve them. Upon this, *Mashtub*, was sent out to capitulate, and he addressed himself to the king of *France*, as being a more placable prince than *Richard*. *Philip*, exasperated by their barbarous murder of his noblemen, refused to grant them any terms, upon which *Mashtub* fiercely replied, that they would then defend the place to the last drop of their blood; and accordingly returned to the city. *Saladin* in the mean while, addressed himself to *Richard*, who, according to the *Moslem* authors, was the soul of the whole enterprize, and amused him with the hopes of returning all that he had taken, since the battle of *Hittin*; provided he would lend him thirty thousand of his troops, who were to be employed against his other enemies. In short, the barbarian acted so artfully, that the garrison had time to run up another wall in the place of that which had been demolished, so that the besiegers found, that they in a manner had the siege to begin a new. Being now however entirely masters of the sea, and plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, and their numbers being then increased by near thirty thousand, the garrison at last offered to capitulate upon certain terms. But this offer there is reason to believe, was made without *Saladin*'s consent. For we are told that before any capitulation was signed, several of *Saladin*'s generals went privately on board a barque, and absconded for fear of his resentment; and one of them being taken, was by his orders put in chains.

And after great difficulties comes

After great difficulties, the terms of a capitulation were at last settled, between the *Christians* and the garrison, but apparently, without the approbation or consent of *Saladin*. Those terms are very differently represented, by *Moslem* and *Christian* authors, but as the latter seem to be far more consonant to truth, we shall follow them. They were first,

that



that the garrison and inhabitants should be permitted to march out, with all their own money and effects: Secondly, that fifteen hundred *Christian* prisoners, of the lower fort, and a hundred of the higher, to be named by the princes of the crusade, be released. Thirdly, that *Saladin*, to terms or the garrison, should pay on the eighteenth of *July*, and of capitulation the 18th of *August*, at equal payments, two hundred thousand dinars to the princes of the *Crusade*; as an equivalent, for their private fortunes, which they were suffered to enjoy. Fourthly, that *Saladin* should deliver up the true cross of the crucifixion. Fifthly, that all military stores, ships, machines, and magazines, and arms within the city, shall remain to the *Christians*. And lastly, that they should make a present to the marquis of *Montferrat*, and his troops of fourteen thousand dinars, on account of his trouble in bringing about, and settling the capitulation.

*Saladin*, upon this occasion, behaved like a faithless barbarian, for upon receiving a copy of the capitulation, he refused to ratify it, and exclaimed against the commanders of his garrison. The *Christians*, however, had got possession of the city, and understanding *Saladin's* difficulties, they seized upon the persons and estates of all the *Moslems* there. This conduct, which certainly was justifiable by *Saladin's* obstinacy, gave him a handle for refusing to set at liberty the *Christian* prisoners mentioned in the capitulation. He insisted upon the garrison and inhabitants of *Acca*, being released, or hostages being given him for that purpose, before he paid the moiety of the two hundred thousand dinars; in which case he offered to give security, for the payment of the whole sum. Neither party chose to trust the other, so that the conditions of the capitulation remained entirely unfulfilled. The *Christians* however, proposed, upon the payment of the first moiety of the money, to release half their prisoners in terms of the capitulation; and to give security for the releasing the remainder, on payment of the other moiety. *Saladin* refused to comply with this equitable proposal, and it is said, that he applied to his own use, the money, which his subjects had raised for the release of the garrison. This exasperated *Richard* to the last degree, and made him guilty of a shocking piece of cruelty.

Which  
*Saladin*  
disowns.

For being resolved to make himself master of *Ascalon*, before he attempted the reduction of *Jerusalem*, he made a general review of his troops, and in the sight of *Saladin*, whose army remained still fortified on an opposite hill, he ordered three thousand *Moslem* prisoners to be cut in pieces; giving it as his reason, that as he must soon set out upon his march, it would be dangerous either to carry with him, or to leave behind him, such a vast number of prisoners. The *French* historians, out of hatred to *Richard*, have made this number amount to five thousand, and tell us, that *Saladin* treated an



His haughtiness.

Philip returns to Europe.

Richard disgusted.

Marches for Jerusalem.

equal number of his *Christian* prisoners in the same manner. The truth is, *Richard*, who looked upon himself, as the conqueror of *Ptolemais* and *Saladin*, behaved with a haughtiness, that was next to brutal; and could brook no equal, or less a superior, in command. The prisoners he had put to the sword, were those that, upon a division, had fallen to his own share; and he therefore claimed a right to treat them as he pleased. He had a pique against *Leopold* duke of *Austria*, one of the bravest of the *Christian* princes, and pulled down his standard, from the walls of a tower he had taken, and threw it with his own hands into the common kennel. He was equally insolent towards the king of *France*, and being too powerful to be controuled, that prince, under pretence of an indisposition, left ten or twelve thousand of his troops, under the duke of *Burgundy*, and set sail with the rest for *Europe*; to which he returned in safety.

*Richard*, becoming now the sole commander in chief of the *Christians*, gave orders for repairing in the most substantial manner, and refortifying, the walls of *Ptolemais*; where the *Christian* religion was again restored, and the different nations were assigned their respective quarters in the city. But the return of the king of *France* to *Europe*, gave him infinite disquiet, as imagining that he intended to take advantage of his absence by attacking his *French* or *English* dominions. On the other hand, he was equally disgusted with the conduct of the marquis of *Montferrat*, to whose children the crown of *Jerusalem* had been adjudged to belong after the death of *Lusignan*. The marquis having obtained this judgement in his favour, had retired to his own dominions, where he was very powerful; and affected an entire independency on *Richard*, whom he knew to be his enemy, and whom he was much more jealous of than he was of all *Saladin's* power. *Saladin*, was no stranger to their heart burnings, and artfully fomented their differences, by appearing to treat separately with each; tho' in fact he was making all kind of dispositions, for availing himself of *Philip's* retreat. For all matters being settled by *Richard* in *Ptolemais*, he set out on his march at the end of *July*; and on the first of *August*, he reached *Heifa*, being harrassed on his march by *Saladin's* troops; but he was supplied with provisions from his own fleet, which attended him along the coast. He proceeded to *Cæsaria*, and according to the *Moslem* authors, part of his army fell into an ambuscade, on the tenth of *August*, where a great many were killed on both sides. *Richard*, on this occasion was, it seems, deceived by two *Arabs*, who pretended to be deserters; but finding their informations fallacious, he ordered their heads to be struck off. Some circumstances in the history of this expedition, give great weight to the *Moslem* account of it. For besides their being very accurate, as to dates, they tell us that *Richard's* standard, was affixed to a kind of a lofty wooden tower, which went upon wheels; and this



this is the very description, which the most antient English historians, have left us of the antient standard of England. It appears that *Richard* was superior in all encounters; and that no quarter was given to prisoners on either side. But *Saladin* by policy made up for all his other defects. He had taken into his pay, a body of *Turks*, who were reckoned the best troops in the East, and were advancing from *Turkistan* to join him, and till these could come up, he employed his brother *Adel*, to amuse *Richard*, with the talk of an accommodation. *Richard*, notwithstanding his passion for war, was by no means averse to this proposal, especially as *Adel* Treats insinuated, that *Saladin* might be prevailed upon, to deliver with *Sal-* up *Jerusalem* and its dependencies. This flattered *Richard's* *adin.* love of glory, and he was prevailed upon to enter upon the negotiation; which continued no longer, than *Saladin's* reinforcements arrived, and he had such dependance upon them, that he resolved, to take the first inviting opportunity of coming to a decisive action.

It was not long before this presented itself, at the pass of a river in the plains of *Arsof*, which the *Christians* were obliged to attempt. *Saladin's* army, according to the *Christians*, who are not contradicted by the *Moslems*, consisted of three hundred thousand men, and that of *Richard* was reduced to one hundred thousand, by the departure of the king of *France*, and other causes. *Saladin*, sensible of the necessity the *Christians* were under to pass the river, had lined both banks of it, with troops, while he remained hovering with the main body of his army, upon the adjoining eminences, to act as he should see occasion. The van of the *Christian* army was commanded by a brave *French* knight, *James De Avesnes*; the centre by *Richard*, at the head of his *English* and *French* troops, and the rear, by the duke of *Burgundy*. *Avesnes*, made a most furious charge upon the enemy and twice broke them; but being supported by *Saladin* who had now marched down to the plain, he was killed in the third charge, and then the battle became general. But nothing could withstand the dreadful impetuosity of *Richard*; the river was fordable, and at the head of the *English*, he overthrew all before him, and reaching the bank, he plunged into the stream; and covering himself with his buckler, he passed to the opposite bank, amidst millions of the barbarians darts. *Saladin*, watchful of every advantage, upon this, charged the rear of the *Christians*, under the duke of *Burgundy*, with such a superiority of force, that *Richard*, who thought his victory had been compleat, perceived that the battle was but just begun; for *Saladin* by this time, had drawn his whole army down to the plains, in battle array. The personal courage of *Richard* alone saved the *Christians* on that occasion from being totally cut in pieces. He repassed the river like lightning, and found the rear with part of the van and centre, which had not passed, encompassed by the barbarians. He immediately

Whom he  
defeats in  
a great  
battle.



Single  
combat  
between  
*Richard*  
and *Saladin*.

Who is  
over-  
thrown  
and his  
army de-  
feated.

*Saladin*  
returns to  
*Jerusalem*

immediately gave orders for forming the whole of his army into a kind of hollow square, presenting every where a front to the enemy. *Saladin*, trusting to his numbers, and the excellency of his troops, made extraordinary efforts; and distinguished himself by the great execution he did amongst his enemies. In strength, in address, and arms he was inferior to none of his subjects, and his actions soon attracted *Richard's* attention; as *Richard's* did that of *Saladin*. Each felt the impulse of glory; they fought their way to one another, and engaged on horseback hand to hand. *Saladin*, was armed as well as *Richard*, but the encounter was unequal; for tho' *Richard* was somewhat staggered, by the first push of *Saladin's* lance, yet he soon bore the barbarian out of his seat to the ground; and would have finished his life with his sword, had not *Saladin's* guards interposed by thousands, and given him an opportunity of remounting, and retiring from the field of battle, with a precipitation, that did no honour to his character. In the mean while, the bulk of the *Infidel* army, seeing their *Sultan* dismounted concluded he was slain, and began to fly, which they did in such confusion, that the *Christians* having now no trouble, but that of killing their enemies, put eighty thousand of them to the sword; if we are to believe their own authors. That the carnage was very dreadful, appears likewise from the *Moslem* authorities, who acknowledge it; tho' they diminish their own losses upon all occasions.

This signal victory cleared *Richard's* way to *Joppa*, called by the *Moslems*, *Yaffa*, which he took possession of; but not 'till after it had been dismantled, as other sea-port towns upon that coast were, by *Saladin's* order. Nothing could now have prevented *Richard* from becoming master of *Ascalon*, but *Saladin's* caution; for he not only dismantled, but destroyed that city; and then threw himself into *Jerusalem*, with the choicest of his troops. *Richard* is justly blamed for being diverted upon this occasion, from the great object of his expedition, the siege of *Jerusalem*. But *Saladin*, by the agents he employed, left him in no doubt, that he would cede to him, all the country on this side *Jordan* to the sea, and he therefore consumed the most precious months of the year, in giving orders for the rebuilding those cities on the sea-coast that had been demolished. By the best accounts, both *Christian* and *Moslem*, had *Richard* immediately marched against *Jerusalem*, that city must have fallen into his hands. When *Saladin* arrived there, he found that some of the *Christians* in the city, had entered into a correspondence with *Richard*, which being proved, the heads of the conspirators were struck off; and *Saladin* gave orders for the fortifications of the place, which were in a most ruinous condition, to be repaired.

In the mean while, *Richard*, who had a turn for pleasure as well as for war, was enjoying, in a dangerous tranquility,



ty, the fruits of his late glorious victory. His chief diversion was hunting, and *Saladin*, who slipped no opportunity that could serve himself, planted for him an ambuscade, in which *Richard*, and some of his chief nobility fell. Notwithstanding all the brave efforts he made to defend himself, *Richard* must have been taken, had not a *French* nobleman, one *Pourcellets*, personated him, and called himself the king; upon which, the Infidels all rushed upon him, and gave *Richard* an opportunity to escape. *Saladin* knew his own interest too well, not to encourage such eminent loyalty in any subject. He treated his prisoner with great marks of esteem and distinction, and received as his ransom from *Richard*, ten of his chief noblemen, who had been made captives. The *Moslem* writers mention nothing of an ambuscade upon this occasion, they speak only of a skirmish, in which the king of *England* was in great danger of being killed or taken. But *Richard* soon had his revenge; he reduced to his obedience, *Ramla*, and almost all *Palestine*, excepting *Jerusalem*; and obliged *Saladin* to dismantle his strongest towns in that country.

*Richard's*  
danger.

He ef-  
capes.

For *Saladin*, finding that all his forces, numerous as they were, could not stand the brunt of the *Christians*, when fairly engaged, gave over all thought of acting against them in any other way, than by cutting off their provisions, by means of the great superiority he had in cavalry, which consisted of the finest horses in the world; from *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and *Persia*. But as *Richard* continued still master of the sea, we do not find that he was very successful, even in those attempts. In short, according, even, to the *Moslem* authorities, he found himself at last, utterly unable to keep the field, and would have given *Richard* his own terms; had he not been dissuaded from it, by the marquis of *Montferrat*, who offered him his alliance, and even assistance; provided he would put into his hands *Sidon* and *Bayrut*. The barbarian would gladly have accepted of this proposal, could he have trusted the marquis. He however, sent one *Najib*, as his ambassador, to inform the marquis, that he was ready to conclude the treaty, if, previous to the signing it, he would assist him in recovering *Ptolemais*; and give up all the *French* prisoners at *Tyre*, who had been left there by the king of *France*, at his departure. This request gave the marquis a suspicion of *Saladin's* sincerity, and the negotiation hung in suspense, when *Richard* had an intimation of it, and was greatly alarmed: for the marquis had, at his command, not only an excellent army, but a great fleet; so that *Ptolemais* was in the utmost danger. Upon this occasion, *Richard* was outwitted by *Saladin*; who employed *Adel*, his brother, to manage him, and amuse him 'till the severity of the season should oblige him to leave the field.

*Saladin*  
harrasses  
the *Chris-*  
*tians*.

Negoti-  
ates with  
the mar-  
quis of  
*Montfer-*  
*rat*.

This *Adel*, was *Saladin's* favourite brother, and was one of the greatest politicians, as well as captains, in all the East.



East. Perceiving that *Richard*, in all probability, would become master of *Jerusalem*, he insinuated himself so much, into that king's good graces, that they had many personal interviews together; and *Richard*, even listened to a proposal of *Adel's* marrying his sister, the queen of *Sicily*; which we cannot suppose *Richard* would agree to, unless

And with *Adel* had given him assurances, that he would renounce *Mahometanism*, and become a *Christian*. *Richard* had a great tenderness for his sister, and the proposal flattered him extremely, especially, as *Adel* made him believe, that the state of *Saladin's* affairs rendered it absolutely necessary for him to close, either with him, or the marquis of *Montferrat*. But that the reader may the more fully comprehend the nature of this treaty, it is proper to inform him, that *Adel* himself, was a very powerful prince; and was, at that very time, possessed in property, of all that had been re-taken from the *Christians*, in *Palestine*; and even, as there is some reason to believe, of *Jerusalem* itself; though it is likewise true, that he and all his estates, owned a kind of superiority in *Saladin*, as being the acknowledged head and protector of the *Moslem* interest. In short, during the time that this treaty was in agitation, *Adel* was fortifying *Jerusalem*; and at last, after great management on both sides, it was agreed; first, that *Al Adel* should marry *Richard's* sister, and that he and she should be crowned, and declared king and queen of *Jerusalem*, and put in quiet possession of that capital. Secondly, that *Saladin* should yield to *Adel*, all his rights and possessions, in *Palestine*, and that *Richard*, in like manner, should cede to him *Ptolemais*, and all the conquests he had made during the campaign; with the whole country lying between that capital and *Ascalon*. Thirdly, that *Saladin* should give up to *Richard*, the true cross of the crucifixion. Fourthly, that the *Knights Templars*, and *Hospitallers*, upon the ratification of the treaty, should be suffered to repossess themselves of all the forts, towns, and territories, they had lost. Fifthly, that the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty; and lastly, that the king of *England*, having established a firm friendship with *Saladin*, should return home; and that there should be a good understanding between the *Moslems* and the *Christians*.

Preliminaries of the treaty.

Reflection on them.

This remarkable treaty, which we give upon the strength of *Moslem* authors, who seem to have been well informed, is a remarkable proof of the impetuous, haughty disposition of *Richard*, who seems to have considered *Lusignan*, (though he acknowledged him to be king of *Jerusalem*), to be no other than a cypher. Though the conquest of *Jerusalem* was the common cause of all Christendom; yet it is plain, that he disposed of the capital of that kingdom, in favour of his sister, only; and that upon terms, which were extremely precarious, and improbable to be observed. This soon appeared, for when both

armies



armies were obliged to go into winter quarters, and when the queen of *Sicily* and the clergy, demanded, that previous to the signing the treaty, *Al Adel*, should be baptized, and profess himself a *Christian*; both he and *Saladin*, flatly refused to comply.

It was in vain for *Richard*, who had, by this time, advanced within sight of *Jerusalem* itself, to exclaim against the insincerity of the barbarians; he would gladly have denied the whole of the negociation; but it was too public, and his attempts to dissemble, procured him hatred and disrespect, in his army. For, after trifling away autumn, and the beginning of the winter, in negotiating and re-*Richard's* fortifying the places he had taken, he pretended, that the difficulties season was too far gone, for him to think of forming the siege of *Jerusalem*, which he must defer to the spring; and that *Saladin* being shut up in that city, with the flower of his troops, would render the siege impracticable. *Richard* had still a better reason for delaying the siege. He said, that he expected great re-inforcements from *Europe*, in the spring; and that if he should even take *Jerusalem*, at that time, the bulk of his army, having satisfied their raging desire of paying their devotions at the Holy Sepulchre, would immediately return to *Europe*, and leave him and his conquests, an easy prey to the Infidels.

Those reasons did not impose upon the *Christians*. They very justly observed, that *Saladin*, by his barbarity, towards His army the garrison, and inhabitants of *Ptolemais*, had lost the reproaches of his army, who would not stand by him in the defence of *Jerusalem*; and that he never would have ventured to have shut himself up in that city, had he not known, that he was to deal with a most friendly enemy. But *Richard* had it not now in his power, had he been willing, to have repaired his oversight, and was obliged to retire to *Ramla*. This disgusted the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Austria*, the second and third, in command under *Richard*, whose favourite view was still to fortify *Ascalon*. In an imperious manner, he ordered the duke of *Austria's* men to work upon the fortifications, which they refused to do; and after separating from *Richard's* army, they returned to their own country; where the duke, afterwards, intercepted *Richard*, and by keeping him in a severe, not to say, disgraceful captivity, gave him reason for repenting of his haughtiness. As to the duke of *Burgundy*, *Philip* had left him with very little money; and *Richard*, who was rapacious, refused in very harsh terms, to supply him with any; upon which, he withdrew his troops to *Tyre*, *Ptolemais* and *Joppa*, and at last returned to *Europe*, to the great weakening of the *Christians*, and the discredit of *Richard*, who still proceeded in his favourite view, of fortifying *Ascalon*.

*Saladin*



Negotia-  
tion bet-  
ween Sal-  
adin and  
the mar-  
quis.

*Saladin* knew too much of *Richard's* character, to think of imposing upon him farther, and of his situation, to be afraid of him, so much, as he had been. He therefore resumed his negociation with the marquiss of *Montferrat*, who gave it a willing ear; and they were upon the point of concluding it, when the tragical incident of the marquiss's death, gave a new face to affairs.

Who is  
murdered

By Assas-  
sins.

We have often mentioned the *Batonists*, who have been since so famous, under the name of assassins. Their prince, who called himself the prince of the *Ishmalites*, and the *Old Man of the Mountain*, made a trade of murder; and had his practitioners in death, always devoted to his command. In executing them, they proceeded with the most unparalleled art, and cunning; and when they were executed, no tortures could extort from them, any confession. This commerce in blood, rendered the *Old Man*, the detestation of the earth; though there was not a court in the East, who did not keep some of his assassins in pay. He was now become so powerful, that *Saladin* owned him for his ally, and he upheld all the magnificence of a court. He even, by *Saladin's* favour, carried on a considerable commerce, and one of his ships, richly laden, happened, about this time, to be forced, by stress of weather, into the port of *Tyre*. The marquiss immediately seized both the vessel and cargo, and put the master to death, for offering to remonstrate against such a proceeding. This coming to the ears of the *Old Man of the Mountain*, he sent a deputation to claim the ship, and satisfaction for the death of its master; but the marquiss, instead of complying, ordered one of the deputies to be thrown into the sea, which, however was not executed. The *Old Man* expressed no resentment at this; but soon after, two *Christian* monks, of *Arabia*, came to *Tyre*, with the most extraordinary professions of authority, and religion; and were admitted to all companies, with great marks of love and esteem. While they continued at *Tyre*, the marquiss happened to dine with the bishop of *Beauvais*, and in his return from dinner, he was stabbed to the heart by the two monks, who proved to be the subjects of the *Old Man of the Mountain*, in that disguise. The most excruciating torments were applied to them; but all in vain, for they suffered death, without making any confession, which made the suspicion fall strongly upon *Richard*; who was then at open variance with the marquiss. Some of the *Moslem* authors who hated him heartily, have even ventured to accuse him in express terms, but the charge is extremely improbable, on account of *Richard's* character; which was that of being but too open in his resentments. It is likewise our duty to observe that the *Old Man of the Mountain* himself, related the causes of the murder, according to our representation of them, and it would be a great injury to the memory of *Richard* to omit the



the curious letter published by Mr. Rymer, from the original Curious  
under the *Old Man of the Mountain's* own hand, and which letter vin-  
is as follows. dicating  
*Richard.*

“ To Leopold duke of *Austria*, the *Antient of the Mountains*  
wistheth health.”

“ Since many kings and princes, beyond seas, blame  
*Richard*, king and lord of *England*, concerning the death of  
the marquis of *Montferrat*, I swear by the eternal God, and  
by the law which we hold, that *Richard* is no way to blame  
in this respect, and that the death of that marquis happened  
as follows.”

“ One of our brotherhood was coming in a ship from  
*Saltelia* to our territories, and happened to be forced into  
*Tyre* by a storm. Upon this, the marquis ordered him to be  
taken and put to death, and then he seized all his money.  
Thereupon we sent our ambassadors to the marquis, with  
orders to demand the money of our brother, and satisfaction  
for his death, which he laid upon *Reginald* the prince of  
*Sidon*; whereas we had informed ourselves, by friends whom  
we could trust, that the marquis himself had ordered the  
murder to be committed, and the money to be taken  
away.”

“ We therefore sent another ambassador called *Erusius*,  
and him he was going to throw into the sea; but our friends  
hurrying him out of *Tyre*, he came back to us in all haste,  
and told us how he had been treated. We from that  
hour determined to kill the marquis, and we sent two of  
our brethren for that purpose to *Tyre*, who killed him  
openly, almost in the sight of all the people of that  
city.”

“ Such were our motives for the death of the marquis,  
and we assure you with great truth, that *Richard* king of  
*England* was no way blamable for the death of that  
marquis; and they who have done harm to *Richard*  
on that account, do it without justice, and without rea-  
son.

“ Be assured we will kill no man in this world for reward,  
or for money, unless he first injure us.”

“ And know that these our letters are dated from our  
house in the castle of *Messiat*, about the middle of *September*,  
in the fifth year of pope *Alexander*.”

Having, in justice to the memory of that great prince,  
laid before our readers so authentic a proof of his innocence  
of the marquis of *Montferrat's* death, the same impartiality,  
obliges us to lay before our readers an equally curious and  
authentic record of *Richard's* proceedings, after the separation  
of the king of *France* from him; and we do it, with the  
greater propriety, as it corresponds so well with the *Moslem*  
accounts. It is contained in a letter under *Richard's* own  
hand,



His own  
journal.

hand, to his regency in *England*; and has been preserved, by *Richard Hoveden*, an almost cotemporary author

“ Upon the retreat,” says he “ of his majesty of *France*; the walls of *Acon* being repaired, and refortified, we proposed, for the advancement of the *Christian* expedition, and to compleat our vow, to march to *Joppa*, attended by the duke of *Burgundy*, and the *French* under his command, earl *Henry* of *Champaign* with his body, and many other earls, and barons, with an innumerable multitude of people. Our march between *Acon*, and *Joppa*, being long and tedious, we at length reach *Cæsarea*, with great loss of our soldiers and prodigious hardships: *Saladin*’s loss was likewise very considerable, in the same march; and after the people of God had taken some refreshment, they resumed their march to *Joppa*. Our van guard having by this time reached, and encamped at, *Affun*, *Saladin* made a furious attack upon our rear; but by the help of God was repelled by no more than four squadrons, who made head against him. The *Christian* horse pursued him for a league; and *Saladin* that day, which was Sunday, and the eve of the Nativity of our Blessed Virgin, lost more noble *Saracens*, than he had lost in one day for forty years. We lost only one person of note, *James de Avesnes*. We then reached *Joppa*; which was fortified, with a design of effectually promoting the business of *Christianity*; but *Saladin* after the day of the battle, durst not engage the *Christians*, but suddenly rushed from his ambushes, as a lion from his den, and cut off the friends of the cross, like sheep for the slaughter. Therefore hearing that we were marching for *Ascalon*, he went thither before us and dismantled that city.”

Difficul-  
ties of  
*Richard*.

*Richard* concluded this letter, which is a noble proof of his modesty, by assuring his friends, that unless he received speedy reinforcements he could keep the field no longer than Easter. All the winter was spent by *Richard* in repairing *Joppa*, and *Ascalon*. But the *Moslem*, as well as *Christian* authors have been greatly in the dark as to this great monarch’s final sentiments; with regard to the *Holy Land*. He found *Saladin* and his family were not to be trusted, and therefore he gave over all thoughts of negotiating with them any further. He saw, at the same time, that the acquisition of *Jerusalem* by the *Christians*, was impracticable, while the breach continued between *Lusignan* and the marquis of *Montferrat*. He therefore took the generous resolution of sacrificing all resentments to the common cause; by recognizing the marquis’s right to the crown of *Jerusalem*; and he proposed to indemnify *Lusignan*, by giving him the island of *Cyprus*, to be held of the crown of *England* in homage. The murder of the marquis defeated those noble intentions, which were perhaps not a little influenced by the situation of his affairs in *England*. That this matter had been fully compromised between the marquis and *Richard*,

His man-  
agement.



is asserted by the *English* historians, who wrote from *Richard's* own information; and seems, by the consequence, to be past all doubt. For *Isabella*, in whose right the marquis claimed, immediately upon his death, married the earl of *Champaign*, *Richard's* favourite nephew; who succeeded thereby to all the rights of royalty which the marquis had claimed. *Isabella*, upon this marriage, took upon her the title of queen of *Jerusalem*, tho' we are told that the modesty of the earl of *Champaign*, declined that of king. This union of interests (*Lusignan* being neither inclinable nor able, to make any opposition) together with the accession of large supplies of troops from *Europe*, gave, in the spring, fresh vigour to the affairs of the crusade.

So early, if we believe the *Moslem* authors, as the month of *January*, or the beginning of *February*; *Richard* put a part of his army in motion, and advanced to *Darun*, near *Gaza*, and carried off all the inhabitants of the country prisoners; together with a thousand head of cattle. In his retreat he was followed, but without any effect, by *Saladin's* troops. We know of no further operation this year till *May*, when he again advanced against *Darun*, which was one of the strongest fortresses *Saladin* had, and besieged it. The place was defended by a brave *Moslem* governor, but *Richard* having in his army some excellent engineers, whom the *Moslem* historians say he got from *Aleppo*, the place was reduced to such extremity, that the governor demanded leave to let *Saladin* know his situation; and promised, if he was not relieved, to surrender the place. *Richard*, far from consenting to this, carried the fortress by storm; and either took or put to the sword all the garrison. Having left a strong garrison in *Darun*; he reduced some other places of less consequence, and advanced against the town of *Joppa*, a place in *Saladin's* possession; which was thought to be impregnable; and therefore *Richard* was obliged, with some loss, to desist from his intention of besieging it. Several other little skirmishes happened about the same time, with various success.

The prodigious fatigues and losses which *Saladin's* army had suffered during the preceding campaign, had made it very backward in assembling this year. He himself remained greatly indisposed at *Jerusalem*. But, at last, he was joined by two fine bodies of troops, under *Bedroddin* and *Adzoddin*, with which he was enabled to take the field. *Richard* in the mean time marched to a place called *Netrun*, and defeated all the parties *Saladin* had sent out against him, with so much success; that he publickly declared his intention of forming the siege of *Jerusalem*, as soon as his engines and military stores could come up. After this, he was joined by the duke of *Burgundy*, and the *French* under his command, for after their separation from him, they had gone to *Tyre*, and the marquis of *Montferrat's* dominions; and then *Richard*



encamped at *Bethanopolis* between *Joppa* and *Jerusalem*; almost in sight of the latter city. Here he understood that *Saladin's* generals were waiting for reinforcements, with a design to attack him. Upon this, he immediately drew out his army, and fell upon them so opportunely, that he cut a great number of them in pieces, and seized all their baggage, which was very rich.

*Richard* notwithstanding some little advantages which his light horse obtained over the *Christians*, began now to be in great pain about the fate of *Jerusalem*, and ordered a great Moslem convoy, with all manner of military stores, for its defence, to march from *Egypt* under an escort of ten thousand men. *Richard* having timely notice of this, put himself at the head of five thousand chosen horse, and attacked the convoy with such vigour, that he defeated its guard, and made prize of all its contents; taking, even according to the *Moslem* authors, no fewer than three thousand laden camels, and five hundred horses. After this important blow was struck, all *Saladin's* hopes of saving *Jerusalem*, lay in the divisions of the *Christians*; and it appears very plainly, that by the force of money he had opened a secret correspondence with some of their heads: while *Richard* received such accounts of the state of his kingdom, and the insidious practices of the king of *France*, as made him impatient to return home. Notwithstanding his impetuosity and fire, he could dissemble upon occasions, but still with a tender regard to his honour. Before he left the army to meet the convoy, he held a council of war to deliberate upon the future operations of the campaign. The duke of *Burgundy* remonstrated against such a delay, and said it was plain that the only business they could propose, or that was consistent with their vow, was to besiege *Jerusalem*. Great debates and differences of opinion rose, whether the siege of *Jerusalem* or *Bagdad* should be undertaken, and *Richard* proposed that ten knights of the *Temple*, and *Hospitallers*, together with ten lay noblemen, should be appointed as a committee of the whole to deliberate upon the matter, and to make their report upon his return. They accordingly made their report, which was for attacking *Bagdad*.

He resolves to attack *Bagdad*.

The motives of this unexpected measure, lay deeper perhaps than they are commonly imagined. Little or nothing, but the empty honour of rescuing the holy sepulchre from the hands of *Infidels*, was to be got by taking *Jerusalem*, and it seems, as if the measure of besieging *Bagdad* had been privately suggested to some of the *Christian* chiefs by *Saladin* himself. It was in fact, at this time, the repository of all the riches of the East; for the califf of *Bagdad* still continued to be regarded as the head of the *Moslem* religion; and the princes of his persuasion, however they might differ in other respects, had so religious a veneration for the place of his residence, that it remained unviolated: and consequently

was



was a kind of a ware-house for their treasures and richest effects. The scheme of attacking it, however, was impracticable, by the vast length of the march, thro' open desert countries in which they must be harrassed, and have their provisions cut off by *Saladin's* horse, which were well used to scour those vast plains; not to mention that they had many dangerous passes to surmount, in which the *Infidels* might have an opportunity of cutting off the *Christian* army.

The report of the committee, however, upon *Richard's* return, gave him a handle for delaying the siege of *Jerusalem*, and the rather, as the earl of *Champaign*, the queen's husband, was not yet come up with the division he commanded. But all *Richard's* art could not stifle the murmurs of his army; and the breach between him and the duke of *Burgundy*, became now so wide, that the latter once more drew off his troops from the main army, and returned to *Ptolemais* and the towns in the neighbourhood. This separation afforded *Richard* a fresh pretext for his renewing the negotiations with *Saladin*, who was now relieved from all his apprehensions concerning *Jerusalem*: and stood upon higher terms than ever. For before he would enter into any talk of a treaty, he insisted as a preliminary, that *Ascalon* which had cost so much in rebuilding and refortifying, should be entirely demolished. This *Richard* flatly refused to consent to, and hostilities recommenced, with greater fury than ever. The retreat of the duke of *Burgundy*, and the great desertions from the *Christian* army, had obliged *Richard* to retire likewise to *Joppa*, to wait for reinforcements. This retreat, together with his visible impatience to be gone for *England* at a time when the *Christians* thought they were sure of taking *Jerusalem*, increased the murmurs against him, to such a degree, that it was publicly given out that the *English* army was broken up; and encouraged by this, *Saladin* resolved to lay siege to *Joppa*; having drawn twenty thousand men out of *Jerusalem* for that purpose, or to force *Richard* to a battle, in which there could be no equality of forces. *Richard*, understanding *Saladin's* intention, immediately withdrew his garrison out of *Darun*, and threw it into *Ascalon*, and not chosing to be shut up in *Joppa*, he retired to *Acca*, where he found the earl of *Champaign*.

The very day that *Richard* entered *Acca*, *Joppa* was invested by *Saladin*. Upon this news, *Richard* thought of going on board a ship for *England*, and of leaving the management of the war in *Palestine*, entirely to the earl of *Champaign*, whom historians now call prince *Henry*. But the *English* who were about his person, represented to him, that such a precipitate retreat, at such a time, would be prejudicial, not only to the common cause, but to his own glory: and *Richard* took the generous resolution, once more to take the

Peace and  
its pre-  
liminaries  
treated of.

*Richard's*  
impatience to be  
gone for  
*England*.



field, and to relieve *Joppa*. This resolution gave fresh spirits to the *Christians*; they repaired again with great ardour to *Richard's* standards, and he, nettled at the imputations thrown out against him, as if he had acted in concert with *Saladin*, resolved to erase them by his actions. He divided his troops into two bodies, taking to himself the command of the one, and giving that of the other to prince *Henry*. It happened that he had ordered the rendezvous of his fleet at *Acca*, and fifty ships for carrying him to *England* were actually in that port, and he immediately went on board, with his division, ordering prince *Henry* to march to *Joppa* by land.

*Joppa* re-  
lieved by  
*Richard*.

But while he was making ready for this embarkation, *Saladin* had taken the town of *Joppa*, and pressed the citadel of it so hard, that *Richard* received a courier from the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, informing him that the governor and he had become hostages to the *Infidels*, for the surrender of the castle, if it was not relieved by a certain day. This gave wings to *Richard's* expedition, and his ships appeared in sight of the citadel before the hour was elapsed, that had been appointed for the surrender. *Saladin*, had by this time, thought himself so secure, against all enemies, that he had given a loose to his natural cruelty, by putting to death all the sick and wounded, whom he found in the city; and lay encamped before the castle with very little precaution. *Richard's* own ship was painted red, and its pendants, and streamers were all of the same colour, and led the van. The whole of this fleet consisted of fifty vessels of which fifteen were capital ships. *Saladin* was struck with wonder and surprize, to see them enter the harbour, and ordered his army to draw off from the citadel and to line the shore, which he did, with such prodigious numbers as seemed to render a landing impracticable. But *Richard* jumped into a boat attended by his bravest captains in other boats, and when he came near the shore, plunged into the water, which took him up to the middle, and with his sword and cross bow, he was the first who got ashore under a cloud of the enemies darts and arrows. At first, he was almost single in the attack, and was surrounded by multitudes of the *Infidels*, whom he killed with his own hand; but being soon supported by the most forward of his troops, he led up the charge to *Saladin's* thickest battalions, where he cut in pieces all who made resistance, and forced his way first into the town, and then into the castle, which he strongly reinforced.

*Saladin*, amazed and confounded at *Richard's* expedition, but more by his incredible acts of courage, found that he had been guilty of a great error in being so secure, and imagining that there was no safety near such an enemy, he abandoned his camp with more precipitation, than became so great a commander; and *Richard* encamped that very night upon the same spot he had occupied. Two days after,  
that



that is the twenty second of July, *Saladin* retired, or rather Errors of  
 fled, to *Anja*, and the *Christians* took possession of *Cæsaria*. *Saladin*.  
*Saladin* from thence went to *Jerusalem*, where he had a  
 personal interview with his brother *Adel*, while his army  
 marched to *Netrun*; to which he himself repaired in two  
 days after, having first taken the necessary precautions for  
 the preservation of *Jerusalem*. Here he received vast rein-  
 forcements from *Egypt*, and other parts of the *Moslem* do-  
 minions; but his own authors all agree, that he undertook  
 nothing against the *Christians* of importance answerable to  
 his high character. The *Christian* writers however, in-  
 form us of a fact, which is too well attested to be doubted  
 of.

*Richard* having thus repulsed *Saladin*, was guilty of the And of  
 same error, that *Saladin* had fallen into before; of not *Richard*.  
 taking sufficient precautions for his own and his army's  
 security. *Saladin* being informed of this, and that it was  
 easy to surprize *Richard*'s person, promised great rewards to  
 a select body of his bravest officers, if they would attempt  
 to carry him off; and ordered them to be supported by seven  
 thousand of his best horse. This project certainly would  
 have taken effect, had not the *Infidels* been discovered  
 about break of day by a *Genoese*, who alarmed the *Christian*  
 camp. *Richard*, who was still in bed, immediately dressed  
 and armed himself. It is allowed on all hands, that he had  
 but ten horses in all his army, of which, he rode one, him-  
 self. By their assistance however, he got under arms as  
 many of his soldiers as checked the *Infidels*, who endeavoured  
 to break in upon him, with their seven thousand horse.  
*Saladin*, in the mean time, perceiving that his design was  
 discovered, put the whole of his army, under arms; and  
 advanced to support his horse, so that at last the battle be-  
 came general. The *Christians* fought in a hollow square,  
 presenting a front every where to their enemies, whom they  
 kept off with their discharges of cross bows, and the length  
 of their pikes. But *Richard* disdainng this defensive war,  
 attended by the few horse he had, one of which was rode by An illus-  
 the earl of *Leicester*, and another by prince *Henry*, who had trious  
 by this time joined him, threw himself into the middle of combat,  
 his enemies, and killed all that were within his reach.  
 One of *Saladin*'s generals, upon this, reproached his men  
 for their cowardice and spurred his horse, in single combat  
 against *Richard*. This illustrious combat created a kind of  
 a pause in the battle, till *Richard* with one blow, struck off  
 the head and part of the shoulders of the barbarian; but be-  
 fore he could recover himself, he found himself and his small  
 party surrounded by vast numbers of the enemy; and the  
 brave earl of *Leicester* a prisoner in their hands. *Richard*'s  
 courage and address however, surmounted all difficulties.  
 He rescued the earl at the imminent hazard of his own life,



*Richard*  
defeats  
*Saladin*.

and performed such prodigies of valour, that the boldest of the barbarians drew off. The *English* historians acquaint us with an incident, which happened at that time, which is greatly to the honour of one of *Saladin*'s generals, whom they called *Saphadin*, for they tell us, that *Richard*'s armour and the caparisons of his horse, being all bristled over with the darts and arrows of the barbarians, and himself as well as his horse, ready to sink under their fatigue; this *Saphadin*, sent him two *Arab* horses, one of which *Richard* immediately mounted, and retreated time enough into the city to prevent its being surprized by the barbarians, who had wheeled off a great body of their troops, to attack it in an opposite quarter. In short, the *Turks* were repulsed by a very small body of the *Christians*; which makes it probable that *Saladin* had found means to cut off the communication, between *Richard* and the main body of his army; and *Richard*'s cup-bearer, who was present at the battle, and wrote an account of the expedition, assures us that the loss of the *Christians* in this battle, was no more than two men, and that of the *Infidels* about seven hundred.

*Saladin*'s  
insolent  
message.

*Richard*, who, while combating, was superior to all pain and fatigue, when he came to repose himself, found his right hand quite excoriated, by handling his sword, and his spirits had suffered such a fermentation, that he fell dangerously sick. The news of this redoubled *Saladin*'s efforts, against him, and he sent him an insolent message acquainting him that if he did not leave *Palestine* he should make him prisoner. *Richard*, tho' then very ill, treated the barbarian with a noble contempt, and gave him to understand that he waited, for him nor should his menaces make him retire. But as *Saladin*'s troops were growing every day stronger, *Richard* sent prince *Henry* with an invitation for the duke of *Burgundy* to return to the army. But the duke, who had his instructions from *Philip*, meanly refused to stir, in hopes that *Richard* would be either killed or taken prisoner. *Saladin* who was no stranger to this refusal, now made dispositions for executing his threat; and *Richard*'s declaration that he intended to return to *Europe* as soon as he could with honour and safety, having taken from the crusaders all hopes of conquering *Jerusalem*, had occasioned such desertions that he had not the face of an army to oppose *Saladin* in the field. *Richard*, therefore, proposed to return in person to *Ptolemais*, and to leave the defence of *Joppa*, to the *Knights Templars*, with a reinforcement of the garrison. But as the whole success of the war was thought to depend upon *Richard*'s person and presence, the *Knights* declined that service as being desperate.

A truce  
concluded.

Notwithstanding the vast superiority of *Saladin* over *Richard*, yet the barbarian still, in secret, trembled at the genius and resolution of the *English* monarch, and was overjoyed when he understood by his brother *Adel* that he thought it possible



possible to dispose *Richard* to an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were immediately named on both sides; and at last a treaty of truce, for three years and three months, was concluded between the two parties. By this treaty, the contents of which are more particular, in the *Moslem*, than in the *Christian*, historians, it was agreed, that the truce shall be both for land and sea, and to begin the twenty second of *August*. That *Joppa*, *Yabua*, *Majdel*, *Yafa*, *Cæsaria*, *Arsof*, *Haifa*, *Ptolemais*, with their respective dependencies and territories, should remain with the *Christians*. That *Ascalon* should be fundamentally demolished. That *Lyda*, *Ramla*, and their territories, should be divided between *Saladin* and the *Christians*. That *Jerusalem*, and all the places and territories in *Saladin's* possession, not specified in the treaty, should remain his property. That all *Christians* should be permitted to perform their pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, and their devotions at the holy places there, without being liable to pay any tolls, or tributes whatsoever; provided they enter the city unarmed. Ninthly, that the princes of *Tripoli* and *Antioch*, should have liberty to accede to the treaty.

When the contents of this treaty, the circumstances of *Richard*, and the prodigious superiority of *Saladin*, are all duly considered, it impresses the highest opinion of *Richard's* character amongst the *Infidels*. The possessions secured to the *Christians*, were still very valuable; and the great article of their being permitted to perform their devotions at *Jerusalem*, was a noble triumph over the *Moslem* bigotry. As to *Richard* himself, his late actions against the *Infidels* had cleared him in the opinion of his worst enemies of all collusion with *Saladin*; and he behaved in every respect like a great sovereign. Being required to swear to the treaty, he refused it as inconsistent with the majesty of a king; but offered his hand to *Saladin*, as the seal of his good faith in observing it. *Saladin* admired and approved of this magnanimity, and acted in the same manner. But *Richard*, even upon this occasion, could not curb his indignation, for he told *Saladin* by the interpreter, that however his present circumstances in *Europe*, obliged him to accept of the truce, yet the moment it was expired, he would return with an army, and compleat the conquest of the Holy Land. The answer of *Saladin* was polite and magnanimous. "Acquaint the king of *England* said he, I take the law of the living God to witness, that were it my fate to lose the crown in my own life time, I would choose it should fall on his head, rather than on any man's alive, so much do I admire his courage and greatness of soul."

Reflection

Magnanimity of *Richard*.

Even the conclusion of the truce, did not restore tranquility to *Saladin*. He could not be easy, till he saw *Richard* sail for *Europe*; and omitted no act of kindness, respect, and generosity, to keep him in his pacific sentiments. Prince *Henry*, the great masters of the *Knights Hospitalers*, and all



Saladin's  
generosity

to the  
bishop of  
Salisbury.

Richard's  
great  
spirit and  
magnifi-  
cence.

the *Christian* princes, and commanders, who were left behind, swore to the observance of the truce, as did all *Saladin's* sons, brothers, and the princes and generals under him; and a particular proclamation was made thro' all the cities of *Saladin's* dominions, importing that the intercourse was now restored between the *Christians*, and the *Moslems*, that they might trade with one another; and that the *Moslems* might now travel upon their pilgrimages, from *Syria* to *Mecca*. This proclamation had wonderful effects; and the *Infidels* and *Christians*, soon behaved to one another, as if they had been one people. *Joppa*, and *Ptolemais* were filled with *Moslem* merchants, and such a number of *Christians* repaired to *Jerusalem* to pay their devotions, that *Richard* complained to *Saladin*, that he was left alone. *Saladin* answered that he could not drive out of *Jerusalem* so many *Pilgrims*, as had left their friends and families, in the remotest parts of the earth, to perform their devotions there; and with this answer, which was so respectful to the *Christian* religion, *Richard* remained satisfied.

Amongst the other *Christian* pilgrims, who repaired to *Jerusalem* to pay their devotions, was the bishop of *Salisbury*, whom, in honour to his master, *Saladin*, who had returned to that city, entertained with high marks of distinction; and promised to grant him any favour that was in his power. Upon this, the pious prelate petitioned, that two Latin priests and two deacons, might be permitted to celebrate public service, in the churches of *Nazareth*, and *Bethlem*; as well as in that of the holy sepulchre, to which *Saladin* agreed. As to *Richard*, he had by this time removed from the unwholesome air of *Joppa*, to *Kaifas*; and from thence, finding his health a little better, to *Ptolemais*: and, wherever he went, he was attended by ambassadors and ministers from *Saladin*, with magnificent presents, and every accommodation that could contribute to his perfect recovery. *Saladin* was all this while extremely intent upon repairing, increasing, and compleating, the fortifications of *Jerusalem*, and in endowing and settling a school or college, which he had founded in that city; and of which he made, *Boahoddin*, the author who has left us his history, the super-intendant, or provost. As to *Richard* he was equally intent in fitting out his fleet.

It is but doing justice to *Richard's* memory to observe, that his character and actions appear with greater lustre, in the *Moslem*, than even in the *English* historians. The *French* meanly endeavour to deny both; and all they allow to him is a ferocious courage, for they accuse him of haughtiness and disrespect even towards his superior the king of *France*. But when we consider that *Richard* contributed a much greater proportion, than any of the other princes did, of expences in the expedition; that almost the whole execution

of



of the war, rested upon him alone, none of the other princes being found, in the least, equal to it; great allowances ought to be made to him. *Philip* was peevish, jealous, proud, and poor; and almost all the other princes of this crusade, excepting the duke of *Austria*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*, lived, in a manner, upon *Richard's* pocket. We are not therefore to wonder that a prince, naturally impetuous, as *Richard* was, sometimes assumed a superiority that was disgusting to others. As to his frequent treating with *Saladin*, with which his enemies so often reproached him, the charge was groundless; nor is it even alledged, that he ever made *Saladin* any offers prejudicial to the cause he was engaged in. He did not, it is true, attack *Jerusalem* at the time his army expected he would, but he was not single in his opinion, for it was that of a committee of the ablest men, engaged in the crusade; and in fact he only followed their opinion: which was founded upon their knowledge of the strength of the place, and its garrison. Whatever other measures *Richard* took after this, that were disagreeable to the princes in the expedition, must be imputed to the practices of *Philip*, against *Richard*: and his returning to *Europe* at a time when *Richard* had every thing to apprehend for his dominions, from *Philip's* ambition, and jealousy; which are not dissembled even by the *French* historians. In reality, the zeal of *Richard*, like that of many princes concerned in former crusades, was much cooled, when he came to experience the divisions that reigned amongst the adventurers; the difficulties of the underraking, and the worthlessness of its object. Notwithstanding this, his amazing acts of courage against *Saladin*, cleared him, as we have already observed, from every suspicion of underhand dealing, and he had the glory during this expedition, to give away two crowns, that of *Jerusalem* to queen *Isabella*, and her husband, and that of *Cyprus* to *Lusignan*; whose family held it for twenty eight years. Nay he even still retained the cross, and assured those two princes, that at the expiration of the truce, he would resume the expedition, with more vigour than ever. It ought likewise to be remembered to his honour, that before he went on board, he ordered public notice to be given, for all his creditors to bring in their demands, which he satisfied to the utmost. We shall just only mention, that throwing himself on board a single ship, not choosing to wait for his grand fleet, he was wrecked near *Ragusa*, in the gulph of *Venice*; and when he was proceeding by land thro' *Sclavonia*, and *Austria*, he was discovered, taken, and imprisoned, by the duke of *Austria*, in mean resentment of what had passed between them in the *Holy Land*, and, by him, delivered to the emperor; who detained him, till, with great difficulty and expence, he was ransomed.

Divisions  
amongst  
the *Chris-  
tians*.

*Saladin*



*Richard* *Saladin*, who continued to behave with the utmost respect leaves the to the *Christian* pilgrims, even to the giving them escorts *holy Land* for their safety, thought himself once more a sovereign, when he heard the certainty of *Richard's* departure. He immediately dismissed the troop of *Arbel*, *Mawfel*, *Sanjar*, and *Hisin*, all of them his tributaries, but excessively weary of the war; and retained with himself only his *Syrian* and *Egyptian* forces, whom he sent into quarters of refreshment as soon as he knew that the *Christians* had retired into the countries and places ceded to them during the truce, which they did about the fourth of *September*. *Saladin's* health, after such a series of fatigues as he had undergone, now required some indulgence; and having fully provided for the security of *Jerusalem*, he intimated to his council, a design he had of visiting *Mecca*. But as the perfidy of the *Franks* was a part of the creed of a true *Moslem*, his emirs or great lords unanimously dissuaded him from it; and he set out for *Damascus*, after an absence of four years, intending in his journey to visit all his maritime fortresses. In his journey, he was waited upon by *Bohemond* prince of *Antioch*, who was received by *Saladin* with great respect, and dismissed with uncommon marks of the sultan's generosity; for we are told that he bestowed upon him, lands and possessions to the amount of fifteen hundred dinars a year. After *Saladin* had performed his visitation of the sea coasts, remedied the grievances of his subjects, in all the places thro' which he passed, assigned lands and estates to such of his officers and soldiers who had served him longest, and most faithfully; and had left every where uncommon marks of his liberality and magnificence, he entered *Damascus* in triumph; and there he found his favourite son *Daker*, and his other son *Afdel*.

Jealousy  
of the  
Turks.

Difference  
between  
the califf  
and *Sal-*  
*adin*.

In the mean while, an incident happened, which shows how well grounded our conjecture is, that the project of the *Christians* attempting the conquest of *Bagdad* came originally from the sultan himself. The califf *Naser* had established a supreme council or divan, for the management of all his temporal concerns, and notwithstanding all the lustre of *Saladin's* victories, *Naser* did not fail to remind him from time to time, that he was but the second person in the *Moslem* dominions. *Takioddin*, *Saladin's* nephew, a man of uncommon merit amongst the *Moslems*, had amongst other great governments, obtained from the sultan, that of *Edeffa*, *Haran*, *Hamar*, and other places, which, altogether included the greatest part of *Mesopotamia*. *Takioddin's* ambition, prompting him to new acquisitions, he invaded *Armenia*, and dispossessed *Boctemar*, the prince of *Kalat*, or *Aklat*, an ally of the califf of *Bagdad*, of his dominions. This *Boctemar*, had been drawn from his allegiance to *Saladin*, by *Mohammed* the *Persian* sultan, whose daughter he married, but the divan of *Bagdad*, as the supreme tribunal of the *Moslems*, laid before *Saladin*,



*Saladin*, the injustice that had been done him. They likewise represented the arbitrary proceedings of *Zinoddin*, the prince of *Ardel*, who kept in prison *Hafjak*, another of the califf's friends. They concluded with desiring the *Sultan* to send the *Kadi Fadel* to *Bagdad*, as being the only minister who could restore a good correspondence between the two powers. The divan of *Bagdad* had addressed their letters, not only to *Saladin*, but to his brother *Adel*; as being second to him in power; and *Adel* ordered the *Kadi Fadel* to check *Takioddin* for his proceeding. About the same time, *Saladin* wrote a letter to the divan, the original of which has been preserved by the *Moslem* historians. He there says, that tho' *Takioddin*'s expedition had not been undertaken by his consent, yet some particular circumstances rendered it necessary; that he had, however, ordered *Takioddin* to evacuate the territories of *Aklat*, and to repair with his troops to his army, where he might be better employed against the *Christians*. As to *Hafjak*, he represents him in the same answer, as a public nuisance, and a common robber; yet he says, that he had ordered him to be sent to *Syria*, where he would give him some lands, and employ him against the *Christians*: with regard to the last request, that of sending *Fadel* to *Bagdad*, he observed that minister was so infirm, that he could not undertake the journey, without the hazard of his life. Soon after this answer was dispatched, *Saladin* received the news of *Takioddin*'s death, which affected him so much, that he burst into tears, as did all who were about him. *Takioddin*, or as he is sometimes called, *Al Midhaffer*, was the bravest and most active of all *Saladin*'s generals; and had done him the most important services. He was succeeded by his son *Al Mansur*, who demanded the investiture of his father's possessions, in a manner that bordered not only upon independency, but rebellion. *Saladin* would have chastised him, but was dissuaded from it by his brother *Adel*; to whose opinion he paid an almost implicit deference, and who plainly told him that neither he, nor any true *Moslem* general, would fight against a prince of the house of *Ayub*, and the king of *England* at the same time. Notwithstanding this, *Saladin* continued inexorable, till *Al Mansur* consented to relinquish part of his pretensions to *Adel*; who in consideration thereof gave up some of his districts in *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and promised to supply *Jerusalem*, every year, with six thousand measures of corn,

Death of  
*Takioddin*

Treaty  
between  
*Saladin*  
and the  
califf.

When *Adel* was preparing to set out for the eastern provinces, that had been assigned him by his brother, he received fresh dispatches from *Nasid*, the califf of *Bagdad*'s vizir, intreating him to mediate, and bring about the same good understanding that had formerly subsisted between *Saladin*, and the court of *Bagdad*; and for that purpose to request *Saladin* once more to send the *Kadi Fadel*, to compromise matters in an amicable manner. *Saladin*, at his brother's



Instance  
of Saladin's great  
splendor.

ther's persuasion, complied so far with this request, that he sent *Aldya* to treat at *Bagdad*; but he refused to part with the kadi *Fadel*, whom, next to his brother *Adel*, he esteemed the most of all his counsellors. This was amongst the last acts of *Saladin*'s glorious, though active and troublesome, reign. He continued at *Damascus*, adored by his subjects, to the meanest of whom he gave audience, and redress, upon all occasions. The splendor of his court was increased by the appearance of *Kijar Sab*, one of the sons of *Kibj Arslan*, the Sultan of *Iconium*, who came to implore his protection against the injustice of his brethren, and whom *Saladin* received with such distinguished marks of favour, that he gave him his brother *Adel*'s daughter in marriage; and, when he took leave of him, he alighted from his horse. When he was again mounting on horse-back, *Kajar* held his stirrup; and, when he was seated in his saddle, *Alasdadin*, the prince of *Mawfel*, adjusted his cloaths. The courtiers, who were present, looked upon those circumstances as carrying *Saladin*'s glory to the highest pitch; and one of them made him this elegant compliment: "Son of *Ayub*, you need now care nothing concerning death, as a prince of the race of *Seljuk* has held your stirrup, and a descendant from *Zenki* has adjusted your garments." Finely intimating, that *Saladin*, having now arrived at the summit of human glory, had no farther portion of it to hope for in this life. Before his death, he disgraced his reign, by ordering his son *Daher*, the governor of *Aleppo*, to order one *Shahaboddin*, a fanatical physician and a philosopher, to be strangled in prison, for some heterodox opinions he maintained in religious matters.

Saladin's  
death.

*Saladin* still continued his favourite diversion of hunting, but he now found his health sensibly impaired by his fatigues. His brother *Adel*, after viewing the fortifications of *Al Karac*, of which he was made governor, came to pay him a visit some time before his death. *Saladin*'s court was at that time excessively splendid, and contained ambassadors from almost all the provinces, not only of the East, but of *Europe*; and every night was spent in magnificent entertainments given by the princes his sons; the youngest of whom, *Daher*, sensible of his father's approaching fate, was seen one night to return several times to *Saladin*'s apartment, and take a most tender leave of him. At last his disorder proved to be a bilious fever, which had a remarkable influence upon his manners, which had been always affable and gentle; for some of the *Christian* ambassadors coming to the castle of *Damascus*, where he resided, and being introduced to an audience, as *Saladin* was diverting himself with one of his little grand-children, the boy, frightened at the strangeness of their dress, screamed out; upon which the sultan dismissed them from their audience in a manner very unsuitable to his usual



usual politeness. This peevishness increased, his appetite failed him, and he fell into a kind of a lethargy; he, however, never relaxed in the duties of his religion, and, inclined as he was, he mounted on horse-back to pay his respects to the pilgrims who had returned from *Mecca*, for the first time since his truce with the *Christians*; and treated the doctors amongst them with the usual marks of his esteem and veneration. Next day, which was the sixteenth of *February*, he grew worse, and none were admitted to him but his eldest son *Afdal*, the kadi *Boahoddin*, his historian, and the kadi *Fadel*. Next day he grew delirious, and, notwithstanding clysters, cooling medicines, and letting of blood, he continued so, excepting at certain intervals, to the time of his death.

*Saladin's* end thus visibly approaching, his eldest son, *Al Afdal*, summoned together the principal nobility of the court, and required them to recognize his right of succession, according to his father's appointment. Some of them did this simply, and without reserve, and bound themselves by oath; others took the oath but with certain conditions. *Saladin* remained all this time given over by his physicians, but was night and day attended by *Moslem* divines, particularly by one *Jaafar*, a man eminently holy, who read to him portions of the *Koran*; and *Saladin*, in the intervals of his distemper, expressed his assent to them with great fervor, saying, at some times, "This is most true." At last, on the twenty-seventh of *February*, this mighty prince expired in the arms of the kadi *Fadel*, when he was no more than fifty-seven years of age, of which he had been a sovereign about twenty-four, leaving behind him seventeen sons and one daughter. The two kadis, *Boahoddin* and *Fadel*, performed the whole ceremony of his funeral, which was done in the most magnificent and decent manner; and his body was interred in the place where he died.

Notwithstanding all we have said with regard to the character of *Saladin*, the latter part of his life leaves great room for farther remarks upon it. His courage, his moderation, and success; and his constancy under misfortunes; may, perhaps, have been equalled by many of his own time and country; but he seems to have been unequalled in those versatile talents that are so necessary for establishing a great system of power. It is evident, that, upon occasion, he could exhibit the most amiable, as well as the most inhuman qualities; but all were subservient to his ambition. We have, in the course of this history, given the most striking instances of his cruelty and ingratitude; all of them founded on the most undoubted *Moslem* authorities that are loudest in his praise. In short, it appears plainly from his history, that he was never either cruel, or beneficent, but for some particular purpose of interest or ambition. That he was a  
man



man without all kind of sentiment or gratitude, appears from his treatment of the family of *Nureddin*, his prince, patron, and benefactor. His favourites were generally men of the same stamp with him, all, excepting his brother *Adil*, whose personal concerns obliged him to be often absent from his court and camp; nor had he that virtue which was conspicuous in *Nureddin*, of checking the oppressions of his subjects. His liberality was certainly unrivalled; and the great characteristical virtue he possessed, was, that he knew no use of money, but to bestow it upon those who served him best. He is said to have bestowed fourteen thousand horses upon his officers and soldiers who had lost theirs in the siege of *Ptolemais*; and he died so poor, that, notwithstanding his immense revenues, he did not leave behind him, of ready-money, thirty shillings sterling in his treasury. The regularity of his devotion was remarkable and exemplary, as was his patience under his greatest distresses; for we are told, that, on a certain time, being ready to perish for thirst, he called five times for water, without being minded; and all the resentment he shewed, was his saying, "My friends and fellow-soldiers, I am ready to expire for want of water." He imitated *Nureddin* in his cares to repair the fortifications of his dominions, and all the wastes which the injuries of time, weather, or war, had done his subjects. He is likewise celebrated for his munificence in erecting and endowing colleges and seminaries of *Moslem* piety and learning. Some have affected to believe that he had, in fact, no religion; but almost every action of his life demonstrates that he was a bigot, though perhaps not an enthusiast; he stuck by the tenets and doctrine of *Al Shafei*, the famous *Moslem* doctor, in opposition to the sect of the *Shiites*, or favourers of *Ali*. In consequence of this attachment to pure *Moslemism*, he encouraged no men of genius and learning who did not apply their studies entirely to the unintelligible jargon of *Mahometan* metaphysics, traditions, and school-divinity; and he despised all other learning: but, notwithstanding all his vices and failings, he must be considered as one of the most extraordinary men not only of that, but of any other, age.

His usur-  
pation.

Having said thus much, we cannot help here to throw out a reflection that seems not to have occurred to any historian who has treated of *Saladin's* reign; which is, that he undoubtedly was an usurper, if such a term as usurpation can be properly made use of when we treat of an impious, lawless people, who knew no other tenure of property but the sword. Neither *Saladin*, nor any other *Moslem* sultan, considered empire in any other light; having no other regular system of succession but the affections they bore to their sons, (who generally were of different mothers, and therefore had no tenderness for one another,) they left each of them just such a partition of power as enabled the one to destroy the

the



the other, till, at last, all of them were so weakened, that they became an easy prey to the next bold invader ; as will be easily seen in the sequel of the history of *Saladin's* family; which we are now to pursue.

It does not appear that any of *Saladin's* sons, excepting *Partition Afdal*, the eldest, was at *Damascus* when he died ; *Daher* of his domain was at his government of *Aleppo* ; *Othman*, another of his minions, sons, was in *Egypt* ; while *Adel* was at *Al Carac*. *Afdal*, however, sent them all regular notice of his father's death. All of them immediately repaired to *Damascus*, where the court and inhabitants wore an universal mourning ; and then the will of the late sultan was declared with regard to the partition of his empire ; which was as follows. His eldest son, *Afdal*, had, for his inheritance, *Damascus*, *Jerusalem*, and the *Lower Syria*. *Othman*, or, as he is called, *Al Aziz*, had, for his portion, the kingdom of *Egypt* : and *Daher*, *Aleppo*, with the rich kingdom of *Upper Syria*. His brother *Adel* had already in sovereignty, as we have observed, *Al Carac*, with some other cities lying on the frontiers of *Palestine* and *Syria*, and the eastern provinces that had been dismembered from *Takioddin's* government : and *Al Mansur*, *Takioddin's* son, retained *Hamah*, and all the rest of his father's possessions. *Balbec* and its district was given to *Amjed*, another prince of the house of *Ayub* ; and *Shairacub*, the grand-son of the famous *Shairacub*, to whom *Saladin* owed so much, had, for his portion, *Herus*, *Raba*, and *Tadmor*, the antient *Palmyra*. *Kider*, one of *Saladin's* younger sons, had *Baira*, a very rich government, the sovereignty of which was in *Afdal* ; and his favourite generals had the governments of the other towns and territories left by this mighty conqueror. Their names were *Sabikoddin*, *Naiferroddin*, *Bedroddin*, *Azzoddin*, and *Ibrahim*.

Thus this immense empire of the *Moslems* was portioned out amongst the descendants and favourites of a family that, forty years before, had hardly been heard of. *Afdal* chose, for his vizir, one *Nasrallah*, who was descended of a learned family, but appears not to have had great experience in business. By his councils, *Afdal* neglected the generals who had raised his father's glory and greatness. They were not long without employments, each of *Saladin's* sons was dissatisfied with his own portion of power and territory, and those generals offered their services to *Daher* and *Aziz*, the sultan of *Egypt*. This last prince was extremely well beloved, that all his officers invited him to dispute the right of succession with *Afdal* ; though it seems to be the general opinion of authors that *Afdal* was *Saladin's* eldest son.

About this time, died *Boctamer*, the prince of *Aklat*, and the ally of the califf *Naser*. He was the declared enemy of *Saladin*, and there is some reason to believe he was a Christian, notwithstanding his connections with the court of *Bagdad*. *Azzoddin* the prince of *Mawfel*, of the *Zengi* family,



family died about the same time. The *Moslem* authors give those two great men very different characters. The former they say, could not help expressing his joy at *Saladin's* death, in a very indecent manner; and being soon after murdered by the *Batanists*, they look upon his fate as a judgement from heaven. He had been originally a mamluk, or bought slave, and he was succeeded in his sovereignty by *Dahiroddin*; who had been a slave likewise.

Affairs of  
Persia.

*Naser*, the califf of *Bagdad*, seems to have taken little or no concern in those great partitions, made in the *Moslem* empire, upon the death of *Saladin*. He contented himself with amassing riches, and living in pomp and splendour, but not without, at the same time, minding the affairs of government. *Saladin*, and his successors, had been too much employed against the *Christians*, to think of extending their conquests over the noble empire of *Persia*, and those rich countries which lay towards the *Indus*; the possession of which passed thro' many obscure hands with such rapidity, that it is equally difficult, as it would be unentertaining to recount their history. *Tacash*, the sultan of *Kowarazm*, having killed *Togrol*, as before related, made himself master of the greatest part of *Persia*; which was governed under him by his sons. *Malec*, his eldest son, was governor of *Kowarazm*; where, upon his coming to his father's court, he left his own son *Arslan* for his deputy. During *Malec's* absence, *Sanjar*, brother in law to *Tacash*, entered into a conspiracy against the sultan and his family; upon which *Tacash*, having privately discovered the affair, ordered *Sanjar* to repair to *Kowarazm*; which, not dreaming that his intrigues were discovered, he accordingly did: but was there thrown into prison and deprived of his sight. Soon after, however, at the intercession of the sultan's sister, he was set at liberty, and obtained a large pension.

The califf's army  
defeated.

Another of the sons of *Tacash* called *Yunos*, who was governor of *Irak*, happening, about the same time, to fall into a distemper, the cure of which required a change of air, he came to *Kowarazm*, and left for his deputy one *Miangen*, who hated *Ebaner*, whom *Tacash* had made governor of *Ispahan*. The califf *Naser* of *Bagdad*, was very uneasy at the progress of the *Kowarazmian* power, under *Tacash*; and as the sultan of those countries had always received the investiture of them from him and his predecessors, he not only claimed the disposal of them; but raised a great army, and gave the command of it to *Cassab* his vizir; with orders to enter the territories of *Tacash*, by the way of *Irak*. *Miangen* raised some forces to oppose him, and was joined by others under *Ebaner*, who was the faithful friend of *Tacash*. But when *Ebaner* arrived in the camp, *Miangen*; wha



who claimed the superiority of the command; cut off his head, under pretence of his keeping a correspondence with the califf. *Tacash* prudently dissembled his resentment for this barbarous action, of which he well knew the motives, and set out in person to command against *Cassab*, who happened to die just at the time the two armies were drawn out against one another in order of battle. *Cassab's* death being concealed, the armies engaged; and that of *Tacash* proving victorious, the califf was obliged to leave him and his family in quiet possession of *Irak*. *Tacash*, however, obliged the califf to send him the head of *Cassab*, which he carried with him to *Kowarajm*, as an indisputable evidence of his victory.

Notwithstanding the troops of the califf had been thus defeated, yet it is certain, that, at that very time, he was a powerful prince; and, upon the death of *Saladin*, his vizir *Cassab* reduced the rich province of *Kuzistan*, the antient *Sassiana*, to his obedience. The events that fell out in *Saladin's* family, sufficiently prove, that he was fully sensible of his own high rank and supremacy over the *Moslems*. *Adel*, who, Greatness in genius, courage, fortune, and policy, was no way inferior to his brother *Saladin*, began now to project the ruin of *Saladin's* house in favour of his own. For this purpose he entered into a confederacy with *Aziz*, the sultan of *Egypt*, and younger son to *Saladin*, against *Afdal* the eldest, who was a man of wit and pleasure, but without having any great turn for the affairs of government. *Aziz*, on the contrary, when he was very young, had been left governor by his father, and had acquired such credit, and such a party there, that the father, for the quiet of his family, was obliged to leave him in possession of that great kingdom. *Aziz* and his uncle, having joined their armies, immediately invaded *Syria*, and laid siege to *Damascus*, the capital of *Afdal*, who was obliged to abandon it, and fly to *Sarkod*. *Damascus* then He strips fell, some say by treachery, into the hands of the invaders; his nephew *Afdal* was obliged to cede it and its territory, to *Aziz* his phew of brother; who, according to agreement, appointed *Adel* its his dominions. governor under him. *Aziz*, however, was mentioned in the public prayers, and had money coined in his name as sovereign, though *Adel* was so in fact. *Afdal*, who was obliged to content himself with the precarious possession of *Sarkod* and its territory, had no remedy for the injury that had been done him; but to apply to the califf of *Bagdad*, as supreme pontif of the *Moslems*, and arbiter of their affairs. This he did, after the eastern manner, in poetry; and *Ali* being one of his names, he compared himself to the califf *Ali*, who had been wronged of his right of succession to the prophet his father-in-law, by *Abubeker* and *Othman*: "In like manner, my lord," said *Afdal*, "am I wronged by my uncle *Abubeker* and my brother *Othman*;" for it seems those two princes bore these among their other names. The califf *Naser*, which word in *Arabic* signifies Protector, returned a poetical answer



answer to this epistle ; in which he observed, that *Ali*, the califf, had suffered injustice because he had no naser ; but he assured *Afdal*, that he should find a naser in him who would oblige his uncle and brother to do him right, and give him his protection : we do not know, however, that the califf was so good as his word.

Hej. 595. Soon after this, *Aziz*, the sultan of *Egypt*, was killed by  
A. D. a fall from his horse, leaving behind him an infant son ;  
1198. and the great lords, or emirs of *Egypt*, insisted, that, du-  
Death of ring his minority, his uncle *Afdal* should be regent of the  
*Aziz*, sul- kingdom. Upon this, *Afdal* repaired to *Cairo*, and took up-  
tan of on himself the government : he then entered into a treaty  
*Egypt*. with his brother *Daher*, whom he engaged to assist him in  
rescuing his kingdom of *Damascus* from his uncle *Adel*, who  
was then besieging *Maredin*. The two brothers accord-  
ingly joined their troops together, and besieged *Damascus*.  
On the news of this, *Adel* raised the siege of *Maredin*, but  
found his two nephews so advantageously posted, that he  
could attack them with no probability of success, though  
the garrison was upon the point of capitulating : he there-  
fore had recourse to a stratagem, which proved successful in  
dividing the allies.

Siege of According to the accounts of all cotemporary authors, the  
*Damascus* *Turks* of those days were remarkable for the delicacy of their  
under- complexion, and the fine figures of their persons ; and it  
taken and was owing to their beauty, as well as their courage, that  
raised. they had been so high in favour with so many great princes:  
*Daher* had a youth of that nation for whom he entertained  
an unnatural passion ; and whom his elder brother *Afdal* had,  
for that reason, secreted from him. *Adel* came to the know-  
ledge of this, and, knowing *Daher* to be distractedly fond of  
the young *Turk*, he sent a private intimation, informing  
*Daher* of what had been done, and discovering the places  
where *Afdal* had secreted the youth. This exasperated *Da-  
her* to the utmost ; he ordered *Afdal*'s agents to be put in  
irons, reproached himself with great bitterness, and march-  
ed back, at the head of his troops, to his capital *Aleppo* ;  
while *Afdal* was, for want of forces, obliged to abandon  
the siege of *Damascus*, when it was upon the point of sur-  
rendering.

*Adel* made The attempt upon *Damascus*, which *Adel* now pretended  
sultan of to be his property, gave him a handle, for depriving his ne-  
*Egypt*. phew *Afdal* of the regency of *Egypt*. The nobility of that  
country consisted of two sorts of emirs, the *Asadian* and the  
*Saladian*. The former had been raised by *Shyracub*, *Salad-  
in*'s great benefactor and uncle ; and the latter, who were  
most of them *Mamlucks*, or purchased slaves, by *Saladin* him-  
self. The *Asadian* emirs hated *Saladin* for his ingratitude to  
the families of *Nureddin* and *Shyracub*, and the *Saladian*  
emirs were men of no principles and very little understand-  
ing. It was therefore easy for *Adel* to form a party in that  
country



country to dispossess *Afdal* of the regency; and he accordingly marched his army to *Cairo*, which he besieged and took in eight days. Upon this, *Afdal* was obliged to resign the regency to him, on condition of his being put in possession of *Mayasforakin*, *Hani*, and *Tebal*. The two latter territories were accordingly ceded to him; but *Maher*, *Adel's* eldest son, who was in possession of the first, refused to deliver it up.

But *Adel's* ambition was not satisfied with the regency, and he aspired to the sovereignty of *Egypt*. He was favoured in his views by the death of the kadi *Fadel*, which happened on the very day he entered *Cairo*; but he was still at some loss for a decent pretence to set aside the infant prince. He had recourse to religion; and, having bribed the mercenary divines of that country into his interest, he convoked a general assembly of them, and stated to them two casuistical points. The first was, Whether the younger ought to govern the elder? This was resolved in the negative. The next was, Whether the elder could rule in right of the younger? and the assembly declared, That the determination of the former question determined that likewise; because, if the younger had no right, as they had determined he had none, over the elder, the elder could derive none from him. Upon those infamous decisions, *Adel*, without any ceremony, took possession of the government of *Egypt* in his own right. His first care was, to make an alliance with his nephew *Daher*, to whom he yielded several places and principalities. Thus the aspiring *Adel* came, in a very few years after his brother's death, to be sovereign of *Egypt*, *Jerusalem*, and *Damascus*. His insidious arts.

As we are now upon the eve of one of the greatest revolutions that ever happened in human affairs, it is proper just to state the situation of the other *Moslem* governments at this time. *Tacash*, the sultan of *Kowarazm*, having lost his son *Malec*, gave the government of *Kowarazm* to another of his sons *Kothboddin*, and made *Masud* his vizir. This *Masud* assumed the name of *Nodham*, in honour of that great minister to *Malec* the First, whom we have already particularly mentioned. *Tacash* then marched against *Bokhara*, which lay in the neighbourhood of his dominions, but was in possession of the *Kaytayans*, the descendants of those *Chinese Tartars*, already taken notice of, who had made an irruption into these countries. *Tacash*, who was now far advanced in age, was blind of one eye; and the *Katayans*, in contempt of his power, dressed a one-eyed dog in royal robes, and, after exposing him all over the city, discharged him from one of their military engines, calling out to the besiegers, "Behold your sultan." *Tacash*, however, pressed the city so vigorously, that he obliged it to surrender, and, notwithstanding his provocations, he behaved to the inhabitants,



His death  
and cha-  
racter.

bitants, not only with moderation, but with kindness. After this, he received an account, that his son's vizir, *Nodham*, had been assassinated by the execrable *Batanists*, who had seized several castles in his dominions; and he gave orders to his son *Kothboddin* to exterminate them: but, while *Kothboddin* was intent upon this expedition, *Tacash* himself died. He was one of the most fortunate princes of his time, and, though he acquired power by illegal means, yet he exercised it with virtue and wisdom. He was succeeded by his son *Kothboddin*, who, as we shall see, was chiefly remarkable by the many misfortunes he underwent.

History of  
*Arabia*,

Besides the branches of the *Ayub* family, we have taken notice that *Saladin* had another brother, who was prince or governor of *Zabid*, in *Arabia Felix*, but made no great figure. We are told, however, that he found means, by oppressing his subjects, to amass great wealth, which he left to his son *Ismael*. This prince reigning over the native country of the first califfs, was ill enough advised to take upon him that illustrious title; but a veneration for the califf of *Bagdad* was so deeply impressed upon the minds of his subjects that they rebelled against him, and put him to death, for usurping the title of their prophet's successor. Upon his death, the emirs recognized his brother, who was but an infant, for their sovereign; and his mother was appointed regent: but the infant prince being poisoned, she married one *Salyman*, one of the sons of *Takioddin*, of the house of *Ayub*. This person seems to have been the next heir to the young prince; and the princess-regent, probably, by marrying him, proposed to keep the government in her own hands. But *Salyman* had, from his infancy, been devoted to a religious life; and had always lived amongst the *Fakirs*, or the mendicant monks of the *Moslems*, and knew little or nothing of the affairs of the world; so that his subjects were obliged to depose him; and the house of *Ayub* ceased, for some time, to make any figure in *Arabia*; though we are told that it afterwards recovered some part of its lustre, and that the prince who now governs that country, is descended from it.

and the  
*Seljukian*  
dynasty.

The next great *Moslem* power we are to mention, is *Kay Kossou*, of the *Seljukian* dynasty. He was the eldest son of *Arslan*, who has been already so often mentioned; and had, for his inheritance, *Iconium*, *Sycaonia*, *Pamphilia*, and other countries. *Kothboddin* had, for his inheritance, *Melitene*, *Cæsaria*, and *Kolania*. *Masud* had *Amasia*, *Ancyra*, *Dorylaeum*, and great part of *Pontus*. *Koknoddin*, the third son, had *Amyntas*, *Dockwa*, and other places on the sea-coast. As all the *Seljukian* empire had been torn from the *Greeks*, there had commonly been a very bad understanding between the emperors of *Constantinople* and the sultans of *Al Rum*, which still continued. *Masud*, the sultan of *Anfira*, had encouraged



couraged an impostor to pretend to be *Alexis*, the son of the *Greek* emperor *Manuel*; and gave vast disquiet to *Alexis Comnenus*, who was then emperor of *Constantinople*. But the impostor, in a short time, being assassinated, *Masud* carried on the war singly, and besieged *Diadibris*; which he took, after defeating an army of the *Greeks* that were sent to its relief. *Alexis* then saw himself obliged to make peace with the barbarians; and agreed to the shameful conditions of paying them in hand five hundred pounds weight of coined silver, and three hundred yearly by way of tribute, together with five hundred vests of silk.

*Kay Kosrou*, about the same time, entertained one *Man- and of gages*, who was in rebellion against *Alexis*, but was, by *Kay Kosrou*, means of great presents made him by that emperor, prevailed upon to withdraw his protection from him, and to conclude a treaty with *Alexis*: but this treaty was soon after broken, on account of some running-horses, belonging to *Alexis*, that had been stopped by *Kay Kosrou*; and the war between them recommenced. *Alexis* ordered all the merchants, trading to or from *Iconium*, to be seized, and their effects to be confiscated: and *Kay Kosrou* took *Karia* and *Tantalus*, with other cities upon the *Meander*; and would have surprized *Antioch* itself by night, had he not mistaken the noise of a merry-making at a wedding for the voices of the enemy's garrison, who had discovered his design. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that *Kay Kosrou*, upon this occasion, behaved with vast humanity as well as policy; for, having made a great number of prisoners, he suffered no violence of any kind to be offered to either sex; ordered all their effects to be restored, and, the weather being cold, he took an axe into his own hands, and fell to cutting down wood for their firing; thereby setting his soldiers an example, and telling them, that the prisoners could not do it of themselves, because they would be suspected of a design to escape, should they attempt it. He afterwards assigned them lands in his own territories for their subsistence, and promised them their liberty to return home as soon as he had concluded a peace with the emperor, and, in any event, in five years time. But the prisoners, who were most, or all, of them manufacturers, which the *Seljukian* dominions stood in great need of, felt their circumstances so much altered for the better by their captivity, that they refused to return under the dominion of the *Greek* emperor, and settled in *Kay Kosrou's* dominions. Their example, we are told, peopled this sultan's dominions with many other *Greeks*, who preferred his government to that of their own empire. His policy, however, could not defend him against the ambition of his brother *Roknoddin*; for *Kothboddin* dying, *Roknoddin* and *Masud* disputed about his succession, which *Roknoddin* carried; and then he fell upon *Kay Kosrou*, whom he summoned to deliver up his capital of *Iconium*.



*Kay Kosrou de-throned.*

We are told that *Roknoddin* had a particular spite against *Kay Kosrou*, because the mother of the latter was a *Christian*. This may well account for *Kay Kosrou's* throwing himself under the protection of the *Greek* emperor, when he found that he was no match for his brother: but *Alexis* thought that his safety lay in the dissensions of the *Turks*, and gave him only his protection, but did nothing effectually for him. Upon this, *Kay Kosrou* fled into *Armenia*, where he was civilly received by *Leon*, the *Christian* prince, whom we have already mentioned, but without receiving any material assistance. He was therefore forced, once more, to repair to *Constantinople*, where he long lived in obscurity: and thus the whole *Seljukian* empire of *Rum* fell to *Roknoddin*.

A fresh crusade set on foot.

We are now to proceed to the history of the *Constantinopolitan* empire, without which that of the East cannot be understood. Upon *Richard*, king of *England*, being ransomed, he returned to his own dominions, and a most dreadful war broke out between him and *Philip*. The emperor of *Germany*, *Henry VI.* son to *Frederick*, was solely intent upon the possession of *Naples* and *Sicily* in right of his wife; and, in short, all the powers of *Europe* were so much in pursuits of private ambition, that none of them thought of the crusade. But pope *Celestin* the Third, tho' ninety years of age, and extremely infirm, no sooner heard of *Saladin's* death, than he applied to form a fresh expedition. For this purpose, he sent his ambassadors, or legates, to all the princes of *Europe*, exhorting them once more to unity, that they might deliver the sepulchre of our Saviour out of the hands of the infidels. The disputes between *France* and *England*, notwithstanding *Richard* still wore the cross upon his garments, took from his holiness all hopes of seeing either of those two monarchs again embark in a crusade. He therefore applied himself to the emperor, and, notwithstanding the vast differences they had with one another, *Henry* promised, after the example of his father, to head an army against the infidels. In consequence of this resolution, he called a general diet at *Worms*; where all the illustrious members took upon them the cross: but the most remarkable person of this crusade, was *Margaret*, sister to *Philip Augustus*, and widow to prince *Henry* of *England*, and *Bela*, king of *Hungary*, who took upon her the cross and joined her troops with those of the other princes. The emperor, however, was not sincere in his protestations; for, instead of marching to *Palestine*, he led his army, which was a very fine one, into *Italy*, where he exterminated the remains of the *Norman* party; after which he put his troops on board a fleet, and sent them to *Acon*, where two other armies of *Europeans* had already arrived. As to his own person, he never had any intention to embark in the crusade; but he managed so, that the chief princes of his empire joined in beseeching him not to march to the *Holy Land*, and he suffered himself

The queen of Hungary takes the cross.



to be prevailed upon. *Valeran de Limbourg* was the first of the *German* generals who arrived at *Acon*; and he gave a remarkable proof, how destructive enthusiasm is of all faith among men.

*Saladin*, during the short time he lived after his peace with *Richard*, had been scrupulously punctual in observing the truce. In this he was imitated by his brother *Adel*, and the *Christians*. *Palestine* and *Syria*, for some time, enjoyed repose, to the great emolument of the *Christians*: but the crusaders thought it was impious in them to observe their words with infidels; and, without the least pretext of the breach of the truce on the part of the *Turks*, they no sooner arrived at *Acon* than they commenced hostilities against *Adel*.

*Alexius Angelus* was still emperor of *Constantinople*, and thought his authority so well secured, that he set at liberty his brother *Isaac*, whom he had deposed. *Isaac*, and his son *Alexius*, secretly applied to *Irene*, wife to the *German* emperor, and daughter to *Isaac*, to prevail with her husband *Philip* to restore them to the throne. Though *Philip* was at that time embroiled with his competitor *Otho*, and could not give his father and brother-in-law the assistance they desired, yet the young *Alexius*, who had escaped from *Constantinople*, managed so well with the pope and the emperor, that they prevailed with the *French* and the *Venetian* crusaders, who were in *Dalmatia*, to undertake his and his father's quarrel. This was judged to be the more expedient, because their aversion to the infidelity of the *Greek* emperor towards the crusaders, was looked upon as the great cause of their being unsuccessful. A treaty between the young *Alexius* and his father, on the one part, and the *French* and *Venetians*, on the other, was, with some difficulty, concluded. By this treaty, *Alexius* engaged himself to pay two hundred thousand marks in silver, and to maintain ten thousand men for the purposes of the holy war, together with five hundred knights, well armed, who were to attempt the conquest of *Egypt*, and to garrison all the places that should be taken in *Palestine*. *Corfu* was appointed for their rendezvous, and *Dyrrachium* opened its gates to the young *Alexius*. From thence the army proceeded to *Chalcedon*, over against *Constantinople*, and there they landed: but here their whole enterprise was upon the point of being defeated by a mutiny amongst the troops, who were discouraged at the difficulties that must attend the siege of *Constantinople*; but this mutiny was happily subdued by the prudence of the princes, who were at the head of the expedition; and at last the siege of *Constantinople* was formed.

According to the best authorities, that city was at this time prodigiously strong. The *Greek* emperors, surrounded and besieged as they were on all hands by enemies, had exerted themselves in encreasing its fortifications both by sea and land; and the number of fighting men said to have been in it



when this siege was formed, appears to be incredible ; some writers making them amount to one hundred thousand horse, and three hundred thousand foot. This vast army, while the crusaders landed at *Chalcedon*, lay encamped, with the emperor at their head, upon the banks of the *Bosphorus*, opposite to the crusaders. But their emperor's vices had made them long forget what was due to himself and his subjects ; he had been so long immersed in luxury, that all discipline was neglected ; so that his army could be computed only as a number of men weakened by effeminacy ; for five hundred of them were cut in pieces, in sight of both camps, by about eighty *French* men. But the capital error of the emperor, on this occasion, was, his having neglected his marine so totally, that he was wholly unprepared to dispute the passage of the crusaders over the *Hellepont* ; so that they landed in sight of his army, who retired with the utmost confusion and terror. The *French* then made themselves masters of *Galata* ; and the *Venetians*, who were then the best seamen in the world, cut the chain which had been drawn across the harbour, with prodigious scissars of steel, worked by engines, and entering it they destroyed all the merchant-ships of the *Greeks* ; while another party made themselves masters of the imperial camp, which the usurping emperor most cowardly abandoned. It is foreign to this history to give the whole particulars of this celebrated siege ; it is sufficient to say, in general, that *Henry Dandolo*, the doge of *Venice*, though blind with extreme old age, was the soul of the enterprise. The place was battered, for ten days, by the *Venetians* by sea, and by the *French* by land ; and the *Greeks*, having some *English* mercenaries intermingled with them, made a much better defence than what was expected from their effeminacy. But a general assault being resolved upon, *Dandolo* told the crew of his galley, that he would hang every man of them if they did not set him on shore ; which menace worked so effectually, that, notwithstanding the resistance of the *Greeks*, he planted the standard of *St. Mark*, that is of *Venice*, upon the battlements of *Constantinople*. He then made himself master of twenty-five of the bastions ; while the emperor, who, upon this occasion, acted with all kind of misconduct and cowardice, sought to charge the besiegers in the rear ; but, being defeated, he privately shipped himself and his treasures on board a small vessel, which carried him to *Zagora* in *Thrace*. In the mean while, the *Greeks*, a giddy, faithless people, delivered the old emperor *Isaac* from the prison, where he had been confined ever since the flight of his son, and again saluted him emperor. The crusaders, however, notwithstanding the eminent services they had performed to him, had great difficulty in persuading him to ratify the treaty they had concluded with his son ; which at last he did, and then the father and the son were associated in the government. The usurper, nevertheless, had still

It is taken  
by the La-  
tins.

*Isaac* re-  
stored.



still great resources ; and his son-in-law, *Theodorus Lascaris*, commanded a numerous army on the shore opposite to *Constantinople*. The joint emperors, therefore, prevailed with the crusaders (or *Latins*, as they were called) to defer their original expedition to the *Holy Land* until they could be firmly settled upon the throne. When the *Latins* had agreed to this, they made dispositions for attacking *Lascaris* ; which he no sooner understood, than he dismissed his army and fled to *Iconium*. The confederates then turned their arms against the dethroned usurper, who had made himself master of *Adrianople* ; from whence they drove him, and he, in like manner, sheltered himself amongst the *Turks*.

In the mean while, the old emperor *Isaac* died ; and the *Latins*, with their army, went to winter in *Constantinople* ; where they were extremely importunate with the young emperor *Alexius*, for the great arrears of money due to them. *Alexius* knew they were his masters as well as creditors, but, to increase his misfortune on this occasion, the taxes he was obliged to lay upon his people, caused so universal a discontent, that the hatred of the *Greeks* towards the *Latins* now broke out with more fury than ever ; and the inhabitants of *Constantinople* publicly accused their young emperor of having made them vassals to their old hereditary enemies. This discontent went so far, that a *Greek*, one *Murtzuphilus*, an able, but an ambitious man, formed a design to seize the empire ; and, with his own hands, strangled the young emperor. He then presented himself before the people, as the revenger of their wrongs, and the asserter of their liberties ; and was by them saluted emperor.

The confederates, without all doubt, might easily have prevented this tragical revolution from taking place : but the truth is, their chiefs began to think that the empire of *Constantinople*, and the fine provinces adjoining, were conquests far preferable to that of *Palestine* and *Jerusalem* : and, to palliate their ambition, they publicly gave out, that it was absolutely impossible to conquer the *Turks*, without being assured of *Constantinople* and the *Greek* empire. This doctrine was far from being disagreeable to their followers, and they accordingly laid siege to *Constantinople*. *Murtzuphilus* was a brave general, and, considering what cowards he commanded, he made a noble defence : but the confederates, being excellently well provided with all battering artillery, and animated with the hopes of plunder, at last, made themselves masters of one quarter of the city, and proceeded to butcher and to plunder the inhabitants, with a barbarity and rapaciousness that would have disgraced the *Turks* themselves. Night alone put a stop to the carnage, which was renewed the next day ; and, though the richer citizens had secreted their best effects, the plunder amounted to an immense sum. The chiefs of the expedition, it is true, ordered the slaughter to cease, because it brought them no plunder ;



The ty-  
rant flies.

plunder; but pillaging was not only permitted, but enjoined; and the booty was carried to a common repository. As to *Murtzuphilus* himself, his courage abandoned him with his fortune; after making an animated effort to rouse the courage of the *Greeks*, perceiving that they could not be animated to farther resistance, he retired to his palace, which had a back gate to the port, by which he made his escape, with the empress *Euphrosyne* and her daughter *Eudoxia*, of whom he was passionately fond.

The  
*Greeks*  
submit.

Amongst the other princes engaged in this ambitious expedition, was *Boniface*, the marquis of *Montferrat*. *Murtzuphilus*, finding he could not stand his ground against the confederates, had invited him to his assistance, and had even flattered him with the hopes of resigning the empire in his favour. *Boniface* accordingly marched from *Antioch* to *Constantinople*; but, finding how detestable *Murtzuphilus* had become, both to the *Greeks* and the *Latins*, he joined the confederates, assisted at the siege of *Constantinople*, and married *Margaret*, the widow of *Isaac*, the deceased emperor. In the mean while, the flight of the tyrant by night being known, the *Greeks*, who hated the *Latins* to distraction, forced *Theodore Lascaris*, who had thrown himself into *Constantinople*, to accept of a nomination to the empire. But he, perceiving himself unsupported, likewise made his escape. During the night, the confederates divided themselves into two bodies; one of which was employed in the purposes of plunder, and the other in entrenching themselves in the streets and squares of *Constantinople*, to make head against the attack which they expected next day. But they were agreeably disappointed when, instead of enemies, they saw themselves approached by suppliants, preceded by the religious of all denominations, who, upon their knees, begged for mercy. This was granted them as to their lives, but the plundering still went on; for, after this, it was not confined to the houses of the nobility, and the other inhabitants of *Constantinople*; for those sons of rapine broke into churches, religious repositories, and even the monuments of the dead, from whence they carried off whatever was valuable. In short, the excesses committed upon this occasion, were such, as the *French* and *Venetian* historians themselves have, notwithstanding all their art, not been able to palliate; and even the popes, zealous as they were against the *Greeks*, complained most bitterly of them.

Policy of  
the *Vene-*  
*tians*,

*Constantinople*, though the greatest, the richest, and the most powerful city in the world (if it was defended, as there is no reason for doubting it, by four hundred thousand men, thus falling a prey to those religious free-booters) the next consideration was, by whom the imperial throne was to be filled. The adventurers laid it down as a previous maxim, to exclude all the race of the *Comneni*, and the other families who had held the empire; and to choose, for emperor, one of them.



themselves. For this purpose twelve electors were named; six of them *Venetians*, and six of them *French*, who, compared with the *Venetians*, were little better than barbarians. The aged *Dandolo* was incomparably the preferable competitor, had he chosen to put in his claim; but he generously and wisely declined it, because, had a *Venetian* doge filled the throne of *Constantinople*, the *Venetian* republic must have become an accession to the *Greek* empire; and the riches of *Venice*, which depended upon commerce, must have soon been sacrificed to a quarrel in which she was likely to have so many enemies. *Dandolo* therefore prevailed with his country-men to drop all thoughts of raising any *Venetian* to the imperial throne; but to make such acquisitions out of the wrecks of the empire, as might tend to promote the commerce, and increase the naval power of *Venice*.

*Dandolo* being thus out of the question, the competition, at last, came to lay between *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*, and *Boniface* marquis of *Montferrat*. The pretensions of the latter were undoubtedly the most strong and specious; but the *Venetians* considered, that, if *Boniface*, who was an able politician, as well as a great general, became master of *Constantinople*, he must soon raise a great maritime power, which must dispute the gainful empire of those seas with *Venice*. They had no such apprehensions from *Baldwin*, who was a young prince of but middling capacity, though of great zeal; and therefore, upon the day of election, the *Venetians* unanimously, to the great surprize of the *French*, named count who addressed *Baldwin* for emperor; and he was accordingly recognized as such by all the electors. This election, however, did not pass without great management; it was not the interest of *Flanders* the *Venetians* that the *Greek* empire should remain under one head, *Thessaly* was therefore erected into a new kingdom, in favour of the marquis of *Montferrat*, who, by possessing it, could give no umbrage to the *Venetians*. The *Venetians* claimed, and obtained, for their portion, the islands of *Archipelago*, some part of *Peloponnesus*, and some cities on the coast of the *Hellepont* in *Phrygia*; having paid the marquis of *Montferrat* a sum of money, for some pretensions he had upon the island of *Candia*, or *Crete*. *Baldwin*, together with *Constantinople*, had *Thrace* assigned him, together with some other dominions which remained to be conquered. Several other principalities were at the same time erected, in favour of several *French* and *Venetian* noblemen, out of the ruins of the *Greek* empire.

Having thus, in a succinct manner, given the reader an account of this amazing revolution, so far as it is connected with our main subject, and that too from the most unquestionable authorities, we shall but just mention, that the *Moslem* authors have given a very different, and indeed absurd, account of it; for they tell us, that thirty thousand of the *Franks* found means to conceal themselves within the city *Moslem* of authors,



of *Constantinople*, which they set fire to, and, during the confusion, massacred the inhabitants, expelled the emperor, and elected the earl of *Flanders*. This account, however, is not wholly destitute of foundation; for, at *Saladin's* request, the *Greek* emperor had admitted vast numbers of the *Turks* to reside at *Constantinople*, and had even given them permission to build a church there. Upon the restoration of the emperor *Isaac*, this mosque was a great eye-sore to the zealous *Latins*, who plundered it; but, being attacked by the *Turks*, the city was set on fire during the engagement, and great part of it reduced to ashes: but this misfortune had no effect upon the last revolution, which terminated in the election of earl *Baldwin*. We must not here omit to inform our readers, that, about this time, *Jenghiz Khan*, the greatest conqueror that is mentioned in history, began to make his appearance amongst the *Tartars*; but we shall forbear, in this division of our work, to give any particular account of him, farther than is necessary to preserve the thread of our history.

Successes  
of the  
khalif  
*Naser*.

During the continuance of the crusades, the interests of the *Moslems* underwent various revolutions; but *Naser*, the khalif of *Baghdad*, continued to maintain his superiority, and even to extend his dominions. His chief minister at this time was one *Sanjar*, who had been his slave; but, having raised himself by his merit, he had been made governor of *Khuzistan*, which, at that time, formed part of the khalif's dominion; and *Sanjar* enlarged them by conquering a number of places in the southern parts of *Persia*, towards the *Persian Gulph*, in the *Indian Ocean*. This success enabled the khalif to give some relief to his subjects, by suppressing all duties upon commodities sold by retail, and raising no other duties than what were paid by the first hand upon the whole-sale. We likewise, about the same time, find that he made a present to *Adel*, when he was at *Damascus*, of a crown and a rich robe, or sultan's kaftan. *Adel* bestowed the crown upon his sons, but wore the kaftan himself.

Christia-  
nity en-  
couraged  
in *Egypt*.

But, though *Adel* was contented to acknowledge the superior dignity of the khaliff of *Baghdad*, yet he and his family seem to have been no great bigots to *Mahometanism*. They had a free, and even a friendly, correspondence with *John* the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria*, whose friendship was of great use to him: for the kings of *Æthiopia*, pretending still to be *Christians*, continued to have all their metropolitans consecrated by the *Alexandrian* patriarch, who took care to preserve his supremacy over the monarch as well as the church. The najashi, or emperor of *Æthiopia*, at this time was remarkably superstitious; his dominions had been long without rain, a calamity which he attributed to his having no metropolitan to reside in his dominions. He therefore sent an embassy to the patriarch at *Cairo*, requesting him to ordain a metropolitan, who might preside over the



the churches of *Æthiopia*. It appears, that the patriarch did not venture to comply with this request, without consulting the sultan *Adel*, or his son *Câmel*, the governor of *Egypt*, who agreed, that the najashi's demands should be gratified. Accordingly, one *Kilus* was ordained metropolitan, and sent into *Æthiopia*. Soon after his arrival, some rain happening to fall, he was respected by the emperor, and his nobility, as the tutelar angel of their country; the emperor himself visited him in person, assigned him noble equipages, and a palace to live in; a favour unusual in that country, where the emperor himself, and all his great officers of state, lived in camps, which they occasionally moved from one place to another. *Kilus*, however, did not behave with moderation equal to his good fortune. He charged one of the chief priests of the country, a man of interest and family, with having embezzled a golden verge, belonging to his church; and then, by way of punishment, he scourged him to death with his own hands. The relations of the deceased resented this barbarous murder so highly, that *Kilus* was obliged to disappear, and to return to *Egypt*. The *Æthiopian* church, being once more without a metropolitan, a most splendid embassy was sent by the najashi to *Egypt*, and the ambassadors were loaded with presents and curiosities of great value, both to the sultan *Câmel* and the patriarch, with a new request of having another metropolitan consecrated and sent to *Æthiopia*. Amongst the presents designed for *Câmel*, was an elephant, a lion, and several living creatures unknown in *Egypt*; but the najashi sent to the patriarch a golden crown of most exquisite workmanship, which they presented to him in *Câmel's* presence. That sultan admiring the exquisite workmanship of the crown, the head man of the embassy told him, that his master would have ornamented it with jewels equal to an annual revenue of *Egypt*, had he not been afraid, that the patriarch's self-denial, and modesty, would not have suffered him to wear it. The same ambassador, who seems to have had his instructions from the najashi, assured *Câmel*, that, before he left *Æthiopia*, his master reviewed one of his armies, which contained no fewer than sixty thousand horse. This magnificent account had, perhaps, some influence upon *Câmel*: and one *Isaac*, a monk of more moderation than *Kilus* was, was made metropolitan of *Æthiopia*, where he met with a reception equal to that of his predecessor. In short, *Câmel* behaved with extraordinary kindness to the patriarch and his clergy, which made some of the monks envy them, and endeavour to ruin them. One of them accused the clergy of having concealed immense treasures in a pit, or well; as another did the patriarch of having amassed prodigious sums, which he designed to carry out of *Egypt*; but *Câmel* could not be prevailed upon to give any ear to either of the accusations.

Its progress in *Æthiopia*.

*Câmel's* kindness to a patriarch.

The



New cru-  
saders ar-  
rive at  
*Acon*.

They are  
cut off by  
pestilence.

Remarka-  
ble deaths.

The conquest of *Constantinople*, where *Murziphus* had been formally executed for his crimes, encreased the spirit of crusading in *Europe* so much, that greater numbers than ever now took upon them the cross. Had they been united in one view, and not distracted by ambition and jealousies among themselves, it is admitted, by the best authorities, that they might have made a total conquest, not only of *Palestine*, but the whole East. The numbers which arrived at *Acon*, were such, that a pestilence broke out by their being pent up in so narrow a place; and raged with such violence, that every hour destroyed about two thousand of the adventurers. This damped them so greatly, that the few who survived the calamity returned to *Europe*. Some of the *Christians*, who had not shut themselves up in *Acon* or *Ptolemais*, engaged themselves in a territorial dispute between *Leon*, the *Armenian* prince, whom we have already mentioned, and *Bohemond*, the earl of *Tripolis* and prince of *Antioch*. The former was supported by *Daber*, the sultan of *Aleppo*; and the latter by the *European Christians*, whom *Daber* surprized, and cut in pieces, or made prisoners, almost to a man. Notwithstanding those misfortunes, such was the indefatigable zeal of the pope, that fresh supplies of crusaders started up in *Europe*; even women and children took upon themselves the cross; and a monk, one *Harloin*, headed a vast army of deluded *Bretons* with the same bad success that *Peter* the hermit had done before; for most of them perished through his misconduct, or by the swords of the infidels. Some critical deaths happened at this time: the first was, the death of the countess of *Flanders*, wife to the emperor *Baldwin*, who died with excessive joy, at *Ptolemais*, when she heard her husband was elected emperor; the next was that of *Emerie de Lusignan*, the nominal king of *Jerusalem*, in right of his wife *Isabella*, the widow of the marquis of *Montferrat*. *Isabella* died at the same time, as did her young son *Emeri*; by which the title of queen of *Jerusalem* devolved upon her eldest daughter *Mary*, by the marquis of *Montferrat*. This princess was unmarried, and the choosing for her a husband, who might be capable to retrieve and support the interests of the *Christians* in the East, was a matter of the utmost difficulty. At last, the princes engaged in the crusade agreed to apply to *Philip Augustus* for a husband to the young queen. *Philip* made choice of *John de Brienne*, a *French* nobleman, who had scarce any possessions but his sword, who married the queen, and promised to bring a strong reinforcement of *Christians* to *Palestine*.

The news of this marriage, and of the vast preparations carrying on in *Christendom* for a new crusade, made such an impression upon *Adel*, whom the *Christian* writers call *Safadel*, and the other princes of the house of *Ayub*, that they offered to renew the truce; but the *Templars* refused it.

*Adel,*



*Adel*, however, recovered his consternation, when he understood, that the new king was so far from being able to perform his promises, that he brought with him no more than three hundred knights, who served at their own charges, and a very inconsiderable sum of money. Notwithstanding this, *De Brienne*, who was very brave, being crowned at *Tyre*, took the field with the army he could muster up; and gained some advantages over the infidels. But at last, he was obliged to retire to *Acon*, where he was shut up by *Daher*, and the other princes of the house *Ayub*, and, in a short time, his principal officers, seeing their own weakness, and incapacity for acting offensively against the rebels, slipped home to *Europe* in their ships, which lay at *Acon*.

*Brienne*  
made  
king of  
*Jerusa-*  
*lem*.

His bad  
success.

The pope, all this while, was endeavouring to compose the troubles in *Germany*, which had rendered the arms of the crusaders so backward, and was daily publishing his invitation to all *Christian* princes, for holding a general council, where the affairs of the *Holy Land* might be taken into consideration. He likewise thundered out excommunications against all *Christians* who should sell any armour to the *Saracens*; a practice which, at that time, it seems, was very common. Not contented with this, his ridiculous zeal carried him so far, that he wrote a serious remonstrance to *Adel* himself, representing his injustice, in detaining *Jerusalem* from the *Christians*, and the great advantage that must accrue to his dominions, if he would restore it to their hands; but all his arguments were treated, by *Adel*, with the contempt they deserved. The zeal of his holiness, however, had a most fatal effect upon the minds of the young *Germans* and *French* of that age, who, to the number of fifty thousand, took upon themselves the cross, and were headed by priests and other enthusiasts. As to the *German* youths, they were, almost all of them, cut off in their march. The *French* came, in great numbers, to *Marseilles*, where two designing villains offered them ships, at their own expence, to carry them to the *Holy Land*; accordingly, they embarked on board seven large vessels, two of which were shipwrecked; but the other five, by direction of their owners, sailed to *Egypt*, where the poor youths were all of them sold for slaves, and underwent all kinds of miseries.

Great zeal  
of the  
pope.

The *Greek* empire still remained in the hands of the *Latins*; but *Theodorus Lascaris* reigned at *Nice*; and the princes of the *Commeni* family had established, what they called, an empire, at *Trapezond*. The emperor *Baldwin* had been unable to recover *Adrianople*, which he besieged; and the *Greeks*, who held it, applied to *John*, king of *Bulgaria*, for assistance. *John*, accordingly, marched to their relief; and, by pretending a retreat, he drew the unhappy *Baldwin* into an ambuscade, where he was surrounded by great numbers of barbarians, who put all his troops to the sword;



Defeat and death of *Baldwin*. sword; and, being himself taken prisoner, he was, by *John's* order, put to death, under the most exquisite torments.

But though the *Latins* had thus got possession of the *Greek* empire, they had still to deal with two powerful neighbours who were their implacable enemies; the one was *Theodore Lascaris*, who, as we have already seen, established his empire in the city of *Nice*; and took upon himself the title of *Greek* emperor. As to the sultans of *Rum*, and *Iconium*; their empire underwent a variety of revolutions which are not taken notice of by the *Christian* historians; for we are told, that *Kay Kosrou*, who, from his name of *Gayathoddin*; the *Greeks* have called *Tathatines*, or *Jathatines*, being expelled by his brother *Roknoddin*, fled to *Constantinople*, where he was kindly received by the emperor *Alexius*, and fled along with that usurper, when *Constantinople* was recovered by young *Alexius*. But *Kay Kosrou*, hearing of his brother's death, and that he had left only an infant son, repaired to *Iconium*, where he reascended the throne; and took possession of the whole empire; over which he reigned with great glory. *Alexius*, hearing of this, repaired to *Iconium*; and begged of *Kay Kosrou* the like protection he had once before given him, and that he would lend him troops for recovering that part of *Asia Minor* which was so unjustly usurped from him by *Theodorus Lascaris*. *Kay Kosrou*, partly out of gratitude, and partly from policy, sent ambassadors to *Lascaris*, requiring him to resign his empire to its true owner. But *Lascaris*, having been successful against all his other competitors, resolved to make good his claim. *Kay Kosrou*, however, before he had received a direct answer, marched, together with *Alexius*, and, with twenty thousand men, laid siege to *Antioch*, on the *Meander*. *Lascaris* knew the vast importance of this city too well, not to attempt to raise the siege; but he was able to bring no more than two thousand men to its relief. The sultan could scarcely be persuaded that *Lascaris* would be rash enough to attack him, and drew up his forces to give him battle. The attack was begun by eight hundred *Italians*, who charged with such fury, that they broke thro' the *Turks*; but, being ill supported by the *Greeks*, the barbarians closed upon, and surrounded, them, and put every man of them to the sword. This disheartened the *Greeks*, but the barbarians, by their numbers, cut off their retreat, and *Kay Kosrou* distinguishing *Lascaris*, whom he knew by his imperial purple, attacked him in person, and aimed a blow at the *Greek*, which stunned and struck him off his horse. *Lascaris*, however, soon recovered, drew his sword, hamstringed the sultan's horse, and, as he fell, struck off his head; and all with such velocity, that the combatants upon neither side could account for the manner in which the fatal blow had been given. *Kay Kosrou's* head, according to custom, was elevated on the point of a spear, which struck the *Turks* with such terror, that they fled with great

*Kay Kosrou* invades the dominions of *Lascaris*;

who engages and kills him.



great loss from the field, leaving their camp in the hands of the *Greeks*. As for *Alexius*, he was taken prisoner, and imprisoned in a monastery at *Nice*. *Kay Khostrú* left behind him two sons, *Azzoddin*, and *Alaoddin*, who succeeded one another; but we are told, that the blow their empire had received from *Lascares*, obliged them to strike up a peace with him; which they observed inviolably. This left *Lascares* at liberty to oppose the arms of *Henry*, who had succeeded his brother *Baldwin* in the empire of *Constantinople*; and a bloody war prevailed between them for several years. *Lascares*, however, was, at last, obliged to recognize *Henry's* authority, his own empire being, on all hands; attacked by the princes of the *Comneni* family; against whom he made head, and died with great reputation for his courage and conduct. *Lascares* makes peace.

In the mean while, the pope had, after surmounting vast difficulties, been able to convene a general council at *Rome*, which was extremely splendid and numerous. In it assisted the patriarchs of *Jerusalem* and *Constantinople*, who were now both of the *Latin* church, with deputies from those of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*; together with seventy-one archbishops, four hundred and twelve bishops, besides proxies; above eight hundred abbots and priors, and ambassadors from all the great princes in *Europe*. It is incredible with what quickness and zeal this assembly proceeded, in establishing a new crusade. All the privileges and advantages granted to the first crusaders, were solemnly renewed in this council, with many additional ones; the same contributions, for its support, were exacted from the clergy; and his holiness promised to furnish shipping, and large pay, for all the *Romans* that should take upon them the cross. It was farther agreed, that they should all be in readiness to pass into *Palestine* by the first day of *June* in the following year; that, in the interim, those who resolved to be of the land army, should come to the rendezvous which should be appointed, whither the pope should send his legate; and that those who chose rather to go by sea, should repair to the port of *Brindes* in *Pavia*, or to *Messina* in *Sicily*, where he himself would be present, to take care and give orders for what should be needful, since he was not, as he passionately desired, permitted to pass beyond the seas, and undertake the voyage with the crusaders. A new crusade preached up.

Soon after this, the pope died, and was succeeded by *Honorius* the third, who was equally zealous, as his predecessors had been, in the affairs of the crusades. He could not, however, prevail with the emperor *Frederick* the Second, who had, more than once, taken upon him the cross, to head this crusade in person; so that that honour and the devolved upon *Andrew* king of *Hungary*, who was the only king in *Europe* whose domestic affairs permitted him to embrace it. He was attended by the dukes of *Austria*, *Bavaria*, *crusade*, *heads the* *Hungary*.



*varia*, *Moravia*, *Brabant*, and *Limbourg*; the counts palatine of the *Rhine*, of *Fuliers*, *Holland*, and *Wida*; the marquis of *Baden*, the archbishop of *Mayence*, and the bishops of *Bamberg*, *Passau*, *Strasburg*, *Munster*, and *Utrecht*; together with most of the *Hungarian* prelates. Those adventurers, and their subjects, who were extremely numerous, took different routs. The general rendezvous, for those under *Andrew*, was, first, at *Cyprus*, from whence they sailed to *Acon*; to which place, the embarkation that had been directed by the pope, likewise arrived; as did *John de Brienne*, king of *Jerusalem*, with the few troops he still had about him, and the *Knights of the Hospital*, *Temple*, and the *Teutonic* order: and, likewise, *Lusignan*, the king of *Cyprus*. It appears, from the relations of *Christian* authors, that the progress of time had not at all corrected or abated the religious follies of the crusaders. Having taken a review of their army, the patriarch of *Jerusalem* moved forward, at the head of a great procession of the clergy, carrying in his hand part of the wood of the holy cross, which, we are told, *Guy de Lusignan* had ordered to be cut off from the main beam, on the morning of the great defeat near *Tiberias*. This seasonable fiction gave vast spirit to the adventurers; and they resolved to set out to fight the infidels, wherever they could find them; were their numbers ever so great.

His progress,

*Al Adil*, and the princes of the house of *Ayub*, were, at this time, greatly embarrassed, by revolts and factions amongst their own subjects, by powerful rebels, and upstart usurpers, besides a famine and pestilence, which had desolated all *Egypt*; so that it was not in their power to bring to the field a force sufficient to oppose so formidable an army. One of those princes, however, whom the *Christian* writers call *Coraddin*, but who, probably, was *Daher*, skirted their army with a body of troops, and, sometimes, made a shew of attacking them; but always carefully avoided it. This conduct gave the *Christians* great confidence and courage; and they had the pleasure, while they were upon their march in search of their enemies, to bathe themselves, as they did, with most formal and fervent devotion, in the river *Jordan*, and other streams mentioned in the sacred writ; besides visiting all the places in the country of *Palestine*, where our Saviour had performed his miracles. At last, this procession, rather than march, being finished, they returned to *Ptolemais*, with all the prisoners and booty they had made; which, we are told, were very considerable.

and excesses.

We are not, nevertheless, in this place, to omit, that, however impressed these crusaders might have been with enthusiasm, their views were not totally void of interest. Their own writers admit, that the *Germans* were guilty of the most shocking excesses against the *Christians* who were settled in *Palestine*, *Cyprus*, and *Egypt*; for it appears from *Moslem* authors, that a part of the crusaders had penetrated within



within sight of *Cairo*, and that they destroyed all the countries, through which they passed, with fire and sword; and they, particularly, plundered the famous monastery of the *Malkhites*, which had been spared even by the *Turks*, before their return to their ships, which carried them back to *Ptolemais*; all this time, we are told that, *Al Camel* found himself obliged to keep within *Cairo*.

The main body of the crusaders, under king *Andrew*, being returned to *Accon*, they resolved to do something worthy of their great professions; and they, accordingly, projected the siege of a fortress that *Adel* had built upon the famous mount *Tabor*, which was extremely troublesome to *Ptolemais*. They be-  
siege  
mount *Tabor*.

The sacred name of this mount, and of the places adjacent, raised the devotion, and, consequently, the courage, of the besiegers. The place, however, we are told, was extremely strong, for it had been, lately, refortified with no less than seventy-seven towers, a new citadel, and it was provided with so numerous a garrison, that they made excursions for seven or eight leagues about the bottom of the mount, almost to the gates of *Ptolemais*. It was about the beginning of *December* before this siege was formed; and it was found it would be, in the main, an impracticable attempt. *Bohemond*, prince of *Tripolis*, who, secretly, disliked the whole attempt, had, notwithstanding, joined in the crusade, to save his own dominions, and represented, in very strong terms, the dangers they exposed themselves to, by so wild an undertaking. But the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, attended by the other clergy, snatching up the wood of the holy cross, called upon the army to follow them, and began to ascend the mountain, which was excessively steep, singing hymns; and the army, led on by the king of *Jerusalem*, animated by their example, at last gained the top of the mountain, against all opposition, the king himself killing two of the principal officers of the infidels, upon which the latter retired into the main body of the place.

A council of war, of the *Christians*, was then called, and the most experienced amongst them plainly saw, that they had done nothing; and that, if the infidels should seize and fortify their camp at the bottom of the hill, they must be starved into a surrender. This consideration, with that of the impregnable situation of the place, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the patriarch, clergy, and other enthusiasts, determined the most knowing generals to regain their camp. It was in vain for the patriarch to threaten, that he would no longer carry the holy wood before such a cowardly army, for they began to descend the mountain with some precipitation, and not without great loss; being pursued by the enemy, who killed great numbers of them, by rolling down stones, in their descent. Their loss

Another council of war being held, it was determined, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, to make a new ir-  
ruption.



They  
raise the  
siege.

ruption into *Phœnicia*, and other territories of the infidels. But this proved a fatal expedition. They found all the passes guarded by *Turks* and *Arabs*, who, together with the rigour of the season, cut off prodigious numbers of them; and at last, upon *Christmas* evening, they were overtaken in the plains between *Tyre* and *Sarepta*, with such dreadful tempests, attended with thunder and lightning, as had almost finished their destruction. Upon the return of the remainder of this army to *Acon*, it was visible that their zeal was cooled. A most melancholy prospect presented itself; they had done nothing, of the least consequence, towards their main undertaking; and they were in danger of being ruined by famine and pestilence, if they continued to be pent up in their quarters in or about *Ptolemais*; it was, therefore, resolved, that the army should separate. The king of *Jerusalem*, the duke of *Austria*, and the great master of the *Hospital*, with numbers of the bishops, marched to *Cæsarea*, which they refortified with wonderful expedition. The great masters of the *Temple of the Teutonic order* fortified an old castle near mount *Carmel*, between *Acon* and *Cæsarea*; and, in digging in its ruins, they found a treasure which was more than sufficient to defray their expence. *Andrew* king of *Hungary*, and the king of *Cyprus*, disgusted with the misconduct of the expedition, joined with *Bohemond*, and went to *Tripolis*, where the king of *Cyprus* died in a few days, and *Andrew* declared, that he was resolved to seize the first opportunity of returning to his own dominions; where his presence was become absolutely necessary. This resolution roused the zeal, or rather the fury, of the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, to such a degree, that he excommunicated him, and all his followers who should attend him to *Europe*; but *Andrew* paid no regard to this frantic action; and his example was imitated by a vast number of other crusaders who remained at *Ptolemais*, where they took shipping for *Europe*.

They are  
reinforced  
from the  
north of  
*Europe*.

Notwithstanding this gloomy prospect on the part of the *Christians* in the east, by an unexpected accident, their affairs, all of a sudden, assumed a better face than they had ever done before; and, had they not been mismanaged by enthusiasts, they might actually have possessed themselves of the kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Palestine*. The king of *Norway* was then, next to the *Venetians*, the most considerable naval power in *Europe*; and, though he could not attend the crusade in person, he freely furnished it with a great number of ships, on board of which many of his own subjects embarked: but the great bulk of this armament consisted of *Cologners* and *Frisons*; and, in short, the northern people were as forward as the southern had been. Their fleet, we are told, consisted of no fewer than three hundred ships; and, about the end of *May*, it was joined, in the mouth of the *Meuse*, with a fleet under the earl of *Holland*; and the whole proceeded towards the *Streights of Gibraltar*, in  
their



their way to *Acon*: but, when they came upon the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, this noble fleet was overtaken with such bad weather, that it was separated; tho', at last, after losing several ships, the rest met together in the *Tagus*; and the earl of *Holland* went to *Lisbon*, to provide materials for re-fitting them. It was now the middle of *July*, and the *Moors*, at that time, had made an irruption into *Portugal*, where they had seized *Alcazar*, and threatened that kingdom with an absolute conquest. *Alphonfus* the second was then king of *Portugal*, and he luckily bethought himself of availing himself of the armament that had been thrown upon his coasts. He applied to the earl of *Holland*, and represented how impracticable it was for him, at that time of year, to get his ships ready, and to reach *Ptolemais* before the season of action was over; and how much more glorious it would be to assist in expelling the infidels out of *Portugal*. The earl laid this proposal before the great council of the crusade, where it was differently received. The *Frisons*, the *English*, and several other of the northern nations, thought they should be guilty of perjury, should they engage in any expedition but that for which they had taken up the cross; and they immediately set sail, leaving with the earl of *Holland* not above one hundred ships. The earl, however, undertook the siege of *Alcazar*, but without any great prospect of success, till, on the ninth of *September*, he was informed, that a great army of *Andalusian Moors* were within a league of him to relieve the place. The earl immediately attacked *Portugal* and defeated them, notwithstanding their vast superiority of numbers; and then returned to the siege of *Alcazar*, which from the did not surrender till the twenty-first of *October*, a month after the victory. The pope ordered public thanks to be given for this seasonable service to a *Christian* prince; but informed the earl and his followers, that he could by no means dispense with a performance of their vow, and that he must, at all hazards, set sail, early in the spring, for *Ptolemais*. The earl was all obedience, and, with some difficulty, reached that city in the end of *April*, before any of the adventurers, who had left him, could arrive; they being detained, during all the winter, by cross winds, upon the coast of *Europe*.

Upon the arrival of the whole, the king of *Jerusalem*, the duke of *Austria*, and other heads of the crusade, met in a council of war, to deliberate upon their future proceedings. The arms of the great *Jenghiz Kan* began then to make a most terrible impression upon the finest provinces of the *Moslems*. *Al Daher*, who had married *Adel's* daughter, and was one of the chief supports of the house of *Ayub*, was dead, and had left a son, only of three years of age, to succeed him; by which his dominions were torn in pieces by his brother *Abdel* and the sultan of *Iconium*, who got possession of almost all of them, excepting his capital of *Aleppo*.



*Damiata*  
besieged.

Progress  
of the  
siege.

Machines  
to take the  
place,

In short, all the great houses of the *Moslems*, those of *Zenki*, *Ayub*, *Gazni*, *Seljuk*, *Khowârazm*, and others, were, at this time, either divided amongst themselves, or ruined by *Jenghiz Khan*. Upon the whole, therefore, it was thought expedient to attack *Egypt* itself, by a vigorous invasion; and to lay siege to *Damiata*, the only place in it that was capable of resisting the arms of the crusaders, and the chief port for all the rich commodities that came to *Egypt* by the *Red Sea*. This city, which was excessively strong, was situated within a mile from one of the mouths of the *Nile*, on the eastern coast of its second branch, and about twenty miles distant from *Pelusium*. This siege being resolved upon, a general rendezvous was held at *Pilgrims Castle*; and, in three days, the van of the fleet, which consisted of *Frisons* and *Cologners*, reached *Damiata*, and effected a descent without opposition, which secured the landing of the other adventurers.

Such were the superstition and ignorance of the times, that an eclipse of the moon, which happened about the time when the siege was formed, gave the army an undoubted assurance of victory over the sultan. This frantic notion precipitated them to attempt one of the strongest towers of the city. It stood upon the *Nile*, and could be attacked only by shipping; clumsy engines were erected upon their largest ships; and draw-bridges, placed upon scaffolds raised as high as the walls, were constructed, by which the soldiers were to remove from the ships to the walls. The attack was undertaken from three of their largest ships, provided in this manner, by the duke of *Austria*, the *Frisons*, the knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, and the *Knights Templars*. But the foundation of the scaffolding on which the unwieldy machines were erected, giving way in all the ships, the attack proved unsuccessful; and vast numbers of the bravest men in the army tumbling into the river, with all their weighty armour upon them, miserably perished. The besiegers, however, had better success in passing by the same tower, through the channel of the *Nile*, in their ships, by which they became masters of the navigation above the city, and ruined a bridge which preserved the communication between the tower and the city. The execution of this attempt had been thought so impracticable by the infidels, that they had not sufficiently provided against it, nor was it effected without great danger and some loss.

Notwithstanding this success, it was plain that the city could not be taken but by the help of the shipping; and one *Olivier*, who had been a *German* schoolmaster, but was now a keen crusader and preacher, undertook to construct a machine, upon two of their largest ships chained together, that should take the tower. The formation of this machine seems greatly to have exceeded the common engineering of those days. It was composed of three stories; the uppermost, which was covered with raw hides, was higher than



## OF THE WORLD.

the walls of the tower; the middle, which was parallel to them, was provided with draw-bridges, to be let down from the uppermost story; and the lower story had, in like manner, draw-bridges, to be let down from the middle one, upon which miners and engineers were to be employed in making breaches in the wall. This huge machine was towed by a great ship to the place of attack; bishops and priests of all denominations stood on the shore, fervently praying for its success; and, to prevent all jealousy of preference, drafts were made from every nation who served in the expedition, which were to be put on board the machine; and the whole was to be commanded by *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*, who was acknowledged to be the best general upon the service.

The besiegers seem not to have been wanting to themselves in a vigorous defence, but they chiefly trusted to their combustibles, which they played so furiously upon the middle draw-bridge, that it yielded on one side, and the duke of *Austria's* standard-bearer fell into the river: but *Olivier* had provided against all accidents, and, by the help of his engines, the fire was extinguished, and the machine repaired, so that the assailants had firm footing on it; and, driving the infidels from their posts, they planted the *Christian* standards upon the battlements. But, as this glorious action was performed only by a few, while others were endeavouring to follow them, the *Saracens* once more endeavoured to bring their fire machines against the draw-bridge, and would have destroyed it, had not the miners and sappers below, who were equally keen and forward, in the mean time made a breach in the walls; by which they entered the tower, and either destroyed, or took prisoners, all that were in it.

The chief advantage attending this success, was, that the *Christians* were thereby enabled to remove a great chain, or boom, that run across the mouth of the harbour; by which their whole fleet had liberty to attack the city on the side of the water. This advantage, however, does not seem to have been so decisive as they had imagined. The siege had continued a long time, and the action of the late attack had lasted above thirty hours, so that the troops, in fact, required some repose; but, during this repose, heats and jealousies broke in amongst the commanders; by which they slipped the favourable opportunity, their late success had given them, of reducing the city.

*Al Adel*, the sultan of *Egypt*, a man insatiably ambitious, when the *Christians* first landed upon his dominions, was employed in conquering *Aklat*, *Kabar*, and *Nisibin*, and had laid siege to *Sanjar* when he received the accounts of the descent of the *Christians*, which obliged him to return to the defence of his own dominions. It does not appear that he shut himself up in *Damiâta*, for he seems to have left the defence of that city to his son *Al Camel*; to have kept the field



Death of  
*Adel.*

with an army, and to have employed himself in providing for the defence of the rest of his dominions. It is, however, said, by *Christian* historians, that he died of grief, upon his hearing of the success of the *Christians* against *Damiâta*. But there is no manner of occasion to assign any other cause for his death than, perpetual fatigue and old age, being in his seventy-sixth year. His character and success, as has been already hinted, were pretty much the same with those of his brother *Saladin*. After the *Christians* attacked his dominions, he treated his own *Christian* subjects with vast harshness, contrary to the practice of his son *Câmel*, who knew he had nothing to apprehend from them in favour of the invaders. *Adel* left behind him seven sons, and each a sovereign; *Câmel*, of *Egypt*; *Moadhdhem*, of *Damascus*; *Ashraf*, of *Harran*, *Edeffa*, and *Aklat*; *Gazi*, of *Mayyafarakin*; *Hefed*, of *Jabar*; *Aziz*, of *Banias*; and *Saleh*, of *Basra*. We are told he had nine more sons, all of them excellent princes, besides daughters.

Succeeded  
by *Câmel*.

Though the splendour of *Scjadin*, and *Saffadin*'s acquisitions, have left *Câmel* but a second or third name in this period of the *Moslem* history, yet he seems to have yielded to neither of them, either in civil or military abilities; and to have exceeded them both, in true wisdom and moderation. Upon his father's death, he found the inhabitants of his capital of *Cairo* so greatly alarmed, by the progress of the crusaders, that they were upon the point of abandoning that city; but, by the measures he took to re-assure both them, and the rest of his subjects, he not only preserved them in their duty, but disposed them to a vigorous resistance. He demolished the *Christian* church of *St. Mark*, in the suburbs of *Alexandria*, the roof of which was excessive high, lest the *Christians* should, if they attacked that city, have battered it from thence; but above all he secured the coast of the *Nile*, by rebuilding and fortifying the important city of *Mansurah*, which lies on the spot where two branches of that river divide.

Desertion  
of the cru-  
saders.

The inactivity of the *Christians*, during all this time, was amazing; but was partly excuseable, by the vast desertion which now prevailed amongst their troops, notwithstanding all the exhortations and menaces of the clergy. Most of the *Frifons*, on whom there was great dependence, and six thousand *French*, in one body, returned to *Europe*; and the *Christian* writers remark, that few of them escaped being

They are  
recruited.

swallowed up in the deep: but, in a short time, through the indefatigable cares of pope *Honorius*, the army received a vast supply of crusaders. The cardinal *de Albano*, the pope's legate for the holy war, headed the first division, which consisted of the nobility of *Rome*. Vast numbers came from *France* and *Germany*; and prince *Edward*, eldest son to *Henry* the third, king of *England*, brought with him some excellent troops of *Englishmen*. But this reinforcement,



ment, promising as it was, instead of forwarding, retarded the siege, by a fresh division amongst the *Christians*, which, in the end, proved the ruin of their army; for the pope's legate, *Albano*, a *Spanish Benedictine*, had secret orders from his master, to insist upon commanding the whole army; and entered his claim in a full assembly of the princes and generals. *John de Brienne*, as king of *Jerusalem*, had always been considered as the general of the crusade, which was, indeed, principally undertaken upon his account; and he refused to yield the command to the legate. But the latter pertinaciously supported his claim, by alledging, that his competitor, being king only by permission of the pope, who was at the head of the church, by whom the crusade was raised, the crusaders were not subject to the king of *Jerusalem*, but to the pope, in whose right, as his legate, he demanded the command. This ridiculous dispute divided the troops; and the haughty prelate persisted so inflexibly in his claim, that *Brienne*, fearing the loss of the whole expedition, durst not peremptorily oppose him; and was contented to act in a kind of subordinate station to the legate.

An army thus divided, could make but little progress in a great and a difficult undertaking. Most of the crusaders, eaten up as they were with religion, disdained to be commanded by an ignorant priest; while others, who were disobliged with *Brienne*, submitted to him: and thus the troops, for many months, remained in a shameful inaction. This encouraged the infidels, to the number of ten thousand, according to the *Moslem* authors, to attack the camp of the *Christians* with prodigious vigour; but, as they seem not to have been under any regular command, and had taken the field only for the sake of plunder, they were repulsed, and the whole of them cut in pieces. The destruction of those banditi was rather a relief, than a loss, to *Camel*. *Egypt* was this year afflicted with scarcity, and the *Christian* fleets, being masters of the sea, prevented the inhabitants receiving any supplies; so that *Camel* found great difficulty in subsisting his own army and the garrison of *Damiâta*, which, according to some authors, amounted to forty thousand men. The *Christians*, by a most unaccountable fatality, had never yet passed the *Nile*, to attack the city upon the land side, where *Camel* lay encamped with his army, which was far more numerous than that of the *Christians*. He had found means to throw a bridge of boats across the river; and, it being strongly guarded at both ends, the difficulty of the army passing to the other side appeared to be very great, and even insurmountable. Danger, at last, united the *Christians*; and it was resolved, at all hazards, to attempt the passage in their vessels. But, on the thirtieth of *November*, before they had made their proper dispositions, a most dreadful tempest arose, followed by an inundation which had almost overwhelmed the *Christian* army by land, as it actually destroyed,



*Câmel* re-  
tires to  
*Cairo*.

stroyed several of their largest and best ships upon the river, by dashing them against the walls of the town; while the destruction of others who escaped the best, was finished by the combustibles which played against them from the garrison. The army, however, escaped somewhat better; for, before the water surrounded them, they gained some adjacent rising-grounds, by which they were saved. The tempest subsiding, the *Christian* army pursued their resolution of passing over with the remaining part of the fleet, and landing in sight of the sultan. In the mean while, ten brave men of the *Christian* army, performed one of the most resolute actions recorded in history; for, throwing themselves into two boats, they rowed directly against the bridge of boats, and, notwithstanding the showers of darts and arrows poured upon them from all hands, they cut the chains and ropes that fastened the boats together, some of which they carried off with them, and thus rendered the bridge useless. *Câmel*, from the shore, beheld this prodigious action; and it is uncertain what effect it had upon him, or whether he thought nothing was impossible to be performed by men so resolute and so brave. Be this as it will, we are told, by *Christian* writers, that, while the crusaders were embarking, to pass the river, *Câmel* was seized with such a panic, that he abandoned his army, and posted to *Cairo*; upon which, his troops, thinking themselves betrayed, disbanded themselves.

The news of this fortunate event was brought to the *Christians* by a *Christian* renegade; but, though they found it to be true, and though no enemy opposed them, yet they had great difficulty in landing, especially the cavalry, through the steepness of the banks, and the depth of the mud. There is ground, however, for believing, that *Câmel* had other reasons than fear for going to *Cairo*; he was then forming a confederacy of all the princes of the house of *Ayub* and their allies; and the people of *Cairo*, as hath been already hinted, were upon the point of abandoning that capital for fear of the *Christians*. Such probably were the reasons that determined *Câmel*; and those become the more probable, when we understand, that he was absent but a few days, and returned to the relief of the place with a far greater army than he had before, having been joined by the troops of his brother *Moadbdhem*; the prince of *Damascus*. But *Câmel*, notwithstanding his vast superiority of numbers, was apprehensive that the *Christians* must, at last, carry their point. He had certain intelligence, that most of the garrison of *Damiâta* had perished by famine, diseases, and the sword; and, that the remainder were so much reduced by sickness, that they could not long hold out. He knew, that nothing could withstand his enemies, if *Damiâta* was taken; and, though he had no regard for *Jerusalem*, he foresaw, that, fortified as it was, if it fell into their hands, their pos-  
session



session of it might endanger his whole empire, there being now, as in *Saladin's* time, no single prince so powerful, as to be able to wrest it from them; the arms of *Jenghiz Khan* having already subdued most of the provinces of the old khalifat. These considerations prevailed with him to cause his brother *Moadbdhem*, over whom, and his other brothers, he had, by his father's last will, some superiority, to demolish the fortifications of *Jerusalem*, which was done about this time, all, excepting the tower of *David*. Being then joined by the garrison of *Jerusalem*, and the garrisons of all other places which were less tenable, he seized all the advantageous posts round the *Christian* encampment; which he fortified to such advantage, that, without hazarding much, he, in a manner, besieged the besiegers. It was lucky for the latter, that their numbers were every day increased by fresh crusaders from *Europe*; for the unwholesomeness of their situation, and scorbutic disorders, had destroyed great numbers of them; and *Moadbdhem*, whom *Christian* writers call *Koradham*, was a very enterprising general; for, not contented with keeping on the defensive, The lines he, several times, attacked the lines of the *Christians*, and, of the in one attack, would have forced them, upon a *Palm Sunday*, had he not been repelled by the duke of *Austria*; who, attacked. soon after, returned to *Europe*, and was followed by great numbers of the bravest crusaders.

But *Camel* and his brother seem to have committed some oversights upon this occasion, by reducing the *Christians* to a state of despair, and yet attacking them. Had they kept entirely upon the defensive, they must have been ruined, as they lay before the most impregnable part of the town; but, on the last of *July*, *Moadbdhem* ventured a general engagement, in which, at first, he had a great probability of success on his side; and the *Christian* army had been destroyed, had it not been for the valour of the *English* troops, who They are snatched the victory out of *Moadbdhem's* hands, and gave the saved by rest of their army time to rally. But *Moadbdhem*, encouraged by a sally of the garrison, which, with their combustibles, did great damage to the besiegers works, renewed the attack three several times; and was as often repulsed, with vast slaughter. In the mean while, the *Venetians*, the *Genoise*, and the *Pisans*, who had the charge of the *Christian* marine, attacked the city with their ships, carrying towers, and galleries, most of which were destroyed by the *Egyptian* combustibles; called, by the *Christian* writers, *Greek Wild-fire*; so that they were obliged to desist, with great loss, from the attack.

Though *Moadbdhem* was thus repulsed, yet the *Christians* Dissen- could not boast of a victory. They saw themselves sur- tions a- rounded by the same calamitous circumstances, as before mongst the battle. This misfortune was aggravated by a dissention the cru- that arose between the infantry and cavalry of the army: saders. the



who are  
defeated.

the latter, being most of them noblemen or gentlemen, thought themselves exempted from the severer parts of duty; while the former complained of bearing all the fatigues of the field. Their disputes terminated in a most absurd appeal to the sword, and both parties agreed to attack the enemy, in order to adjudge the prize to either. It was in vain for the princes, and heads of the army, to represent how impracticable the attempt was, for they were obliged to yield, and to lead their troops on to action. It proved, as had been foreseen, unfortunate, and the retreat of the *Christians* to their camp must have been cut off, had it not been for the valour of the *English*, and the *French* subjects of the king of *England*, which stopped their pursuit, and forced the barbarians to retire in their turn: the *Christians*, however, in this frantic attempt, lost six thousand of their best troops, besides a great number of illustrious prisoners.

Enthusi-  
asm of  
saint *Francis*  
of *Assisi*.

About this period, arrived in the *Christian* camp, one of those astonishing prodigies of enthusiasm, that were so common in that age. This was the famous saint *Francis of Assisi*. He had, by this time, established his order, and had now no farther ambition than to make converts, and merit the crown of martyrdom: and, with this view, he and his companion *Illuminatus*, set out for the *Egyptian* camp. He was, perhaps, encouraged in this frantic extravagance by the character of *Câmel*, who, even in his father's life-time, was thought too favourable to the *Christians*; and, upon this occasion, he was far from declining an interview with the two enthusiasts. They offered to prove the truth of the *Christian* religion, by throwing themselves into the flames, and coming out unhurt, if the imans of *Mohammed* would stand the same test. *Câmel* smiled at their extravagance; and saint *Francis* then offered to go into the flames by himself. The sultan told him he did not want so dangerous a proof of the truth of his mission; he then commended his zeal, and finding the saint, in other respects than that of enthusiasm, an acute, sensible man, he endeavoured to convince him, how much it would be for the advantage of the *Christians* to abandon the siege of *Damiata*. But all his arguments would have made little impression, had he not offered them to give up *Jerusalem* and *Palestine*, with the original holy cross; and that he would release all the *Christian* prisoners he had. The saint then began not to dislike the terms, and *Câmel* had generosity enough, not only to overlook his enthusiasm, but to admit him into some degree of familiarity; and, after loading him with magnificent presents, he sent him back to the camp of the *Christians*. To give a farther proof of his sincerity, *Câmel* had ordered all the *Christian* prisoners that had been taken during the siege, to be treated with the utmost humanity, and released, without demanding any ransom, the most illustrious amongst them, after making them sensible of the equity of his proposals;



posals; which he sent, in writing, to the following purpose: "That he would restore to them the true cross that was taken by *Salahadin* at the battle of *Tiberias*; that he would restore to the king all that he held in the realm of *Jerusalem*, and that he would give so much money as should be sufficient to rebuild the walls of that city, and put it into the same condition it was in before. That he would release all the prisoners that had been taken in *Egypt* and *Syria*, not only during this, but all the preceding wars; that the strong-holds of *Thoron*, of *Sepheth*, and *Beaufort*, should be surrendered to the *Christians*, in the same condition which they are now in; and, in short, that he would keep nothing but the two cities of *Carac*, and *Montreal*, on the other side of *Jordan*, in regard they were necessary for the security of the pilgrims which should travel to *Mecca*; and that these two cities should also be, in some sort, under the authority of the king of *Jerusalem*, by paying him a moderate acknowledgement of tribute, during the time of the peace, or truce."

Terms  
proposed  
by *Câmel*,

Nothing, but the most stupid infatuation, could have prevented these proposals, which were likewise signed by the *Moadbdhem*, from being immediately accepted of; but they were opposed by the legate and the clergy. It was in vain for the king of *Jerusalem*, and the other heads of the expedition, to represent, that they contained all they were fighting for; and that, if they should take *Damiata*, which was very uncertain, if not improbable, they would be glad to exchange it for *Jerusalem*, without which all their labour was lost, and that the blood of so many brave men ought to be spared. The legate and his creatures would hear no reasoning on this head, they insisted upon it, that infidels were not to be trusted, that all their proposals were delusive, that in fact, they offered no more than what would soon be their own by force of arms; and that, as to the holy cross, it was certain that *Salhadin* had destroyed it. The princes, and all the men of sense, would not have regarded this foolish reasoning, had not the party of the legate, who continued to act as general of the whole army, been too strong; they, therefore, desisted from their opinion, and the operations of the war recommenced, with more vigour than ever.

By this time, the city was, in a manner, depopulated, by famine and pestilence; and *Câmel*, whom the *Popish* writers absurdly pretend saint *Francis* had converted and baptized, upon his having offered his body to the fire, found that he could give it no relief. There was a particular tower, upon which the battering engines of the *Christians* had made a breach, and the legate, taking advantage of a dark, tempestuous night, ordered the king to storm it: he obeyed; but his troops found no resistance, though they had two other walls to master before they could take the place, and, next morning, the *Christian* standards were seen flying

upon



upon the battlements of *Damiata*, after a siege of near two years. When the *Christians* entered the city, they could easily account for their meeting with no resistance; for of eighty thousand men, of which the garrison and inhabitants consisted, not above three thousand were left alive; and, of those, not above one hundred could stand to their arms: the houses were filled, and the streets were covered, with unburied dead. It is said, however, that the besieged, before their deaths, had taken so good care to conceal their treasures, that the plunder of the city was not so considerable as might have been expected. The legate-general ordered it to be deposited in a common bank, but the most considerable part of it was in massy vessels of gold and silver, rich stuffs and jewels; for there was not above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds found in ready money, and that sum was distributed equally amongst the troops. The *Christians*, then, with great difficulty, and danger of pestilence, buried the dead, cleaned the city, and converted its most magnificent mosque into a church. After this, the city was, by consent, or, rather, order, of the legate, annexed for ever to the crown of *Jerusalem*; and the fleet proceeded up the *Nile*, in pursuit of farther conquests, till they came to *Taniticus*, a very strong fortress, which they took without resistance; such an impression had the taking of *Damiata* made upon the spirits of the *Egyptians*. But we are now to return to other parts of the *Moslem* history.

Affairs of  
the *Mos-*  
*lems*:

It appears as if *Camel* had engaged his brother *Moadhabem* more closely in his interest, by giving up to him all the ready money that was found in their father's treasury, together with all his jewels, horses, arms, and furniture, and the peaceable possession of *Damascus*. But the same unanimity did not prevail amongst the other *Moslem* princes. *Mohammed*, the emperor of *Khoroârazm*, was, at this time, excessively powerful, but had failed in his duty to the khalif *Naser*, the supreme pontiff of the *Moslems*; for this reason the khalif, as pope of *Asia*, gave his dominions, by patent, and jurisdiction, to *Shahâboddin*, the *Garian* sultan, who had carried his arms into *India*, where he had made vast conquests. This brought on a war between him and *Mohammed*, in which the latter was victorious; and *Shahâboddin* being murdered by assassins, *Mohammed* made himself master of *Gafna*, the capital of his empire, and its archives; amongst which he found the khalif's patent in favour of *Shahâboddin*, making him a present of his dominions. This striking evidence of the khalif's insolence, exasperated the *Khovarâsmian*, who was now the most powerful prince of all the antient khalifat. He seems never to have recognized the power of the khalif, and, his rebelling in this respect, is mentioned as one of the reasons for giving away his empire. *Mohammed*, to be revenged, ordered all the imams and doctors in his dominions to be assembled. We have  
often,



often, in the course of this history, mentioned the great party of the *Moslems* who acknowledged no other lawful khalifs than the descendants of the khalif *Ali*. *Mohammed* Rebellion having, in his dominions, a prince who was, or pretended against to be, descended lineally from *Hosein*, the second son of *Ali*; the khalif his name was *Termedi*: and the question laid before the assembly of *Baghdad* was, whether the house of *Ali*, or that of *Al Abbas*, had the preferable right to the khalifat? It was given for the former. The khalif of *Baghdad* was declared an usurper, both in spirituals and temporals. The violations of the *Mohammedan* law, that had been committed by his predecessors and him, were enumerated, and both he and they were declared to have been the authors of many unjust wars, which their ambition had excited amongst the *Moslems*. For all which reasons he was deposed, and *Termedi*, otherwise called *Alaóddin*, was substituted in his place. After this, he raised an army of no fewer than three hundred thousand men, and put it in motion against *Baghdad*, that he might make himself master of that city, and the person of the khalif. *Naser* was then very old, and, though he kept up his dignity to the full, and was, in fact, a very powerful prince, he thought himself too weak to encounter the *Kowárasmanian*. He, therefore, sent a nobleman of his court to make an apology, and to put the best construction he could upon what had happened. But *Mohammed* was so much incensed, that he refused to see the ambassador, and dismissed him without an audience. The khalif, old as he was, received the news of this affront with vast indignation, and put the fortifications and city of *Baghdad* in the best state of defence he could. But while the *Kowárasmanian* was advancing through the mountains of *Hamadam*, where there was no shelter for his army, a most prodigious snow fell; so that his troops, being neither able to advance or retire, perished, for the most part, by cold and famine; and *Mohammed* himself was obliged to retire, with the loss not only of the greatest part of his army, but of all his baggage. This misfortune, instead of daunting, exasperated *Mohammed* so much, that he made greater preparations than ever for attacking the khalif early the next season; but he was prevented by the arms of *Jonghiz Khan*.

His remarkable deliverance.

In the 615th year of the Hejra, which answers to the Death of 1218th year of our computation, died the famous *Azzóddin*, *Azzóddin* of the house of *Zenki*, and prince of *Mawjel*. There never had been a good understanding, since the death of *Nured-sel, din*, between the *Zenki* and the *Ayub* princes. *Azzóddin*, therefore, chose *Bedróddin Luli*, the wisest subject of his dominions, to be his son's guardian. *Bedróddin* acted with such prudence in this trust, that he disappointed the ambition of *Amadóddin*, the young prince's uncle, who sought to usurp the throne of *Mawjel*. In this, he was assisted by the authority of the khalif of *Baghdad*, who sent the young prince



prince a patent of investiture, and confirmed *Bedrôddin* in his post; sending them, at the same time, the robes of their several dignities. But *Cûcheri*, or *Cûcabri*, one of the young prince's generals, joined *Amadôddin*, and delivered into his hands several strong places belonging to *Mawfel*; upon which, *Bedrôddin* was obliged to apply for assistance to *Ashraf*, brother to *Câmel*, and prince of *Aklat*. *Ashraf* threatened *Cûcheri*; but the latter could not be prevailed upon to lay down his arms; till *Naser*, the khalif of *Baghdad*, joining with *Ashraf*, an accommodation amongst all parties was at last brought about; but not till after a battle had been fought, in which both parties claimed the victory. It was about this time, that, we are told, the khalif *Naser*, understanding what great preparations were making against him by the sultan of *Kowarazm*, applied privately to *Jenghiz Khan*, encouraging him to march against *Kowarazm*; but this fact has been denied by some historians; nor, indeed, is there any strong foundation for it, as the ambition and fortune of *Jenghiz Khan* were sufficient motives for his attacking the most powerful of the *Moslem* princes.

and of the prince of *Amed*. Next year, died the prince of *Amed*, and was succeeded by his son *Masud*; who was dispossessed of his territories by the arms of the sultan of *Egypt*. *Mecca*, at this time, was governed by an old prince, or emir, named *Kitada*; but age, though he was now ninety, had not taken from him his ambition: he sent his brother, and his son *Hosan*, to reduce *Medina*. By the course of the *Moslem* history, we can regard this as no other than a downright rebellion against the khalif of *Baghdad*, who was either virtually, or actually, (but, most probably, both) the sovereign of those two cities at this time; but, as we have often had occasion to observe, sultans and sovereigns were obliged to govern by deputies, which seldom failed, in a few years, to render themselves independent of their principals. Upon what motives *Kitada*'s son proceeded, whether those of ambition, or principle, (for nothing is too barbarous for enthusiasm to commit) we know not; but he murdered his uncle upon his march, and, returning immediately to *Mecca*, he strangled his father. It was about this time that the khalif of *Baghdad* was delivered from the power of his dreadful enemy the sultan of *Khôwarazm*, whom *Jenghiz Khan* utterly overthrew in battle. But the life of the khalif *Naser* now grew near an end.

Affairs of the khalif *Naser*. The vast scenes of action that opened in his time, between the crusaders on the one hand, and the *Tartars* under *Jenghiz Khan* on the other, have engrossed the attention of history so much, that it has taken but little notice of him, compared to the rank and the power he held in the *Moslem* state. When he grew very old, he went into dotage, and was governed by his women; one of them, *Setti Nasim*, in concert with an eunuch, counterfeited his hand so artfully, that,



that, without consulting him, they dispatched the most important affairs of the empire. None were admitted into the secret of their practices but a *Christian* physician of *Baghdad*, named *Abul Caram*, who, being a man of some conscience, discovered to the khalif the abuses of his government, and the counterfeiting his name in writing by his mistress and the eunuch. The khalif, old and almost blind as he was, discovered great marks of resentment at this discovery; and the guilty parties, sensible that no other than the physician could have given the information, hired assassins, who murdered him upon the streets of *Baghdad*. We know of no punishment which the principals in this murder met with, but we are told that the assassins themselves were put to most cruel deaths.

The khalif *Naser*, before his death, was greatly puzzled about the choice of his successor. He had two sons fit for government; the eldest, *Dhaber*, being advanced in years, his primogeniture gave him the preference; and, the khalif having nominated him for his successor, all the nobility of *Baghdad* recognized his title: but *Dhaber* became so presuming and insolent upon this high honour, that his father found himself under a necessity of reducing him to a private station, and even putting him under an arrest. He then nominated his younger son, *Ali*, for his successor; but that prince dying, *Naser* again nominated his elder son, *Dhaber*, to the succession, but he still kept him in prison.

In the year of the Hejra 622, died the khalif *Naser*, in the Hejra 622. seventieth year of his age, and the fortieth of his reign; so A. D. that he was the oldest khalif that ever sat upon the throne. 1225. Though we know only a few particulars concerning him, His death yet it appears, in general, that he understood extremely and chawell all the arts of government; and, in a great measure, racter. brought the khalifat back to its antient authority, though he never could retrieve its dominions. He was, however, at the time of his death, a very powerful prince; and, by his wisdom, he supported his character of khalif to the utmost extent. That he was no bigot in his religion, appears from his employing *Christians* about his person; nor do we know of any severities they underwent in his dominions. But his memory does not escape uncensured, for he is said to have been rapacious and avaricious; and he was the first khalif who made himself heir to all the foreign merchants who died in his dominions.



*Khalif Al Dhaher, the thirty-seventh khalif of the house of Al Abbas.*

He is succeeded by his son *Dhaber.*

His character and death.

**T**HIS khalif was in prison at the time of his father's death, and, being pretty far stricken in years, when he was conducted to his coronation, he wittily observed, that it was very extraordinary for a person to open a shop in the evening. We know little more of him than that his virtues seem to have created his father's aversion for him. The people of *Baghdad*, notwithstanding the persecutions of his father, loved him extremely; and, during the short time he reigned, he proved a most amiable prince. In his reign *Jalaloddin* made himself master of *Persia*, the arms of the great *Jenghiz Khan* being then turned towards *Tartary* and *China*. This *Jalaloddin* married the widow of the prince *Adherbijan*, who was daughter to *Togrol Bek*, the last prince of the *Seljukian* dynasty; and he arrived to such a power as to give umbrage to the khalif of *Baghdad*. *Dhaber* employed the short time he lived in relieving his subjects from the hardships his father had imposed upon them. He not only remitted some of their most severe taxes, but restored the properties of a great many whom his father had robbed, and built a most magnificent bridge over the *Tygris* at *Baghdad*. He died after he had sat upon the *Moslem* throne no more than nine months and sixteen days.

*Al Mostanser, the thirty-eighth khalif of the house of Al Abbas.*

He is succeeded by *Al Mostanser.*

**A**LL that was great, amiable, and polite, in the khalifs whose histories we have wrote, centered in this prince. His father and grandfather left him immense treasures, which were deposited in a vast basin; and, though the following story may at this time appear romantic, yet, when we consider that, besides the vast revenues belonging to the khalifat itself, all the princes of the East were the khalif's tributaries, it is not incredible. One day, *Mostanser*, attended by a particular friend, visited this huge basin, or rather reservoir; and, seeing it brim-full of riches, "My friend," said he, "can I flatter myself with the hopes of living so long as to be able to spend all this treasure?" "Sir," replied the other, with a smile, "I remember, some years ago, your grand-father and I visited this very basin, and he asked me, with a sigh, Whether he could flatter himself with the hopes of living till he could fill it; for the money, at that time, had not reached the brim by twelve feet: so

anxious



anxious was he to fill it, and so anxious are you to empty it."

A prince, so liberal, so powerful, and so magnificent, as His great *Mostanser* was, had been long unknown at *Baghdad*. This character gave him vast popularity, and he lost no opportunity of improving it. Upon his being recognized, the very day of his father's death, by the nobility and the army at *Baghdad*, he mounted on horseback, and appeared in public; a practice which he continued for many days, and which, joined to his vast munificence, endeared him to his people: but the greatest glory of his reign was the great number of public edifices which he erected with a more than princely munificence. The glory and improvement of the *Mahometan* religion, were, it is true, his principal objects; but that consideration ought not to detract from the merit of his vast liberality. He erected a college, which, for magnificence and endowments, exceeded any of those built and founded by his predecessors. In this college four professors, for the four orthodox *Moslem* sects, were provided for, together with three hundred students, who, besides pecuniary appointments, were supplied by his munificence with all the elegancies of living. He even improved upon the grandeur of his ancestors, for he erected hospitals and infirmaries, and gave pensions to physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, to attend the members of this college. He accommodated it with beautiful gardens; and, to crown all, he had adjoining to it a gallery, or an apartment, built for himself, from whence he often slipt into the public rooms and heard the disputations.

The demolition of the walls of *Jerusalem*, by *Moadbdhem*, The Georgian prince of *Damascus*, at the order of *Camel*, the sultan of *Egypt*, gave vast umbrage to the *Christian* powers, particularly those of the East. The *Georgians*, as we have already observed, had always professed a kind of *Christianity*, and their ignorance of its true principles rendered them, perhaps, more fierce and zealous. The success of the crusaders in taking *Damiata*, the great barrier of *Egypt*, emboldened them to offer to join with the crusaders in their expedition: but, unfortunately for the crusaders, divisions still prevailed in their army; which prevented their making any progress, but what we have already mentioned, after their taking *Damiata*. The reader is here to observe, that every *European*, who took the cross upon him, made a vow that he would serve in the expedition for a certain time; and, when that time was elapsed, he considered himself as being absolved from his vow. The vast length of the siege of *Damiata*, and the long inactivity occasioned by disputes among themselves, had now finished the vows of most of the original undertakers in this crusade; so that, at the time we now treat of, vast numbers had returned to *Europe*. This desertion, together with the ravages of war, and diseases, weakened the



Divisions  
amongst  
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Idle pre-  
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gate.

*Christian* army so much, that, after their altercations were somewhat pacified, they found themselves unable to undertake any thing of great importance. This melancholy prospect renewed their divisions. *Brienne*, king of *Jerusalem*, disgusted with the haughtiness and imperious behaviour of the legate, to whom he had all along acted as his substitute, withdrew from the army, upon pretext of repelling the invasions of the infidels upon the possessions of the *Christians* in *Palestine*; and of securing the succession of *Leon* the *Armenian* prince, who had been lately dead, to the prince of *Antioch*. Upon his retreat, the crusaders became feeble and dispirited; nor could all the zeal of the legate and the clergy rouse them to undertake any thing of importance during all the summer. It is probable that *Camel* was well acquainted with their divisions and their weakness, for we know of no attempts he made against them during that time.

The zeal of pope *Honorius*, in part, supplied for all the misfortunes of the *Christians* in *Egypt* and the *Holy Land*. Though he had great differences with *Frederic II.* emperor of *Germany*, and had even excommunicated him, yet he forgot them all, to engage that prince to fulfil the vow he had made to serve in the crusade. *Frederic* was a very accomplished monarch, and professed a great deal of the character of *Cæsar*, but had the weakness of the time, a passion for crusading. According to the best authors, *John de Brienne*, though highly disgusted with the carriage and conduct of the legate, durst not resist the commands of the pope, to return to the army, and serve as his lieutenant-general under the legate. His compliance was, however, in a great measure, owing to the assurances given him by his holiness, that the emperor *Frederic II.* and all the princes of *Germany*, with the most considerable powers of *Europe*, were preparing to serve in the crusade. Accordingly, the duke of *Bavaria*, with a noble army of *Germans* and *Italians*, attended by a very powerful fleet, appeared at *Damiata*, before *Brienne*, the king of *Jerusalem*, had rejoined the *Christian* army.

The legate, in his youth, had been prepossessed with an idle traditional prophecy, that a *Spaniard* was to expel the infidels out of *Palestine*. This notion mounted into his brain; he imagined himself to be that glorious *Spaniard*, and, being naturally martial, he impatiently waited for some opportunity of striking a great blow against the *Egyptians* before *De Brienne* could join the army; and in this he was encouraged by seeing himself at the head of seventy thousand fine troops, and supported by a most formidable fleet. He called a council of war, the majority of which was composed of ecclesiastics, and proposed marching directly against *Cairo*, the capital of *Egypt*. The ecclesiastics assented to this proposition; but the duke of *Bavaria*, and the other great commanders, were against undertaking any thing before the arrival



arrival of *De Brienne*, who was, on all hands, acknowledged to be a most accomplished general.

*Câmel*, in the mean while, acted with wonderful judgment Moderation. Accompanied by his two brothers, the sultans of *Damascus* and *Aleppo*, with the other princes of *Camel*. the house of *Ayub*, he left *Cairo*, and encamped a little above the place where the *Pelusiæ* and *Tanitic* branches of the *Nile* commence and separate from the great channel. Here he entrenched himself strongly, and built a fortress, which he called *New Damietta*; and built bridges over both the branches; by one of which he preserved his communication with his capital, and by the other he was enabled to harass the *Christians* to the very gates of *Damietta*.

Such was the situation of *Camel's* army, when the king of *Jerusalem*, in consequence of the pope's orders, returned to the *Christian* camp at *Damietta*. A new council of war, upon the former subject, was then held; and the king gave it, as his opinion, that they could not proceed against *Câmel* without hazarding the loss of the whole *Christian* army; but that, as they were possessed of the two strongest places in *Egypt*, they ought to leave them sufficiently garrisoned, and proceed to the conquest of *Jerusalem*. But the legate, supported by all the ecclesiastics, and almost all the lately arrived crusaders, opposed, as usual, the king's opinion. He pretended that *Câmel's* army could not withstand that of the *Christians*; that *Cairo* was an open city, which would fall of course into their hands, and that the conquest of all *Egypt* must inevitably follow; which must infallibly secure to them *Palestine* and *Jerusalem*, the two great objects of their vows. The imperious priest supported this wild reasoning with menaces of excommunication against all who should oppose it; which made the boldest there tremble. It was a delicate point for the king of *Jerusalem*; he saw the greatest part of the army upon the legate's side, and he was afraid of being thought too self-interested if he should persist in his own opinion, and therefore gave it up against his better judgment; but not till after he had apprized the assembly of the dangers they run from the swelling of the *Nile* at such a season; and, that the taking of *Cairo* could, in no degree, advance their conquest of *Jerusalem*.

The march being thus resolved upon, the fleet, which was excellently provided and equipped, was ordered to proceed up the *Tanitic* branch of the *Nile*. that it might be at hand to furnish the army with all necessaries; and the crusaders continued their march between that and the *Pelusian* branch. This was the very movement which *Camel*, who well knew the country, wanted them to make; and it was with that view he had pitched his camp where he did. He had posted parties all along the flanks of the *Christian* army, but they gave it no disturbance, for they retired as fast as the *Christians* advanced. This made the legate imagine that they



were not able to withstand him ; and they proceeded to the very angle of the *Nile*, where, on the other side of the *Pelufian* branch, *Camel* lay encamped with a very numerous army.

But, notwithstanding all the wise precautions of that sultan, the strength of his situation, and the difficulty of passing the *Nile*, he no sooner saw the excellent order in which the *Christians* advanced, and the vast numbers that composed their army, than he was filled with a thousand apprehensions : he was no stranger to their courage, and he had seen them perform exploits, even greater than that, which was before them. For these reasons, but above all to gain time, he had again recourse to the methods of negociation ; and, to all the former offers he had made to the crusaders, he added that of leaving them in the possession of *Damiata*, and a territory of six leagues every way round it. Thus the *Christians* had it in their power, without the effusion of a drop of blood, to have secured to themselves a large share of the trade of the East, and to have laid the foundations of an empire that, in time, must have given laws to all *Asia*. But the greater concessions *Camel's* moderation induced him to make, the more averse was the infatuated legate from accepting them. He treated them all as the effects of terror, and, assuming now a despotic power over the whole army, he insisted upon its passing the *Nile*, and coming to a general engagement.

The delay which *Camel's* propositions had made, accomplished his design. He had guarded the practicable passes of the *Nile* so strongly, that the *Christians* could not make their passage good, and every day the river was swelling ; while all that the *Christians* could do, was to send a few ineffectual arrows and darts against the infidels on the other side. In this inactive state, the crusaders lay for a whole month, till, by the swelling of the *Nile*, the passage of it was rendered, not only impracticable but impassable for an army, their fleet continuing to ply upon the *Tanitic* side. The distress of the *Christian* army was increased by the sultan ordering the sluices of the *Nile* to be opened, by which the whole army was brought into the most imminent danger of perishing. About the same time, the swelling of the *Nile* having enabled *Camel* to bring up his ships, they unexpectedly attacked those of the *Christians*, and, by the assistance of their combustibles, they destroyed the greatest part of them, and forced the rest to retire to the port of *Damiata*.

Farther  
moderation of  
*Camel*,  
who saves  
the *Christians*.

It is extremely difficult to account for the reasons that influenced *Camel's* conduct upon this occasion, when his enemies lay at his mercy, and might have been destroyed without his risking the life of any one man. Perhaps humanity, as he was a mild and generous prince, and far from being averse to the *Christian* religion, influenced him to spare the lives of so many brave men, who acted upon principle, however,



however they might be mistaken. He perhaps was influenced by other considerations ; for *Damiata*, which was the key of his empire, was still in the hands of the *Christians* ; and he was no stranger to the vast preparations that were making in *Europe* against him, and which might endanger his empire, should he exasperate the new crusaders, by suffering the *Christian* army to perish. Whatever may be in this reasoning, it is certain, that, when the *Christians* were reduced to the very brink of destruction, *Câmel*, with equal wisdom and magnanimity, offered to treat with them. His proposal met with a joyful acceptance on the part of the *Christians*, and a truce for eight years was concluded upon the following moderate terms. First, That the *Christians* should immediately deliver up to *Câmel Damiata*, with all its districts. Secondly, That there should be a reciprocal release of prisoners on both sides. Some *Christian* writers have added to these conditions, that *Câmel* engaged himself to deliver up the true cross ; but this article, supposing it to have been true, might have been easily fulfilled, by giving them any piece of common wood.

*Câmel* detained the king of *Jerusalem*, the legate, and the duke of *Bavaria*, as hostages for the performance of this treaty ; and lost no time in appearing before the gates of *Damiata*, which the garrison, after some difficulty, surrendered upon seeing those illustrious hostages. He then treated the princes of the crusade with extraordinary humanity and politeness ; for he not only ordered the sluices of the *Nile* to be shut up, that their march might be commodious, but sent his own son to attend the princes, and furnish them with whatever was necessary and convenient for their entertainment, till they could return to *Phœnicia*.

This truce was communicated to the *European* princes by the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, and struck them all with inexpressible grief. Pope *Honorius* continued his indefatigable zeal to retrieve the misfortunes of the crusaders, but carried it much farther than was consistent with common prudence. The emperor, *Frederic II.* was haughty, self-interested ; and politic ; but the only power in *Europe* who could retrieve the affairs of the *Christians* in the East ; being then about thirty years of age, and esteemed the greatest warrior in *Europe*. He had been long embroiled with the pope upon temporal matters, but his having taken on him the cross, rendered things between them for some time easy. The news of the loss of *Damiata* made their differences break out afresh ; and his holiness was so ill advised as to charge *Frederic* with being the author of all the misfortunes that had happened to the *Christians* in the East. *Frederic*, to the other great qualities he possessed, had added a very uncommon share of erudition ; by which he had acquired a total contempt for the pope's authority, in temporals as well as spirituals. His answer was haughty, and the



Another  
crusade  
preached  
up.

Views of  
the empe-  
ror,

who mar-  
ries the  
heirefs of  
*Jerusalem*.

pope's reply imprudent to the last degree ; for he threatened him with excommunication, if he did not instantly embark for the *Holy Land* with an army sufficient to drive the infidels out of *Palestine*. *Frederic*, upon this, made an appeal to all *Europe*, whether, by the fleets and forces he had already sent to *Damiata*, he had not sufficiently answered the purposes of his vow ; and immediately invaded the dominions of the church. The pope, struck and intimidated by his resolution, desisted from his menaces, and had recourse to entreaties, that *Frederic* would pity the forlorn condition of the *Christians* in the East. It is uncertain whether *Frederic* would have paid any regard to this pathetic exhortation, had it not been for the intervention of *John de Brienne*, king of *Jerusalem*. That prince had only one child, a daughter, called *Yulanda*. *Frederic* was young and a widower ; *Brienne* offered *Yulanda* in marriage to him. It cannot be supposed, that a great emperor, so self-interested and politic as *Frederic* was, would have embraced the match, which had nothing but a sounding title to recommend it, unless he had had more substantial advantages in view. Repeated experience had, by this time, convinced the *European* princes, that the conquest of the East was no chimerical project for a *European* power, which was master of the seas, to compass, if supported with the same zeal as the former crusades had been. *Yulanda*, undoubtedly, was heiress to the crown of *Jerusalem* in right of her mother ; and *Frederic*, perhaps with some reason, thought that her father had no right to that title, farther than what was given him by the king of *France*. He therefore embraced the offer, and the pope joyfully consented to the match, in hopes that it would induce the emperor to enter the more heartily into the crusade. *Frederic* engaged himself, under the sanction of an oath, to be ready in two years to undertake the expedition ; and submitted himself to the pains of excommunication, in case of non-performance. That time was spent by the emperor in making vast preparations for the crusades ; but, when the term was elapsed, he raised a very just objection, that he could not act offensively against the infidels, till the truce which had been so generously granted was expired. In the mean while the princess *Yulanda* arrived at *Brundisium*, and *Frederic*, who had obtained, or rather extorted, from the pope, a prolongation of two years longer for the performance of his vow, married her. Being master of her person, he likewise demanded her right ; which was a cession from her father of the title and crown of *Jerusalem* ; which *De Brienne* was in no condition to refuse to the most powerful prince in *Europe*.

*Frederic's* ambition being thus gratified, the preparations for the crusade went on with the most promising success. In the mean time, pope *Honorius* died, and was succeeded by *Gregory IX.* who did not yield to his predecessor in  
zeal



zeal for the crusade, but fell far short of him in abilities and dexterity. The first measure he pursued, after he was preferred to be pope, was, to summon *Frederic* to the performance of his vow. But *Frederic* had laid his schemes deeper than his holiness had apprehended. Pretending extreme zeal for proceeding upon the expedition, he prevailed with the most zealous of the pope's partizans to embark for *Syria*, or *Phœnicia*, and actually went on board himself, attended by an army consisting of the finest troops in the world, and a noble fleet. But he had scarcely put out to sea, when, pretending to be indisposed, he returned to *Otranto*, with all his army. Upon this, the pope, without making use of any previous formality, or admonition, excommunicated him; and both sides published manifestoes, justifying their conduct: but *Frederic* having power on his side, chased the pope from *Rome*, and seized upon all his dominions; but was checked by his father-in-law, the king of *Jerusalem*, from making himself absolute master of *Italy*. But *Frederic*, though he gained all that was necessary for his purpose in *Europe*, still pursued his views upon the crown of *Jerusalem*; and being apprehensive, with good reason, that his father-in-law would be received as commander in chief of all the crusaders, at last embarked in good earnest for the *Holy Land*; but not without leaving proper directions for continuing the war with the pope, whom he mortally hated; for *Frederic* at this time stood excommunicated. He set sail with twenty ordinary gallies, and with very few troops; but despised the pope's injunction, when he commanded him to return, and to drop all concerns with the crusade; and arrived at *Ptolemais*, where he was received with great joy by the *Christian* princes. As husband to the queen of *Jerusalem*, he took upon himself the command of the *Christian* army there, which did not amount to above fourteen thousand men, most of the crusaders, being discouraged by the delays of the emperor having returned to *Europe*. Those who remained, however, employed themselves very usefully in repairing the fortifications of *Cæsarea*, *Joppa*, and the other maritime places which were left them upon that coast; in which they were favoured by the great dissensions then raging amongst the *Moslem* princes. *Frederic*, seeing the small army he had to head, declined any undertaking against *Câmel*, who lay, with a vast number of troops, at *Damascus*; but sent him a very polite embassy, accompanied with most magnificent presents, acquainting him, that he was the most powerful prince in *Christendom*; and, that he did not come to make war against the sultan, or to make new conquests; that, on the contrary, he desired his friendship; but, having a son to whom the kingdom of *Jerusalem* belonged by birth, he demanded that in his right; and, if that demand was granted, it would save the farther effusion of human blood. The sultan received this embassy with



Diffen-  
sions in it.

with the utmost politeness, and was, in his own mind, glad that the terms demanded by the emperor were not higher. But *Câmel* had secret agents in the *Christian* camp. The *Melkites*, or *Egyptian Christians*, were much better inclined to him than they were to *Frederic* or the *Latins*; and they gave him intelligence of every thing that passed amongst the *Christians*. *Frederic* had left orders, before he set out from *Europe*, with his generals, to invade the pope's territories, which had been obeyed with great success and some marks of cruelty. This exasperated his holiness so much, that he excommunicated *Frederic*, and sent orders to all his ecclesiastics in the East, and the three masters of the great orders, not to obey him. *Câmel* was informed of this before *Frederic* was, but he preserved his usual moderation. His answer to *Frederic's* ambassadors was, that his conscience and religion led him to have as great a veneration as the *Christians* had for the city of *Jerusalem*; and therefore he could not give it up: and, that his imperial majesty must, by a fresh embassy, make new proposals. *Câmel* accompanied this answer with presents of an elephant, and the most curious animals his country produced; and *Frederic* sent him other ambassadors: but *Camel*, with an affected indifference, ordered them to attend him at *Gaza*; and *Frederic*, construing this into an affront, ordered the army to march. But he was greatly surprized when he saw the *Germans* only obeyed his orders, and the two grand masters of the *Templers* and *Hospitallers* separated from his main body. This made him sloop to give out his orders, not in his own name, but that of *God* and *Christendom*: upon which, the army re-united and marched to *Joppa*, where they repaired the fortifications.

Makes a  
truce.

While the *Christians* lay at *Joppa*, *Frederic* suffered fresh mortifications, by receiving accounts from *Europe* of many advantages gained over him by the pope and his confederates; and this disposed him more than ever to clap up a peace, almost upon any terms, with *Camel*. He therefore sent to him two of his ministers, who concluded a truce with him for ten years upon the following conditions: "That the sultan shall yield the city of *Jerusalem* to *Frederic*, together with the cities of *Bethlehem*, *Nazareth*, *Thoron*, and *Saida*, or *Sidon*, and the villages which are directly upon the road between *Jerusalem* and *Jaffa*: That it should be lawful for the *Christians* to fortify these places, and to rebuild the walls of *Jerusalem*, of which the emperor might dispose as he pleased, excepting only the temple, with its appendages, which was to be reserved to the *Saracens*, with liberty there to perform all the exercises of their law: That the city of *Tripolis*, the principality of *Antioch*, and the other places which did not appertain to the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, should not be comprised in this treaty; and the emperor should not permit the *Christians* to assist them."

We



We are told, that, by this time, *Moadbhem* was dead ; and, that *Camel* had seized upon *Jerusalem*, which was *Moadbhem's* property, which undoubtedly facilitated the conclusion of this treaty. The *Moslem* authors inform us farther, with greater show of probability, that the great numbers of recruits, that were every day coming from the crusaders in *Europe*, encreased their army so much, that *Camel* thought himself fortunate in making peace upon so easy terms. But the patriarch, adhering to the pope, refused either to have any hand in the treaty, or to assist in the emperor's coronation ; and put all the clergy of *Jerusalem* under an interdict, who should receive or obey him. *Frederic* was too magnanimous to mind those extravagancies. His own *Germans*, and the knights of the *Teutonic* order, stood by him and approved of his conduct, and the treaty he had made. He entered *Jerusalem* in triumph ; and, having said his private devotions in the temple of the holy sepulchre, he ordered a crown of gold to be placed upon the altar : but no bishop or clergyman could be found, who had the courage to perform the ceremony of crowning him ; therefore he performed it with his own hands, amidst the acclamations of all his faithful subjects. Gets possession of *Jerusalem*.

One cannot reflect upon this peace without admiring the good sense and moderation with which it was conducted ; and, at the same time, bewailing the perverseness of bigotry and enthusiasm, which had shed such deluges of blood, when it might have been so easily concluded before. *Camel* wisely looked upon *Jerusalem*, dismantled and unfortified as it was, as a bauble ; but the rendition of this bauble ensured to him the quiet of his empire. *Frederic* considered the holy city in the same light, but preserved a most devout exterior behaviour as to every thing that regarded it : and his conduct upon this occasion, if any thing could have done it, must have awakened *Christendom* from the delusions it was under through priestcraft and bigotry. He wrote letters to the pope, and to all the princes in *Christendom*, exhorting them to give *God* thanks, that he had been able, without the effusion of a drop of *Christian* blood, to compass what they had so long and so ardently desired ; and sent them, at the same time, copies of the treaty. The furious patriarch, on the other hand, accused *Frederic* of having betrayed the cause of *God* and the church ; and of having gained nothing by the treaty, but what they might have had without it. This frantic declaration had such an effect, that the pope and his adherents raised fresh storms against *Frederic* in *Europe*, which obliged that prince to take a resolution, at all hazards, to return thither ; which he accordingly did, without troubling himself about fortifying *Jerusalem*, and the other places ceded by the treaty. This brought new persecutions upon him. But we must observe, that, with regard to the treaty itself, the *Christian* and the *Moslem* authors



thors contradict one another in a very material article of it; for the latter say, it was stipulated, that *Jerusalem* should remain dismantled. Be this as it will, for it is a matter of no consequence, it is certain that the pope disowned the treaty, and continued his excommunication of *Frederic*. But the latter behaved with such spirit, that he would have driven his holiness out of *Rome*, had he not been persuaded, by the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, to make matters up; which he did; and the pope absolved *Frederic* from his excommunication at *Anagni*, with great appearances of cordiality.

Account

of the famous  
Maimonides.

We must here stop our narrative of great events, in favour of a name of vast importance in literature; that of the famous *Moses Maimonides*, or, as the *Jews* call him, *Maimon Musa*. This great and rational writer lived during the khalifat of *Mostanser*, and under the protection of *Camel*, and at the time we now treat of. He was by birth a *Spaniard*, and was obliged outwardly to embrace *Mahometanism*: but he fled with his family to *Egypt*, and, finding protection under the mild government of *Camel*, he professed his native religion, and for some time followed the profession of a jeweller. A high magistrate, one *Al Fadel*, sensible of his merit, took him under his protection; and, tho he was several times accused by his enemies of apostacy, a crime which the *Moslems* deemed capital, yet *Fadel* had interest enough to preserve him from all trouble on that account. Finding himself thus protected, he resumed his original studies, and professed himself a physician. But he was a man of true learning, and therefore of great modesty, so that he never would depend on his own opinion, even so far as to prescribe by himself. *Maimonides* was not only a learned man, but a philosopher; all that he wrote was rational, and founded on the truest principles of reason and the mathematics. It was therefore no wonder that he was condemned by the bigots of his own religion, and accused of atheism. Some of his writings are greatly in favour of *Christianity*; and, candidly speaking, he is by far the best author the *Jewish* nation ever produced.

Hej. 624.

A. D.

1226.

Affairs of  
the Mos-  
lems.

The prodigious exploits of *Jenghiz Khan* are so much the subjects of history in this period, that we are greatly in the dark as to the interior affairs of the khalifat. We know, however, that, about this time, differences arose between *Dawud*, or *David*, the son of *Moadhem*, prince of *Damascus*, and his uncles, *Camel* and *Asbraf*. Those, very probably, arose from the cession of *Jerusalem* that had been made by *Camel* to the *Christians*. Be that as it will, the siege of *Damascus* was formed by the two uncles; and the city being taken, after an obstinate resistance, *Asbraf* became its sovereign. *David*, however, was put in possession of the cities of *Carac*, *Belka*, and *Shawbec*, and their dependencies; but they were far from being equivalent to the sovereignty he had



had lost. This quarrel seems to have been founded upon the last will of *Adel*, who had left to *Camel* a superiority over his brethren. *Jalaloddin*, son of *Mohammed*, sultan of *Khorasam*, whom we have already mentioned, understanding, that the arms of *Jenghiz Khan* were turned towards *China*, undertook, about this time, to chastise the *Georgians*, for offering to assist the *Franks*. This *Jalaloddin* was a brave and an active general, and had often, not without success, opposed the armies of the great *Jenghiz Khan*; as will be shewn in the history of that conqueror. When he declared war against the *Georgians*, the latter invited to their assistance their neighbours the *Khazars*, who lay on the northern coast of the *Caspian Sea*; and who, accordingly, marched to the assistance of the *Georgians*. It happened that those *Khazars* were under particular obligations to *Jalaloddin*, who had, on a certain time, saved them from feeling the dreadful effects of his father's indignation. He saw, from an eminence which he had ascended, that he was no match for the *Georgians* and the *Khazars*; but perceiving, that the encampment of the latter was distinct from that of the former, he sent them, according to the simplicity of ancient times, bread and salt, the emblems of hospitality and friendship. His present struck the *Khazars* with the remembrance of their own ingratitude, and, separating entirely from the *Georgians*, they immediately returned home. *Jalaloddin*, notwithstanding this vast advantage he had obtained, was so moderate as to offer the prince of *Georgia* twenty-four hours to deliberate upon the terms he offered. During this short cessation, *Jalaloddin* encountered and killed, in single combat, several of the *Georgians*, and one, particularly, of most enormous size and strength. This disheartened the *Georgians*, and, when the twenty-four hours were elapsed, *Jalaloddin* attacked and beat them. His victory proved decisive; and he entered *Tellis*, the capital of their country. While he was there, he heard that *Borak*, his governor of *Kerman*, was guilty of some seditious practices, and *Jalaloddin* struck one of those happy blows, which, had it not been attended with success, might have been called temerity; for he set out, with no more than three hundred horse, for *Kerman*, where he got admittance, put the rebellious governor to death, and reduced the province to his allegiance. After this, he encountered various fortunes; but he seems to have returned to his duty in owning the khalif of *Bagdad* to be at the head of the *Moslems*; for he desisted from the siege of *Akblat*, upon a message, and some presents, from *Mostanser*. He, however, was defeated in his war with the sultan of *Iconium*, or *Rum*, and by the *Moguls*: but he still had the address to recover himself, and, in the year of our Lord 1229, we find that he resumed his operations against *Akblat*, which was then possessed by a prince of the family of *Ayub*. *Akblat* was, at that time, the capital of *Armenia*,

War between  
twixt the  
*Georgians*  
and *Khorasmi-ans*.

Valour of  
*Jalaloddin*

He is de-  
feated.



*Armenia*, and *Jalaloddin*, by battering it on that part which was next to the sea, obliged it to surrender; though the inhabitants made so obstinate a defence, that, for some time, they fed upon dogs. It appears that, upon the surrender of *Akblat*, *Azzoddin*, and *Takioddin*, of the house of *Ayub*, were taken prisoners; and *Jalaloddin* was so vain of his conquest, as to expose them as public spectacles. This excited the resentment of the other princes of that great family, and *Asbraf* joined with the sultan of *Iconium* against *Jalaloddin*. The *Khowarasmian* army amounted to about forty thousand men, and an engagement ensued, the success of which was not decided till the third day, when the *Khowarasmians* were entirely routed. It is remarkable, that, before this engagement happened, *Jalaloddin* sent *Takioddin*, whom he had taken in *Akblat*, and who was brother to *Camel*, as a present to the khalif of *Damascus*; who released him from his bonds, and sent him to the camp of his brother *Asbraf*, about the time that he defeated *Jalaloddin*.

His nego-  
tiation  
with *Asb-  
raf*.

After this victory, *Asbraf* repossessed himself of *Akblat*, and a negotiation was set on foot between him and *Jalaloddin*. The latter, besides *Takioddin*, had in his custody *Majroddin*, a brother of *Asbraf*; for which reason, *Asbraf* sent a message, or embassy, to *Jalaloddin*, desiring that he would use his prisoners with humanity, as he would do those of *Jalaloddin*. "Your master," replied the *Khowarasmian*, "has only my slaves for his prisoners, and I have his brothers." This being reported to *Asbraf*, he told *Jalaloddin's* ministers, that he was not destitute of other brothers, and that the house of *Ayub* had now two thousand descendants. This mutual haughtiness put an end to all farther negotiation. But common danger called upon them for a re-union; for the *Moguls*, or *Tartars*, under *Nowayn*, having passed the river *Ar-mawyah*, were advancing, and the sultan sent ambassadors to the khalif of *Baghdad*, to *Asbraf*, and to the sultan of *Iconium*, setting forth the danger to which they, as well as he, were exposed, if the march of the *Tartars* was not check'd. But they were infatuated enough not to take the warning, or so averse from joining *Jalaloddin*, that they neglected it; and the *Tartars* penetrated, with sixty thousand horse, into *Khorasan* and *Kipjac*.

He op-  
poses the  
*Tartars*.  
His cha-  
racter and  
grandeur.

*Jalaloddin's* brain, about this time, was touched by the loss of a female slave, whom he was passionately fond of. He inherited all the dominions of his grandfather *Tacash*, and his father *Mohammed*, and, though a prince of vast courage and enterprize, was the most haughty monarch in his time. It is reported by certain writers, that, at one time, twenty-seven sovereign *Moslem* princes beat before his palace, upon twenty-seven drums, adorned with jewels, a solemn imperial march, which goes by the name of that of *Alexander the Great*. Though he was often defeated by the *Tartars*, yet he always found resources in his own courage  
and



and magnanimity, which supported him. He never allowed the greatest of the *Moslem* princes, except the khalif of *Baghdad*, an equality with himself, nor did he deign, when he wrote to them, to pay them the compliment of "your brother," or, "your servant," being prefixed to his name; but he always subscribed himself, "your servant," when he wrote to the khalif of *Baghdad*. When his reason began to decline, and when he found that he was not to be supported by the other *Moslem* princes, he retired to the voluptuous province of *Diar Bekr*, in *Persia*, where he gave himself up to all manner of pleasure and luxury, without endeavouring to oppose the *Tartars*, who defeated his general the emir *Aurkan*. Upon this he endeavoured to make his escape, attended by no more than three servants; but He is killed being discovered by the richness of his armour, he was murdered by a party of the barbarians.

The deference paid by *Jalaloddin* to the khalif of *Baghdad*, appears the more extraordinary, when we reflect upon the enmity that subsisted between their fathers; but, in fact, all the *Moslem* princes, at this time, were unanimous in acknowledging his supremacy. Upon the death of *Modhaffer- cy of the* *addin*, the prince of *Arbel*, who had seized upon *Mecca*, the khalif of *Mosstanfer* appointed one of his nobility, *Abul Mali*, *Baghdad*. to be his governor of that city, and he, accordingly, took possession of it, in the khalif's name. He appears to have lived likewise in great friendship with *Camel*, the sultan of *Egypt*, who still preserved his ascendancy over the princes of the house of *Ayub*. By virtue of his own authority, he deposed *Masud*, the prince of *Amida* and *Hishn Caifa*, in *Mesopotamia*, for his vices; and gave his dominions to another branch of the same family. *Camel*, in all other respects, continued to behave with the utmost moderation and wisdom; and the protection he always afforded to the *Christians*, has rendered his sincerity, in the profession of *Mahometanism*, justly questionable; for, besides the condescensions in their Moderation of favour, which we have already mentioned, he permitted both them and the *Jews* to build as many churches and synagogues as they pleased, and to adorn them magnificently. *Camel*, sultan of *Egypt*. He likewise took off the odious restrictions of their not riding upon asses and mules, and made no distinction between them and his other subjects. In one respect, he exceeded all the indulgence that had been shewn them by the greatest *Moslem* princes; for we are told, that he permitted both nations to carry all their differences amongst themselves before magistrates of their own religion. The *Jews*, at the time Instance of we now treat of, enjoyed the same privilege in *England*, but his attachment they were obliged to purchase it at a very dear rate. But ment to *Camel's* regard for the *Christian* religion went still farther. *Christianity*. The monks of the valley *Habib* were, at this time, persecuted by an avaricious emir, who had the charge of collecting the sultan's rents for that division; and, upon the information



mation of a renegade, who accused him of having defrauded the government of its tribute, he inflicted severe corporal punishments upon many of those religious, and obliged them to pay him a large sum of money; which he carried to the sultan, and told him, by way of triumph, how he had acquired it. But *Camel*, far from approving of this oppression, instead of touching the money, resolved to make a personal enquiry into the affair. He therefore, in his return from *Alexandria*, visited the monks of the valley of *Habib* with all his court; and was so pleased with the hospitality he received from the poor fathers, and the proofs they gave him of their loyalty and attachment to his government, that he not only cleared them from all the accusations they lay under, but made them large presents, of all the different kinds of grain they made use of for their subsistence. He likewise signed an instrument, or patent, exempting them, and all who should hereafter enter upon a monastic life, from all kind of tribute; and gave them the liberty to leave all the effects they died possessed of to their monasteries. Above all things, he recommended to them, and the rest of the *Christians* in his dominions, unanimity in filling up the patriarchal see, which was then vacant. But this was what all his power could not bring about; for those ignorant monks, the more they were encouraged by the sultan, were the more divided amongst themselves: nor could they be brought to elect a patriarch, tho' *Camel* generously offered to remit them all the expences of a licence, and the other fees due to him on such occasions. One *Dawd*, or *David*, upon this took occasion to offer the sultan a large sum, if he would name him for patriarch; but he rejected it, as he did another sum offered by another candidate to the same office. At last, finding that all his exhortations to unanimity were lost upon those factious monks, he sent them a kind of mandate, much in the nature of an *English conge de 'lire*, giving them leave to elect one *Yakya*, an *Egyptian* clergyman, to be their patriarch: but, though the fathers had promised to submit to the sultan's nomination, yet they could not be prevailed on to be unanimous; and, such was *Camel's* regard for them, or rather their religion, that he soon withdrew his nomination, and the see remained empty for some years. About this time died *Naseroddin*, the prince of *Mawf-sel*, and grandson to *Salhadin*; and we are told, that the khalif of *Baghdad* sent the patent of investiture of his dominions to his governor, and first minister, *Bedroddin Lulu*, who was accordingly prayed for in *Mawfel*; nor do we know that his accession was disputed by *Camel* or any of the princes of the house of *Ayub*.

His kind-  
ness to his  
*Christian*  
subjects.

Ostay suc-  
ceeds  
*Jenghiz*  
*Khan*.

The great *Jenghiz Khan*, whose history we shall soon proceed to, was now dead, and was succeeded by his son *Ostay*, who had all his father's ambition, but without his abilities. He was, however, then, the most powerful prince in the world;



world; and so haughty, that he threatened even the khalif of *Baghdad* with an invasion, if he did not submit to acknowledge him his superior; but we know of no such submission made by *Mostanser*. *Alaoddin*, who was then the sultan of *Rum*, or *Iconium*, a very ambitious prince, fearing least the power of *Oktay* should disconcert his schemes, he sent him ambassadors, tendering him his submissions. To see a *Seljukian* sultan humble himself in that manner, was a surprize to all *Asia*; nor was *Oktay* himself insensible of the honour that was done him. He received the submission with great marks of approbation; he commended the sultan's wisdom, and offered, if he would come to his court, to give him a considerable post under him; an offer which, we are told, raised the highest indignation in his ambassadors and through all the *Moslem* princes. *Alaoddin* however, by this submission, was at liberty to turn his arms against *Akklat*; which, together with *Sarra Manray*, he took from *Asbraj*, as he did the city of *Edeffa*, by storm. This city, which had of late so often changed its masters, was chiefly inhabited by *Christians*; and *Alaoddin* gave both them and the *Moslems* up to the swords of his soldiers, who butchered the inhabitants, and plundered the city for three days. The effects and the furniture of the *Christian* churches there, we are told, were very rich; but they were all carried away by the soldiers. The example of *Edeffa* terrified the city of *Harzan*, which immediately surrendered to *Alaoddin*; and, after that, he made himself master of *Rakka* and *Bir* upon the *Euphrates*. Those successes of *Alaoddin*, and the inhuman use he made of them, at last roused the princes of the house of *Ayub*; and *Camel* fell into his territories at the head of a powerful army, which besieged *Edeffa* for four months, and at last took it. In revenge of *Alaoddin's* inhumanity, he put into chains all the *Kumeans*, his subjects, and sent them slaves, on the backs of camels, into *Egypt*. Notwithstanding this check, *Alaoddin*, who is so famous amongst *Christian* writers, under the name of *Aladin* I. not only preserved his own dominions entire, but greatly enlarged them; and returned to his own capital with immense booty. But he did not long survive this expedition; for, upon his return to *Iconium*, he made a great entertainment for his generals and the chief nobility of his court; and, in the midst of all this festivity, some blood-vessels breaking within him, he expired upon the spot, not without great suspicion of his death being hastened by his son *Kay Kofrou* II. whom he had declared his heir. *Alaoddin*, notwithstanding the mortifying submission he had made to *Oktay*, was one of the proudest and most haughty princes in the world; but he is remarkable for nothing more than for his having bred up under him *Ortogrol*, the father of the great *Othman*, the founder of the present dynasty of the *Turkish* empire at *Constantinople*.

His vast  
pride.*Edeffa*  
taken.Death of  
*Alaoddin*,  
sultan of  
*Rum*.



Abuses of  
the *Chri-  
stians* in  
*Egypt*:

The moderation of *Camel*, the sultan of *Egypt*, towards the *Christians*, and the vast privileges he had assigned to the monastic order, were greatly abused; for large numbers of *Egyptians*, especially the younger sort, put on the monastic habit, to avoid paying their taxes; which producing a vast diminution in the revenue, the sultan was obliged to establish a kind of register, in which every monk was to enroll his name; and to ordain, that none but those who regularly entered into some monastery, should be entitled to the privileges of the order. Soon after this, *Asbraf*, the sultan of *Damascus*, and brother to *Camel*, died, with the reputation of being a great warrior, but too much addicted to his pleasures. *Ismael*, his brother, commonly called *Al Saleh Ismael*, immediately took possession of his capital; but his succession was disputed by *Al Camel*, who marched at the head of a great army, and made himself master of *Damascus*: but he acted, upon this occasion, with his usual generosity and tenderness for justice; for he gave *Ismael*, in exchange for what he had lost, the principality of *Balbec* and *Bosra*; and, having suppressed a conspiracy under *Shairacub*, one of his tributary princes, he prepared to oppose the invasions of the *Tartars* on the one hand, and the *Seljuks* on the other, who threatened his dominions; and, at the same time, to make head against the *European Christians*, with whom his truce was now at an end. But, while he was making dispositions for executing these vast designs, he died at *Damascus*, in the seventieth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign, computing from the death of his father.

Death of  
*Al Camel*.

His cha-  
racter,

We have been the more diffuse upon the history of this excellent prince, because due justice has not been done him, either by *Christian* or *Moslem* authors; but the facts we have related of him, from undoubted authority, prove him to have been an honour to sovereignty and to mankind itself. He had been early in life initiated in the arts of government; so that his vast experience commonly crowned his conduct with success: nor do we know that even ambition itself ever made him deviate from justice and moderation. His literary accomplishments were so great, that he is represented as one of the most learned men of his empire, and the greatest patron of it in the world. He founded a college, called after him *Cameliya*, and endowed it nobly for scholars; and, we are told, that he could, in person, examine the greatest doctors in his kingdom, and judge of their proficiency and merits in literature. That he possessed a fine taste in the arts, appears from the magnificent tent, which was valued at one hundred thousand crowns, the roof of which resembled the celestial hemisphere, where the heavenly bodies of sun, stars, and moon, moved in regular directions, by secret springs, so as to exhibit, at any season, a just view of celestial bodies; somewhat in the  
same

and fine  
taste.



same manner as those machines now known by the names of orreries, and other denominations. According to the *Christian* writers who saw this pavillion, it exceeded, in taste and magnificence, any thing then in the known world. He Succeeded was succeeded by his son *Adel II.* who, at the time of his father's death, was governor of *Egypt*; but his successor in the government of *Damascus* was *Jowad*, his cousin-german. The constant protection which *Camel* had always given to the *Christians*, was far from having any good effect upon their morals. *David*, by the force of money, procured himself at last to be consecrated patriarch of *Alexandria*; but was guilty of so many acts of simony, that his clergy was upon the point of revolting from him, when he bound himself by an oath not to be guilty of the like for the future; which oath, however, we are told, he afterwards most shamefully violated; but purchased his forgiveness from the new sultan of *Egypt* by a large sum of money.

After the death of *Al Camel*, the history of the *Moslems* in Revolution the old khalifat becomes a meer chaos, through the irruptions in tions of the *Tartars* and *Moguls*. *Cawad* exchanged the the khalif, crown of *Damascus* for the cities of *Senjar*, *Raka*, and *Ana*, fat. and their dependencies, with *Nojmoddin*, another prince of the house of *Ayub*. *Adel II.* being unequal to the affairs of government, *Nojmoddin* was invited to take that empire upon himself; but he had no sooner put his troops in motion, than *Damascus* was seized upon, and forced to surrender, by *Ismael* the prince of *Balbec*, and *Shairacub* the prince of *Hems*. Notwithstanding this, *Nojmoddin* marched towards *Cairo*; and, proving every where victorious, the unfortunate *Adel* was put to death by his own subjects. Those dissensions amongst the princes of the house of *Ayub*, gave infinite advantages to the *Tartars*, the *Moguls*, and other barbarians; and the dominions of the khalif of *Baghdad* were left so open that they made incursions to the very gates of that city. The The khalif *Mostanser*, however, was not wanting to himself, for if defeated he sent his generals against the barbarians, who were defeated the *Tartars* with prodigious slaughter; and the khalif, being apprehensive of their return, ordered the walls of his capital to be mounted with military engines. This precaution, and his laying the country about the city under water, by means of sluices, communicating with the *Tigris*, probably saved *Baghdad* at that time; for the barbarians, some months after, returned with more numerous and greater bodies than ever, and defeated the troops of the khalifat; but, not being able to take the city, they returned, after plundering the country.

Those calamities from barbarians did not prevent other impossible ones amongst the *Moslems*. One *Baba*, a *Turk*, appeared in the *Lesser Asia*, and took upon him the character of *Baba* and a prophet, assuming to himself the same form of religious faith his apostulation that is paid to *Mahomet*: "There is no God but lie.



God, and *Baba* is his prophet, or apostle." He had a disciple under him, one *Isaac*, who run through all the principal cities of that country, bawling about this benediction, and inviting their countrymen to join him; till, by the force of assurance and enthusiasm, they were joined by no fewer than six thousand *Turkoman* horse, and put to the sword all who would not join him, *Moslems* as well as *Christians*. At last, *Gayathoddin*, who was then emperor of *Rum*, or *Romania*, sent some troops against him, whom they defeated, and struck such a terror, that they lorded it over *Samosata*, and plundered all the neighbourhood of *Malatiya*, putting all who did not follow them to death. *Gayathoddin* was then obliged to hire a body of *European* troops, whom he sent, with an army of his own troops, against the rebels; but the *Moslems* were struck with such terror, that they were giving way, when the *Europeans* charged the rebels, and they were cut every one of them in pieces, excepting the two prophets, who were taken and put to death.

They are killed.

Irruption of the Tartars.

Scarcely was this insurrection suppressed, than *Nowayn*, called by some *Novian*, invaded, at the head of the *Tartars*, *Gayathoddin's* dominions: and, though he was supported both by the *Greeks* and *Europeans*, he was at last obliged to fly to *Cæsarea*, and from thence to *Ancyra*. Upon this, *Nowayn* took *Siwas* and *Cæsarea*, where he put the chief inhabitants to the sword, as he did the inhabitants of *Arzingan*, and proceeded towards *Malatiya*; but all of a sudden they turned towards *Arzingan*; and the sultan, who died soon after, was obliged to agree to pay them a yearly tribute.

Hej. 640.

A. D.

1242.

Death of the khalif

*Moslanfer*.

At this time died the khalif *Moslanfer*, celebrated for his liberality, courage, and magnificence. He preserved his independency and supremacy amongst the *Moslems*, at a time when the successors of all the great families that had arisen from the khalifat, were obliged to bow to the *Tartars* and the *Moguls*. His liberality towards men of learning, and his endowments for the seminaries of learning, are said to have equalled those of his greatest predecessors. He reigned seventeen years, and he ordered his head to be impressed upon his coins.

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*Moslasem, the thirty-seventh khalif of the house of Al Abbas.*

He is suc-

ceeded by

*Moslasem*.

**B**EFORE we enter into the particulars of this unfortunate khalifat, it is necessary to make a short recapitulation of the state of the *Greek* empire, and of the crusades at this time; without which it would be impossible for the reader clearly to comprehend the grounds of the great catastrophes we are now about to describe.

Henry,



Henry, the *Latin* emperor, being dead, was succeeded by his brother *Peter*, the count of *Auxerre*; who, together with the *Venetians*, declared war against the despot of *Epire*, a prince of the house of *Comnenus*, by whom he was treacherously taken and put to death. He was succeeded by his second son *Robert*; and *John Ducas*, son-in-law to the Greek emperor *Theodorus*, was crowned emperor of the *Greeks* by the Greek patriarch at *Nice*: upon which *Alexius* and *Angelus*, brothers to the late emperor, put themselves under the protection of *Robert*, the *Latin* emperor of *Constantinople*; who defended them and the *Latins*, and reduced to their allegiance most of the islands they held in the *Archipelago*. Having strengthened himself by alliances with the king of *Bulgaria*, and the sultan of *Iconium*, he subdued all the places held by the *Latins* upon the *Bosphorus* and the *Hellspont*; and, after that, he overthrew and took prisoner the despot of *Epire*, who had caused himself to be crowned emperor. Soon after, *Robert*, the *Latin* emperor, died in his return from *Rome*; and was succeeded by *John* of *Brienne* to the title of king of *Jerusalem*; but the reversion of the empire was to go to *Baldwin*, a boy of eight years of age, brother to the late emperor *Robert*, who married *John de Brienne's* daughter. *John*, though now almost eighty-eight years of age, was one of the best and most active generals in *Europe*, and singly opposed and defeated the united forces of the *Greeks*, the *Bulgarians*, and the *Seljuks*; but the numbers of the barbarians seeming to grow from their defeats, he was at last obliged to shut himself up in *Constantinople*; where they besieged him, while he sent his son-in-law, the young *Baldwin*, to implore succours from the pope and the *Christian* powers.

This happened about the time when pope *Gregory* had, with great fervour, renewed the spirit of crusading in *Europe*, and had engaged the king of *Navarre*, the dukes of *Burgundy*, and *Brittany*, and many of the greatest princes in *Europe*, to take upon them the cross, and to march, at the head of armies, to the *Holy Land*, the moment the truce should be expired. But the distressed condition of the *Latins* in *Constantinople*, called, more immediately, upon the attention of his holiness. The Greek emperor, and the princes of the house of *Comnenus*, denied the authority of the *Latin* church, and retained their own patriarch; so that, if they should recover *Constantinople*, *Gregory* was in danger of losing the fairest jewel in the pontifical tiara. He, therefore, instantly, bethought himself of employing, for the relief of *Constantinople*, the troops that had been raised for the recovery of the *Holy Land*. He preached up a kind of a new crusade for that purpose, by giving the crusaders leave to commute their service in the *Holy Land*, for that at *Constantinople*; and he applied to the latter, the money that had been raised for the former. He then sent *Baldwin*, with

A new  
crusade  
preached  
up.

The pope  
applies it  
against  
the *Greeks*.



The  
Christian  
princes  
dissatisfied

proper credentials, to *France*, and gave him letters to the several princes engaged in the crusade, earnestly exhorting them to go to *Constantinople*. Many were inclined to this service, as being attended with less difficulty and danger than that in the *Holy Land*; and the duke of *Brittany* actually engaged to follow *Baldwin* with twelve thousand men. But the king of *Navarre*, the duke of *Burgundy*, and the other great princes of the crusade, reproached the pope for his levity, and, in plain terms, refused to alter their destination; and even the duke of *Brittany*, at last, became of their party. The pope, on the other hand, remonstrated, that the relief of *Constantinople* ought to be their first object; since constant experience had shewn, that no crusade could be successful, if that city was left in the hands of the schismatical *Greeks*; but the terrible differences that, soon after, broke out between him and the emperor *Frederic*, obliged him to preach up a third crusade, for his own deliverance. The *Venetians*, however, joined with *Baldwin*, and fitted out a fleet, which relieved *Constantinople* from the *Greeks* and *Bulgarians*; but the emperor *John de Brienne* dying, the *Greeks* recovered that capital from his successor, *Baldwin*, whom they expelled; and it continued in the family of the *Paleologues*, till, as shall be described in the course of this history, it was taken from them by the *Turks*.

Nojmod-  
din, the  
sultan of  
*Egypt*,  
marches  
to *Jerusa-*  
*lem*.

*Nojmoddin* continued to be the sultan of *Egypt*, and having lost *Damascus*, as above related, he undertook an expedition to *Jerusalem*, where he complained that the *Christians*, in violation of the truce, were raising fortifications. According to the *Moslem* authors, he and *Naser*, the prince of *Al Karac*, whom he had taken prisoner, arrived at *Jerusalem*, and there entered into an alliance together, by which *Nojmoddin* ceded to the prince all his right in *Damascus*.

The cru-  
saders ar-  
rive at *A-*  
*con*.

This induced *Ismael*, who was then in possession of *Damascus*, to deliver up to the emperor *Frederic*'s lieutenants, in *Palestine*, two strong places, *Shafed*, and *Shakif*. It was about this time, that the king of *Navarre*, having embarked at *Marseilles* and other ports of the *Mediterranean*, arrived safely at *Acon*, with his division of the *Christian* army; while the other divisions, for the want of shipping, were obliged to march by land, where they miserably perished, as usual, with fatigue and hunger, or the ambushes of barbarians and infidels. The king of *Navarre* was chosen the general of the enterprize; but he found he had little power. The divisions of *Italy* and *Germany* had reached *Palestine*. The *Templars* and *Hospitalers*, who were the flower of the *Christian* army, stood for the pope, and *Frederic*'s lieutenants for the emperor; and the new crusaders, in like manner, taking one part or the other, the *Christians* lost the best opportunity they could have had for making their own terms, amidst the terrible divisions that then reigned in the family of *Ayub*. The emperor's lieutenants, pretending that the sole power

Divisions  
amongst  
the *Mos-*  
*lems*.



of negotiating belonged to them; in his right, prolonged the truce, upon the same, and even better, terms, for them, than what the last contained, and the prisoners, on both sides, were released. After this, the *Imperialists* refused to act against the infidels; and the *Templars*, who were in possession of *Shafed*, and *Shakif*, took part with *Ismael*; while the king of *Navarre*, and the *Hospitallers*, inclined to join with *Nojmoddin*.

But the other princes of the crusade thought themselves Imprudent at freedom to act independently. The duke of *Brittany* broke into the principality of *Damascus* at the head of his division; and, having there taken and plundered some places of no great strength or importance, he returned in triumph to *Ascalon*, where the main body of the army lay, and which they had resolved to refortify. His example inspired other princes to emulate the reputation he had so easily acquired. The duke of *Burgundy*, the earl of *Bar*, and the constable of *Ansaure di Montfort*, agreed to join their forces together, and to attempt to surprize *Gaza*, one of the strongest barriers of *Egypt*, upon the side of *Palestine*. They, therefore, detached themselves and their troops from the main body of the army, and marched a whole night, and all next day, in hopes of surprizing the city early next morning. *Nojmoddin* appears to have foreseen this attempt, for he not only threw a strong garrison into the place, and provided it with every thing for a vigorous defence, but took post near it with the main body of his army; while a considerable detachment of the garrison took possession of the strongest posts which the *Christians* must pass before they could reach the city. By day-break, therefore, instead of surprizing the city, they were themselves confounded, to see such dispositions made to receive them; and the more, as they found themselves entangled in plains full of heavy, deep sands: where the light armed *Arabs* surrounded them on all quarters, and destroyed them at pleasure. All the courage of the *Christians* did not avail them on this occasion: It was with difficulty that the duke of *Burgundy* escaped to *Ascalon*. The earl of *Bar*, with the bravest of the *French* generals, were killed on the spot, as were almost the whole army, that were not made prisoners, which was the fate of the constable of *Ansaure*, and seventy of the chief noblemen of *France*; all of them being sent to *Cairo* in chains. When this attempt is rightly understood, it will, perhaps, appear as unjust, as it was rash, as *Nodjmoddin*, whose good faith is not impeached by the *Christian* writers, trusted to the truce, without conceiving that any of the *Christians* were at liberty to break it, excepting the *Templars*, who were avowedly in the interest of his enemies. Soon after this, the king of *Navarre*, and the duke of *Brittany*, returned to *Europe*, but they were replaced by the *English* earl of *Cornwall*, who, very soon after, landed at

Who are  
defeated.



Arrival of *Acon*, with an immense treasure, which he publicly declared the earl of he was resolved to spend in the service of the crusade; and *Cornwall* he immediately began a very strong tower, which was added in *Palestine*. to the fortifications of *Ascalon*.

*Nodjmoddin* and the infidels trembled at the name of this prince, which was the same with that of the *English* monarch, whom many of them still remembered, so much to their cost; and *Nojmoddin*, in order to preserve the continuance of the truce, offered to ratify it, with additional advantages to the *Europeans*, by granting them a church in *Cairo*, by making a farther cession of territory to them upon the sea coast, and by setting at liberty all the prisoners he had taken at the battle of *Gaza*. *Richard* having consulted the duke of *Burgundy*, and the other chiefs of the crusade, found he could do no better, than to accept of those conditions, which were inviolably performed by *Nojmoddin*; and then His return to *Europe*. *Richard*, with his crusaders, after ordering the burial of those who had been slain at the battle of *Gaza*, returned, as other princes had done, to *Europe*.

Irruption of the *Khorvarazmians* into *Palestine*. The *Christian*, as well as the *Moslem* authors, loudly exclaim against the perfidy of the *Christians* who were left in the *Holy Land*, and who most shamefully broke the peace. *Ismael*, the late prince of *Damascus*, had pretensions upon the throne of *Egypt*, and offered to the *Christians*, if they would unite with him against *Nojmoddin*, he would give them up all *Palestine*, from *Jordan* to the sea. As *Nojmoddin's* throne in *Egypt* was far from being firmly settled, this confederacy, however shameful, might have been fatal to him, the *Templars* and *Hospitallers* being, at this time, incomparably the best troops in the known world. But the *Tartars* and *Moguls*, having entirely subdued the *Khorvarazmian* empire, that people, who were the descendants of the ancient *Parthians*, passed the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, and applied for settlements to the sultan of *Egypt*, to whom they offered to be subject. *Nojmoddin* was no stranger to the insolence and brutality of those barbarians; but the faithless conduct of the *Christians* rendered their assistance necessary to his affairs. He told their leaders, that it was luckily in his power, at present, to give them up the whole country of *Palestine*, which they might easily conquer, as its capital, and its chief cities, were without any fortifications. Those words no sooner passed his lips, than the barbarians broke, like a tempest, into *Palestine*, and immediately directing their march to *Jerusalem*, they in an instant cut to pieces six thousand *Christians*, who had thrown up some entrenchments before the city, and then, forcing their way into it, they filled it with blood and rapine: no age or condition was spared, the most sacred places were plundered, burnt, and destroyed; and, according to the *Moslem* authors, the few surviving *Christians* were forced into the church of the *Resurrection*, and all of them there burnt to ashes. After that

They destroyed *Jerusalem*.



that, they spread themselves all over the open country, which they filled with the same dreadful excesses, and were pointing their march towards *Gaza*, when they were ordered by *Nojmoddin*, not to advance farther in their way to *Egypt*.

This invasion, like a common calamity, united all parties amongst the *Christians*, though they were then very high; for the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, notwithstanding the Divisions apparent unanimity amongst themselves, had refused to take amongst off an excommunication which he had lain *de Brienne*, the the *Christ*-best general in the *Holy Land*, under; but it was taken off *ians*. by the bishop of *Rama*, to the great quietting of *de Brienne's* conscience. Notwithstanding the new floods of enemies they had to deal with, the confederates resolve to pursue the scheme of conquering *Egypt*. *Al Mansur*, the prince of *Hems*, or *Emessa*, one of *Ismael's* confederates, took upon him the command of the *Moslems* who were to act in conjunction with the *Christians*; and *Ismael* charged himself with the defence of *Damascus*, during the expedition. *Al Mansur*, accordingly, marched with his troops to *Ptolemais*, where the whole army rendezvoused. The knights *Hospitalers*, with the counts *de Brienne* and *Jaffa* at their head, formed the left wing; the centre was composed of the *Knights Templars*, and some of the *Teutonic* order, with other great *Christian* lords of *Palestine*, headed by the patriarch, and the prince of *Tyre*. The right wing, which consisted of *Moslems*, was commanded by *Al Mansur*, the prince of *Emessa*; and in this order they proceeded towards *Gaza*, near which city they found *Nojmoddin's* army, consisting of *Egyptians* and *Kowarazmians*, drawn up.

The charge was led up by *Al Mansur*, at the head of the Who are confederated *Moslems*, who were more numerous than all the defeated army besides. But his men, undoubtedly, disgusted at by the *E*-serving in the same army with *Christians*, abandoned him, *gyptians* all but two thousand, at the head of whom he did great ex- and *Kho*-ccution; but was, at last, obliged to fly towards *Damascus*. *warazmi*-  
This misfortune did not discourage the *Christians*: they *ans*. kept their ground from morning till night, against the immense superiority of their enemies, of whom they killed prodigious numbers; and, had it not been for the valour of *de Brienne*, who disengaged him, the prince of *Emessa* must have been among the number of the slain. At last, the *Christians*, without being defeated, were overpowered. The labours of the field, against such encreasing odds of barbarians, were too excessive for human nature, however firm, to support; every man's body covered the spot where he fought. Of the *Templars*, not more than thirty-three knights survived; of the *Hospitalers*, twenty-six, and, of the *Teutonic*, only three; such constancy had those brave men, in a bad cause. The great masters of the *Temple*, and *Teutonic* order, were killed. The master of the *Hospitalers* was



was taken prisoner, as was *de Brienne*, and only a few soldiers escaped to *Ascalon*, and from thence to *Acon*, under the prince of *Tyre*; while all their baggage, tents, and treasure, fell into the hands of the barbarians.

*De Brienne* put to death.

This complete victory being gained by *Nojmoddin*, the general of the *Khovarazmians* understanding the high quality of *de Brienne*, carried him, bound with cords to a cross, and, showing him to the garrison of *Jaffa*, threatened, if they did not surrender the place, to put him to immediate death. But *Brienne*, as loud as he could raise his voice, commanded them to hold out, and to leave him to the mercy of the infidel dogs; which they accordingly did, and the *Khovarazmian* sent him in chains to *Cairo*. The people there had been highly exasperated at the breach of the peace, and, looking upon *Brienne* as their greatest enemy, the sultan durst not refuse, upon their demanding it, to give him up to their fury, who put him to death with exquisite tortures.

*Nojmoddin* could not behold the effects of his late victory, without remembering, at the same time, that he owed it to the *Khovarazmians*, who, through their successes, had become useful, but dangerous, allies. He reflected, likewise, that *Damascus*, and the greatest part of *Syria*, was in the hands of his *Moslem* enemies; but he was soon relieved from his greatest difficulties. When *Al Mansur* returned, so thinly accompanied, to *Damascus*, *Ismael* thought that the desertion of his troops had been owing to his underhand dealing, or mismanagement, and, therefore, did not receive him with his usual complaisance and cordiality. *Al Mansur* was nettled at this, and had, at first, some thoughts of flying to *Hems*: but he was persuaded to remain at *Damascus*, and there he entered into a secret treaty with *Nojmoddin*; who was then making dispositions for besieging *Damascus*, under his chief general *Mainoddin*.

*Damascus* besieged,

and taken, by *Nojmoddin's* general;

This *Mainoddin* is noted, not only for being an able general, but an excellent governor; and having with him a great army, he pressed the city with much vigour, and reduced it to great streights. It appears from the *Moslem* writers, that *Al Mansur* would have betrayed the city to the *Khovarazmians*, but that he was afraid of being treated, by the enraged *Egyptians*, in the same manner as *de Brienne* had been. A treaty, however, of capitulation, was set on foot, and *Ismael* agreed to put one of the gates of the city into *Mainoddin's* possession, provided he was reinstated in his principality of *Balbec*, and all he possessed before he seized upon *Damascus*; and that the garrison and people there should have liberty to retire, if they pleased, with all their money and effects. In like manner, *Al Mansur* was restored to all his former territories; but, next year, he was assassinated at *Damascus*, where he arrived in his journey to *Egypt*, in order to put himself under the protection of *Nojmoddin*.



*meddin*. But *Nojmoddin* had not the same favourable sentiments for *Ismael*, the prince of *Balbec*. Though he was far from desiring *Mainoddin*, his general, to violate the capitulation he had concluded with him, yet, by an evasion, he would have been glad if *Ismael* had been intercepted in his journey to *Balbec*; and he even reproached some of his governors, by letters, for not doing it; telling them, they were not bound by oath for his safety, though *Mainoddin* was.

*Mainoddin* being made governor of *Damascus*, applied himself, next, to settling the *Khowarazmians*, to whom he assigned regular habitations, upon the sea-coasts of *Palestine* and *Syria*; but we are told, that he sent *Ismael's* two chief ministers, in chains, to *Cairo*, where they were treated with great rigour. Some authors say, that, after this, the *Khowarazmian* and *Egyptian* army marched against *Balbec*, which they took, and sent *Ismael's* children into captivity; but those facts are doubted of by others. We now return to our principal object, the history of the khalifat.

Notwithstanding the great liberality of the late khalif, he left vast treasures to his son *Mostasem*, who resembled him in none of his qualifications; he being thoughtless, pusillanimous, and voluptuous. The respect, however, which the great lords entertained for his father and family, procured him a quiet accession to the khalifat; and none of the *Moslem* princes pretended to dispute his supremacy: so far from that, he was looked upon with as much veneration as the greatest of his predecessors had been, and his capital was considered as being so sacred, that, while the flames of war were raging around, the neighbouring princes made it the repository of their treasure, jewels, and most valuable effects. It was, however, soon foreseen, that the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, many of whom were *Christians*, but most of them *Idolaters*, would not pay the same deference to the head of the *Moslem* faith. Some of *Mostasem's* friends, talking to him upon that subject, told him, that, as the emperor of the *Moguls* claimed the superiority of all *Asia*, and tribute from all its princes, there was a necessity, for his either submitting to this claim, or for fighting the *Moguls* in the field. "They never will envy me *Baghdad*," replied the mean spirited prince; they have too great a regard for my character to molest me there; let them leave me that, and take all the world besides." Soon after his accession to the khalifat, his father's minister *Naseroddin*, a man of great capacity and virtue, dying, he filled his place with one *Moydoddin*, who was accused of having betrayed and ruined him. When the successors of *Jenghiz Khan* called together the *kuriltai*, which was a kind of a parliament, formed of all the princes dependent upon the *Mogul* empire, or their representatives, the khalif of *Baghdad*, amongst others, was obliged to send an ambassador to that assembly.

From



The Mos-  
lems sub-  
mit to the  
Tartars.

From this the extinction of the khalifat may properly be dated; for, however low and weak the former khalifs were, yet they still preserved the forms of their superiority, and the marks of dignity; which imprinted an awe and veneration upon the minds of their subjects. The sultan and moguls were no strangers to the high pretensions of the khalifat, and resolved to pull them down; for that purpose, he treated the minister sent to the kuriltai with particular haughtiness and contempt, and talked to him in a menacing strain, advising him how to behave; a language, till that time, that had been unknown to a khalif of *Baghdad*. But, in fact, the successor of the great *Jenghiz Khan*, whose name was *Cayuc*, was, in his heart, a *Christian*. He gave several sovereignties to princes who were *Christians* by profession, and disposed of the greatest dignities in the east, as being lord paramount of all *Asia*.

A new  
crusade  
under St.  
*Lewis*,  
king of  
*France*.

By this time, the desolation of *Jerusalem*, by the *Khowarazmians*, had revived, in *Europe*, the spirit of crusading, which always grew with the difficulty of the enterprize. The zealous pope *Innocent*, however, made the recovery of the *Holy Land* only a second consideration to that of his humbling the emperor *Frederic*; by which all expeditions to *Jerusalem* were greatly retarded. But *Lewis IX.* king of *France*, commonly called *St. Lewis*, in a fit of sickness was struck with the passion of leading an army against the infidels, and took upon himself the cross. The state of his affairs not permitting him to go immediately upon the expedition, he sent, before-hand, very large supplies, both of men, money, and provisions, to the *Christians* in *Palestine*. But calling a general assembly of all his estates, the example of his zeal inspired not only all the great lords, but the ladies and princesses of his court, his own queen setting them the example, with a passion for the cross. *Lewis* was a prince who, notwithstanding the great portion of the ridiculous zeal of the times which he possessed, had great talents for government. He had studied the histories of former crusades, and knew the means by which they had been rendered unsuccessful. His first care was to establish such a tranquility in his own dominions, as not to be obliged, as was the case with almost all former princes who had taken upon them the cross, to abandon the expedition on account of his domestic concerns. He then raised an army, not of rabble, but of soldiers, about forty thousand, all of them new armed, well disciplined, and subject to his own command. This army, which, had it been well conducted, was sufficient to have conquered all *Asia*, *St. Lewis* shipped on board such a number of transports as carried them, about the 20th of *September*, to *Cyprus*, where the chief nobility of the island had taken upon themselves the cross, with an intention to accompany him to the *Holy Land*. It is admitted, by the ablest of that prince's apologists, that he here committed



committed an irreparable fault, in being over persuaded to continue in that island during the winter; by which he lost, not only time, but, many of his best troops. Besides His pernicious stay this, the delay his abode in *Cyprus* made, gave *Nojmoddin* an opportunity of compromising his differences with the prince in *Cyprus*. of *Aleppo*, and the other princes with whom he was at variance, and to stand upon his guard. For *Nojmoddin* was then at war with *Naser*, the prince of *Aleppo*, who had made himself master of *Hems*, which city *Nojmoddin* was besieging when he received the news that the new crusade had taken place. Had *Lewis*, therefore, instead of spending his provisions, and effeminating his troops, by his abode in *Cyprus*, sailed directly for *Egypt*, he must, in all probability, have made a conquest of that country, before *Nojmoddin* could have disengaged himself from his other wars.

While *Lewis* lay in *Cyprus* he received a pompous embassy from *Cayuc Kan*, informing him of his attachment to *Christianity*, and, if we are to believe *Christian* writers, of his embassy having himself been baptized; and assuring him, that he would create a diversion in favour of the crusade, by sending an army against the khalif of *Baghdad*, to prevent his troops from joining with those of *Nojmoddin*. *Lewis* received this embassy, which was introduced by several religious persons, with vast state; and sent the ambassadors back with many presents, equally curious and magnificent. The next care of *Lewis*, was, to compose all differences amongst the princes of *Armenia*, and the *Christians* of the east, and to cause a great number of flat-bottomed boats to be built, for the more commodious disembarking his troops. *Nojmoddin*, upon hearing of those preparations, raised the siege of *Hems*, and, being joined by all the princes of the house of *Ayub*, and the other *Moslems*, both in *Syria* and *Egypt*, moved towards *Damiata*; having received intelligence, that the first attack of the *French* would be upon that city. *Lewis* was but four days upon his voyage, when he appeared before *Damiata*; where, according to the *Christian* historians, he found a most prodigious army of infidels lining all the banks of the river. But nothing could withstand the zeal of *Lewis*, who was naturally brave. He ordered two attacks to be formed, one with the great ships, and the other with the flat-bottomed boats, on board of which his land forces were put, and were commanded by himself. That he might not be second to *Richard* of *England*, or any other prince, in zeal, he led the attack in person, and threw himself into the water up to the neck. He was well seconded by the *French*, who were then a free, and, therefore, a brave people; and both attacks were equally successful, the infidels being every where disposed; and such was their consternation at the boldness of the *Christians*, that *Lewis* made himself

He takes  
*Damiata*.



himself master of *Damiata* without resistance; the garrison flying precipitately to *Cairo*.

The *Moslem* authors, however, are not quite so circumstantial in their accounts of this renowned exploit; but the preference of credit is certainly due to the *Christians*, as several historians, of great candour and capacity, attended *Lewis*; neither is there any direct contradiction between the two accounts. The *Moslems* say, that, when *Nojmoddin* raised the siege of *Hems*, and was advanced as far as *Al Mansurah*, a gangrene in his thigh obliged his physicians to cut off the limb; which occasioned his death. He lived, however, long enough to hear of the shameful behaviour of his troops at *Damiata*, and he ordered fifty of his principal officers to be hanged, with all their military accoutrements; and great numbers of the common men to be fixed to gibbets, where they expired. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems probable, that *Nojmoddin* was not personally present in the action before *Damiata*, but that a very great army opposed the landing of the *Christians*, and was defeated. *Nojmoddin* died soon after the amputation of his thigh; but *European* authors have not done justice to his character. He behaved with great candour, moderation, and even affection, towards his *Christian* subjects; till the conduct of the *European*, and *Christian* princes themselves, forced him, for the preservation of his own dominions, to give them some checks, though we know of no cruelties he inflicted upon them. The *Moslem* historians give him no extraordinary character for his abilities in government, because, perhaps, he was void of that ferocious zeal which they required in a sovereign of their religion; but they allow him to have been mild and polite, and, withal, so majestic in his demeanour, as to awe into silence all who appeared before him. Perhaps the greatest objection that lies against *Nojmoddin's* government, was, his employing a militia of *Turkish* mamluks, or slaves. But the natural inconstancy of the *Egyptians*, who retained still great affection for the family of the *Fatemite* khalifs, might render this measure necessary to *Nojmoddin*.

Error of  
his go-  
vernment.

History of  
his succe-  
sion.

He was succeeded by his only son *Moadhdbhem*, who had a quiet accession to the government, by the prudent management of *Shajr al Dor*, or the tree of pearls; a lady, so denominated from her incomparable perfections, both of mind and body. She was the beloved wife, or mistress, of *Nojmoddin*, to whom she had bore some children, though it does not appear that she was mother to *Moadhdbhem*. Upon *Nojmoddin's* death at *Al Mansurah*, this lady concealed it so well, that, pretending he was only ill, she and *Azzouldin*, the *Turkish* general, assembled all the chief noblemen of the empire; and, pretending to be warranted by the sultan's authority, obliged them to swear allegiance to *Moadhdbhem*. Soon after, that prince arrived at *Al Mansurah*, where he took



took upon him the sovereignty; but bestowed upon *Shajr al Dor* the civil administration of his government, till he himself could make the proper dispositions for driving the *Christians* out of his empire.

It is natural to think that those great events in *Egypt*, all Miscon-  
which fell out about the time the *Christians* landed there, duct of St.  
facilitated those successes, which the *French* authors had so Lewis,  
greatly magnified; for the emirs, and the principal noble-  
men of *Egypt*, both *Turks* and natives, hurried to court to  
take care of their respective interests, and left *Lewis* at li-  
berty to act almost as he pleased. He spent most part of the  
summer in ridiculous religious processions, and in reconse-  
crating the churches of *Damiata* that had been converted  
into mosques. He likewise added new fortifications to that  
city, and employed great part of the time in guarding against  
the annual inundation of the *Nile*; for fear of the same mis-  
fortune happening to him as had befallen king *John de Bri-*  
*enne*. But, however the *French* historians may magnify the  
piety, the courage, and the personal abilities of their royal  
saint, it appears, even by their own accounts, that he acted,  
on this occasion, weakly and fantastically. Instead of tak-  
ing advantage of the great spirit which his success at *Damiata*  
had given to his troops, and marching to *Cairo*, which he  
might easily have made himself master of during the confu-  
sion it introduced there, through *Nojmoddin's* death, he suf-  
fered his soldiers to grow effeminate and intractable in that  
delicious country, besides losing vast numbers of them by  
diseases. His pretext for delay was, that he might wait for  
new reinforcements; and, indeed, the fame of his success  
brought vast numbers of recruits; but they were soon con-  
taminated by the dissolute manners of the army. At the  
head of those recruits was the count *de Poitiers*; and, had  
*Lewis*, even then, marched against *Cairo*, he would, in all  
probability, have conquered *Egypt*. But a council of war who  
being held, the opinions in it were divided; the duke of marches  
*Brittany* was for making sure of *Alexandria*, by which they against  
would have held a noble and commodious sea-port; but the *Cairo*.  
count *de Artois* was for marching directly to *Cairo*; and this  
opinion was adopted, though the season was then advanced  
to the end of *November*.

*Moadhdhem's* army was then encamped at *Al Mansurah*, His  
which is said to lye in what was formerly called the *Land of strength*.  
*Geshen*, and was directly in the road to the *Christian* army at  
*Cairo*: that of the latter was sixty thousand strong, of which  
twenty thousand were horse; and, having come to the shore  
opposite to that where *Moadhdhem's* army was encamped,  
they perceived they could proceed no farther. Without en-  
deavouring to find out a ford, which they very possibly might  
have done above the enemy's encampment, they fell to the  
mad constructions of mighty towers and bulwarks, which  
they manned with slings and cross-bows, in order to drive  
the



He takes  
*Al Mansurah.*

the enemy from the banks, and so to have the passage free upon a bridge of boats to the rest of the army : but the *Egyptians* were fully masters of fire engineering, and, by the help of long tubes, somewhat in the nature of cannons, they discharged such torrents of combustibles as soon destroyed those unwieldy machines. Fortune, however, put the *Christians* in the way to have surmounted this difficulty ; an *Arab* deserter offered to discover a ford for a sum of money, which was paid him. The ford, though very difficult, was found practicable ; and the *Knights Templars*, with about two thousand *French* under the count *de Artois*, passed it, and beat off the infidels who lined the opposite shore. *Lewis* was to have supported those who passed first, but they were so animated by success, that they followed their pursuit to the very gates of *Al Mansurah*, which they entered, and put a vast number of the infidels to the sword ; but the infidels soon perceiving what a handful of the *Christians* had entered the town, barricaded that end of it by which they entered it, and which the incautious *Europeans* had left unguarded ; and thus the latter were attacked, at the same time, both in front and rear ; by which most of those who had entered the town were cut off. *Lewis*, however, by this time, had passed the river, and was engaged with a great body of the *Saracens*, who had endeavoured to cut off his retreat. He owed his life to his personal valour ; he killed six resolute *Saracens*, who had attacked him, and, at last, disengaged the remains of his troops who were shut up in the town, and made themselves masters of their artillery. The *Moslem* authors tell us, that the two thousand *Franks* who first passed the river, did vast execution, and entered *Al Mansurah* ; but that the streets and the gates of the place were so narrow, that their troops within the town could not form, nor their horses enter it ; and, that the great execution done against the *Christians*, was by the stones and brickbats discharged from windows and the tops of houses. The advantage, however, gained by *Lewis*, enabled the rear of the army, under the duke of *Burgundy*, to pass the river without loss ; and they began to fortify themselves regularly in one encampment. The *French*, in this engagement, exerted that ardour in attacking which has always distinguished their nation ; for, when they entered *Al Mansurah*, *Fakroddin*, the *Egyptian* general, an old experienced officer, so little apprehended any thing of that kind, that he was killed in his bath as he was drying his beard, which still continues to be a custom amongst the *Arabs*. The brave count *de Artois* fell within *Al Mansurah*, as did some hundreds of the most valiant *Knights Templars* ; and the *Egyptian* general who succeeded *Fakroddin*, stripped the body of the count *de Artois* of his armour ; which being very rich, was shewn about upon the point of a lance, as having belonged to the king of *France*, who, as they affirmed, was killed.

After



After the battle of *Al Mansurah*, both armies thought but pro- themselves sure of success: the *Christians*, on account of ceeding what they had already performed; and the infidels, because too far, they saw the *French* giddy, heedless, and secure. *Lewis* had intelligence that the *Moslem* general, whose name is not come to our hands, intended to attack him. He had lost most of his horses; the numbers of his army were far inferior to those of the infidels, and his soldiers under very bad discipline: *Lewis*, however, made the best dispositions his situation would admit of, but all were ineffectual. The few remaining *Templars* were cut in pieces, and the whole army was but just saved from destruction by the personal valour of the king and a few of his noblemen. To compleat their his army misfortune, they were now so far advanced up the country, is ruined. that the sultan *Moadhabem* cut off their retreat to *Damiata*, and became masters of the navigation of the *Nile*; by which the *Christians* lost all their supplies of provisions. Diseases then multiplied in their camp, and a treaty, very dishonour- able for the *French*, was set on foot; for by this time the ar- my of the infidels was ten times more numerous than that of the *Christians*, who, having passed the *Ashmun*, a branch of the *Nile* between *Al Mansurah* and *Damiata*, found their situation desperate. The legate; however, and all the chief ecclesiastics, threw themselves on board a large vessel, which broke through the enemy's shipping and carried them safe to *Damiata*. *Lewis* was too generous to follow their example, in abandoning so many brave men to their enemies; but he was infatuated enough to be amused, from time to time, with propositions made him by the infidels, till the pestilen- tial season was so far advanced, that the sword was hardly necessary for the destruction of his army. At last, the com- Insolence missaries whom he had appointed to treat with those of *Mo- of the adhabem*, were called upon to make their ultimate demands; *Egyptians*, and they had the insolence to insist, not only that *Damiata* should be given up to their master, but that the king should deliver himself up into his hands, for the performance of the terms of the treaty.

Those conditions were rejected by *Lewis* with a becoming scorn, and he at last determined to retreat, notwithstanding all the danger and disadvantages to which he and his army were thereby exposed. His first care was, to embark the sick and wounded, who formed the most numerous part of his army; and he gave orders that they should be put on board some vessels that attended him. But those who were actually embarked, before they could return to *Dami- ata*, were all of them sunk or destroyed by the enemy's ship- ing; and all who remained on shore were cut in pieces by the infidels. They then attacked the main body commanded St. *Lewis* by *Lewis* in person, and drove them into a little village called and his ar- *Cassel*, which was bounded by the *Ashmun*, in which great my taken numbers of them perished. To do *Lewis* and his noblemen prisoners. justice,



justice, though he himself was weakened by the epidemical distemper that reigned amongst his troops, they performed prodigies of valour in their retreat; but, at last, all courage became madness, and he, with the remaining handful of his army, was obliged to surrender at discretion to the barbarians. In an instant, all the common soldiers, with the remaining sick and wounded, were butchered; and none were saved but they who, by the richness of their armour, appeared to be the best able to pay a great ransom for their liberty.

Demands  
of the in-  
fidels.

As to *Lewis*, he behaved with wonderful composure and decency under the misfortune of his captivity. He went through his devotions as usual; while *Moadhdhem*, who was afraid of losing his ransom, sent his own physicians to attend him; and they soon restored him to his health. The infidels then demanded, that he should give orders for delivering up the places which the *Christians* held in *Syria* and *Palestine*. *Lewis* (tho' indeed it was not in his power to give up those possessions) rejected this preliminary, for it was no other; and the barbarians, who were most, or all, of them *Egyptian* mamluks, that is slaves, or *Turkish* mercenaries, were inhuman enough to threaten, if he did not comply, to put him to the torture. Some say that he was actually laid in irons.

*Lewis*  
makes  
peace  
with *Mo-*  
*adhdhem*.

But *Lewis* was delivered when he least expected it. The lady *Sajr al Dor* had, in fact, engrossed the government of *Egypt*; and *Moadhdhem*, who was young and spirited, had very little more than the title of sultan. His companions represented his situation as being worse than that of a private gentleman; and, that he ought, by all means, to make peace with *Lewis*, if he would put him in possession of *Damiata*, and give a large sum for his ransom. *Joinville*, a brave *French* nobleman, who wrote the history of this expedition, was then attending the person of *Lewis*; and he tells us, that *Moadhdhem's* demands were, one hundred thousand crowns of gold, which might be about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the rendition of *Damiata*, for his ransom. *Lewis*, with perhaps a false delicacy, refused to ransom himself with silver; but offered to pay the money to obtain the liberty of his subjects, and to give up the city for his own ransom. The sultan was struck with the spirit and magnanimity he discovered under his misfortunes; and, according to *Joinville*, abated a fifth of his demand in money. At last, the treaty was concluded upon the following terms:

Terms of  
the treaty.

“ That there should be a truce for ten years. That all the  
“ prisoners that had been taken on either side, in *Egypt* or  
“ *Syria*, as well those which had been taken since the truce  
“ which the emperor *Frederic* had made with the sultan *Ca-*  
“ *mel*, as those which had been taken since the arrival of the  
“ king of *Egypt*, should be set at liberty. That the *Christi-*  
“ *ans* should peaceably possess all the places they held in *Sy-*  
“ *ria*



“*ria* and *Palestine*. That the king should pay eight hundred thousand byzants of gold for the ransom of all the prisoners, and surrender *Damiata* to the sultan for his own: That all the moveables which the king, the princes, the lords, and, in general, all the *Christians*, should have in *Damiata*, should be there secured by a guard from the sultan, till such time as the king should send shipping to transport them whither he pleased. That all the sick, and those who had any affairs at *Damiata*, might remain there in safety till they were in a condition to be removed; and that then they might with freedom retire whither they should please: and, that the sultan should give those who went by land, a convoy until they arrived at some place in the possession of the *Christians*.”

The great officers of the *Mamluks* or the army, which the late *Egyptian* sultans had so impolitically established, looked upon this treaty as having been concluded only to leave the sultan at more liberty to ruin them. Their suspicions were increased when they saw *Moadbhem* send four galleys for *Lewis*, the two counts his brothers, and all the principal personages of his attendance; which carried them to a temporary kind of a palace the sultan had built upon the banks of the river; where he received them in person, and entertained them with great magnificence for some days. The treaty being ratified, *Moadbhem* was at less pains than ever to conceal his dislike to the *Mamluks*, who were entirely attached to the person of *Sajr al Dor*. He had, after winning the battle of *Mansurah*, which, according to the *Moslem* authors, cost the *French* thirty thousand men, marched to *Fares Cur*, and there he threatened to exterminate them. In this he seems to have been encouraged by the *French*; for, though vast numbers of that nation had died, and been put to the sword, yet there still remained a great body of the knights, and nobility, who could have been of infinite service to *Moadbhem*. This prince's error seems to have consisted in discovering his intentions before he was in a condition to support or execute them. He was even incautious enough to imprison *Fataoddin*, a prince of the house of *Ayub*, for whom many of the *Egyptians*, and particularly the *Mamluks*, still retained a high veneration. *Sajr al Dor*, a woman insatiably fond of power, now saw herself on the brink of ruin; and it was no hard matter for her to make the *Mamluks* sensible of their own danger. A conspiracy was instantly formed, and the chief officers, in a body, attacked the sultan in the temporary palace we have mentioned, which was built of wood, and where he was wounded by *Roknoddin*, one of the conspirators. *Moadbhem*, however, escaped to a tower in the palace; but the conspirators soon set it on fire, and forced him to throw himself into the *Nile*, where he was instantly dispatched.



Constancy and cou-  
 rage of St. Lewis,

*Lewis*, not having yet executed the late treaty, was still in confinement; and, from his prison, he beheld the tragedy acted upon *Moadhdhem*. One of the *Mamluks*, more brutal than the rest, ripped up that unhappy prince's breast, and plucking out his heart, carried it, in a kind of triumph, to *Lewis*. Soon after, the emirs, or officers, who had been actors in the bloody tragedy, rushed with their drawn swords upon him, and his chief noblemen, demanding the immediate execution of the treaty, and that the ransom-money should be paid into their hands; threatening that, if this was denied, they would put the king, and all his attendance, to death under tortures. The magnanimity of *Lewis*, upon this occasion, was astonishing, though his conduct afterwards was somewhat unaccountable; for, while the barbarians were pointing their swords at his breast, he preserved his usual coolness, and told them, that it had never entered his thoughts to depart from what he had agreed to. They then demanded, that, before he departed from the river, he should pay two hundred thousand livres to the admirals. That the count *de Poitiers* should remain their prisoner at *Damiata* till the whole was paid. That, for security of the payment of two hundred thousand livres more, they should keep the sick, the munitions, the arms, and the machines, till such time as the king should discharge this sum in the city of *Ptolemais*. This agreement being made, the infidels, by the advice of some of the renegados, demanded *Lewis* to confirm it by an oath, in which he consented, if he did not perform it, he should be looked upon as guilty of perjury, sacrilege, spitting upon the cross, and renouncing his God, with other terrible imprecations. If *Lewis* was really sincere, in what he had agreed to, no very good reason can be assigned why he did not take this oath, which the rebels thought necessary for their security. But, far from complying, he told them, that he was resolved to suffer a thousand deaths, rather than take an oath attended with tremendous conditions. The patriarch of *Jerusalem* was then seized upon, and bound to a stake, as being the director of the king's conscience, and having inspired him with his scruples; but the patriarch, and all the other casuists of the army, loudly and earnestly advised him to comply; which he as obstinately refused to do. This produced a terrifying scene; for the emirs, ravenous after money, and believing that the *French* intended to deceive them, rushed, with the most dreadful imprecations upon the other prisoners, who immediately fell to confessing themselves, and prepared for instant death. Even this spectacle did not move *Lewis*; he still refused to take the oath: and the chief emirs, by a most sensible turn of mind, thinking that a man, so scrupulously conscientious, was not formed for deceit, all of a sudden desisted from their demands, and accepted of an oath in his own



own terms. This was one of those happy effects that constancy and magnanimity may produce. The infidels forgot procures the *Christian* in the man; they could not help admiring him his such heroic virtue; and *Joinville*, who was present upon the deliver-spot, and was one of those who had confessed themselves for apace, and their death, tells us, that they offered him the crown of an offer of *Egypt*; which he rejected, as having no right to it. We the crown cannot, however, help thinking that he had as much right of *Egypt*. to that as he had to take *Damiata* and to march against *Cairo*; but it appears, from *Joinville*'s own account, that *Lewis* was a little staggered with the offer; and, perhaps, if he could have accepted of the sovereignty, consistently with the exercises of his religion, his other scruples would easily have been removed. He even went so far as to consult *Joinville* himself how he should behave on the occasion. *Joinville*'s answer was sensible and honest; for he dissuaded him from trusting to villains, whom he had seen murder their own sovereign: the king, however, according to *Joinville*'s own representation, was far from being of the same opinion, and only stuck upon the article of religion.

The truth is, there is great reason for doubting, whether the emirs of the *Mamluks*, who made this offer, were *Moslems* or idolaters; as most of the *Tartars* and *Turks* in the interior parts of *Asia* were. It is certain, that, in filling up the throne, they proceeded in a very extraordinary manner, for they gave the diadem to *Shajr al Dor*, who immediately took the title of *Omm Kaled*, on account of her son, named *Kaled*, whom she had by *Nojmoddin*. This extraordinary deviation, however, from all the maxims of *Turkish* policy, did not last long. The emirs deposed *Omm Kaled*, and raised to the crown *Moez Azzoddin*, the chief of their own body. *Omm Kaled*, notwithstanding her deposition, still retained her influence; and, in a short time, *Moez*, or, as he is called, *Azzoddin Ayber*, was deposed in his turn; and a child of six years old, *Al Ashraf Musa*, a great-grand-son of *Camel*'s, of the family of *Ayub*, was raised to the throne. This revolution seems to have been effected by the means of *Omm Kaled*; for *Azzoddin* was appointed regent during the prince's minority, and married *Omm Kaled*; by which he secured his power against all opposition.

In the mean while, *Lewis*, the king of *France*, continued *Damiata* to be treated by the *Mamluks* with infinite respect. They surrendered every day expressed their admiration of his virtues, by playing all their musical instruments, and mounting guard, before his apartment; and *Azzoddin Ayber*, who, by his post of regent, had as much power as when he was upon the throne, not only confirmed the treaty that had been contracted with them, but caused it to be executed with inviolable fidelity. *Lewis* and his attendants were furnished with ships, which carried them as far as the bridge of *Damiata*.



His queen, who, with the duke of *Burgundy*, and some other *French* noblemen, who was then in that city, had heard of her husband's captivity with inexpressible consternation; but she had the presence of mind to engage the garrison, with the *Pisans* and *Genese* who were there with their ships, to defend the place. But the dreadful apprehensions of the power of the infidels, drove her to a very extraordinary expedient for saving her liberty and honour: for she engaged, under the sanction of an oath, an old knight of eighty years of age, who attended her, to cut off her head if the place should fall into the infidels hands. One *Geoffrey de Serginès*, a *French* knight, was commissioned by *Lewis* to deliver up *Damiata*; and the queen, the patriarch, and the duke of *Burgundy*, with all the garrison, went in shipping to *Acon*. As to *Lewis*, we are told that the villainous *Mamluks*, who had him in custody, deliberated whether they should not put him and all his attendants to death; but that the fear of *Azzoddin Aybeck*, and of losing the remainder of his ransom, prevented their barbarous intentions; and twenty thousand of their troops escorted him on foot to the galley, where he embarked with his brother and his chief officers, and followed his queen to *Acon*. The count *de Poitiers* was detained at *Damiata*, as a pledge for the payment of the first moiety of the stipulated sum; and, so scrupulously honest was *Lewis*, that he refused to leave his galley till it was raised: but, after all his efforts, thirty thousand crowns were found wanting to compleat it. *Lewis* applied for this sum to the *Knights Templars*, who were excessively rich in ready-money, but they refused to advance any, upon pretext that they could not dispose of the joint-property of their order: but *Lewis*, conscientious and religious as he was, laughed at this excuse; and, finding the *Knights* obstinate, he sent *Joinville* with a strong hatchet to bring away the money. *Joinville* would punctually have executed his orders; but, when the *Knights* found the king was determined to be obeyed, they furnished the money; upon which the count *de Poitiers* was set at liberty.

*Naser* invades *Egypt*,

About this time, the revolutions that had lately happened in the government of *Egypt*, encouraged *Naser*, prince of *Aleppo*, and then one of the most powerful princes of the house of *Ayub*, to invade that country. His first step was to march to *Damascus*, which he took possession of; and some of the chief *Mamluks* of *Egypt* gave him an invitation to receive that crown. *Naser* accordingly marched forward, being at the head of a very strong army, and attended by ten princes of the house of *Ayub*, and penetrated into *Egypt* as far as *Al Cara*, where he engaged and routed the troops sent against him by *Azzoddin Aybec*. But the inconstant *Egyptians* soon deserted *Naser* in such numbers, that *Azzoddin*, in his turn, entirely defeated him, and punished with death such



such of the emirs as he found to be in his interest; so that *Naser* returned with great disgrace to *Damascus*.

As inclination and affection had no part in the marriage between *Azzoddin* and *Omm Kaled*, that ambitious princess conceived a mortal aversion for her husband, only because he shared with her the government; and he entertained a like hatred for her. She had found, however, the art to engage the *Mamluks* on her side; and, having intelligence that *Azzoddin* intended to be divorced from her, she procured him to be murdered with their knives or daggers; or, as others say, to be drowned in the *Nile*. His death was revenged by his son *Al Mansur*, who, assisted by his mother and some of the chief emirs, killed the wicked *Omm Kaled*, and threw her body to the dogs, after she had pounded to dust all her jewels and precious stones. It does not clearly appear, after her death, what became of the young sultan *Al Asbraf Musa*, whose authority was confirmed by a patent from the khalif of *Baghdad*; for we are told, that, as soon as *Omm Kaled* was put to death, *Al Mansur* was declared sultan of *Egypt*.

*Moslasem*, all this while, continued khalif of *Baghdad*; and, though a very weak prince, he exacted from his subjects greater marks of respect than had ever been paid to the greatest of his predecessors. It was with difficulty that the greatest of the *Moslem* princes were admitted into his presence; and his avarice was so great, that his riches drew on his ruin. He ordered a stone to be placed before his palace, and a velvet curtain to be hung up before the door of his apartment; and obliged all who approached him to knock their foreheads against the stone, and to rub their eyes with the velvet. But his pride soon came to a fatal period. *Hulacu*, brother to the chief khan of the *Tartars*, then presided over the western part of that immense empire. The name of the chief khan was *Muncaca*; and, tho' no prince in all the east was exempted from paying him homage and tribute, yet his reign was very mild; and his impositions, especially upon his own subjects, moderate. We have already hinted, that the successors of the great *Jenghiz Khan*, were, in fact, either *Christians*, or well affected to *Christianity*. *Hulacu*, in imitation of the great *Jenghiz Khan*, was intent upon conquests; and, favoured by his brother, he raised a vast army, but without any determined scheme how to employ it. At first, he thought of falling down upon the *Lesser Asia*, and penetrating into the fruitful dominions of *Poland*; and, from thence, into *Russia*: but, as his army must have been exposed to great wants and difficulties, by those enterprizes, *Naseroddin*, a famous mathematician, who had resided at the khalif of *Baghdad*'s court, but had retired from thence in disgust, informed him how practicable it was to make himself master of *Baghdad*, *Syria*, and those provinces which formed the garden of the world.



Adven-  
tures of  
*Hatem*,  
king of  
*Armenia*.

*Hulacu* was encouraged to this enterprize by many circumstances. *Hatem*, the *Christian* king of *Armenia*, had thrown himself under the protection of *Muncaca*, who insisted upon his doing him homage in person. As *Hatem* was obliged to pass through the territories of the *Seljuks* of *Rum*, with whom he had great differences, he disguised himself like the groom of his own ambassador, whom he pretended to send to the khan's court, for a pass, or a safe conduct. In this disguise, *Hatem*, without being discovered, performed a great part of his journey; but, when he came to *Aryencan*, a travelling pedlar, who had resided in his dominions, knew him, as he was leading a horse after an ambassador, and called upon him by his name; upon which the ambassador gave the pretended groom a box on the ear, asking how he durst presume to resemble a great prince. After this, *Hatem* proceeded undiscovered to the khan's court; and, it is very probable, he contributed greatly to *Hulacu*'s undertaking the expedition against *Baghdad*.

The *Isma-*  
*elians*, or  
assassins,  
subdued,

But *Hulacu*'s chief hopes of success lay in a difference which, at this time, sprung up between the *Shiites* and the *Sonnites* at *Baghdad*. The former were patronized by *Mowadoddin*, the khalif's vizir; and the latter, by *Abubekr*, his son; who seized by force the chief of the *Shiites*, and threw them into prison; while the khalif, immersed in voluptuousness, and immured within his palace, was kept in a profound ignorance of all public transactions. *Hulacu* was no stranger to what was passing at *Baghdad*; but kept his intentions to attack that city a profound secret. He lay, for forty days, encamped with his great army in the plains of *Samarkand*, where he lost two of his brothers. Various accidents, and the inclemency of the season, prevented him, all that year, from advancing against *Baghdad*; but, not to be wholly inactive, he resolved to chastise the *Ismaelians*, or assassins, who were now become the nuisances of the world; insomuch that they went under no other term than that of *al melahedan*, or, the wicked. The name of their prince was *Roknoddin*; and, as he knew he was no match for *Hulacu*, he used various expedients to pacify him; and would have thrown himself under his protection, and done him homage in person, if his subjects would have permitted him. *Hulacu*, upon this, sent his generals, who besieged and took the *Ismaelian*'s forts, which were very numerous, one after another; and *Roknoddin*, at last, found means to escape to *Hulacu*. As that prince acted but in a subordinate character to his brother, the great khan, he did not venture of himself to put *Roknoddin*, or any of his family, or followers, to death; though he was fully convinced that their impieties deserved it. Instead of that, *Roknoddin* expressing an extreme desire to throw himself at the feet of the great khan, *Hulacu* permitted him, with nine of his subjects, to repair, under an escort, to the *Mogul* court. But, when they arrived there, the chief officers of  
the



the escort gave *Muncaca* such disadvantageous impressions of *Roknoddin*, that the latter was refused an audience, and ordered to return to his own dominions, and to surrender two forts which still held out against *Hulacu*. Upon this *Roknoddin* began his journey back to his capital *Hazwin*; but his punishment having been pre-consulted between the great khan and his brother, he was put to death upon the road, as were all his friends and family at *Kazwin*, by *Hulacu*'s orders, and about twelve thousand of his troops; by all which severities, this detestable race was almost exterminated.

While this terrible, but necessary, piece of justice, was performing, *Hulacu* took care to conceal his main view; he even sent ambassadors to *Baghdad*, and demanded from the khalif, as a tributary to the *Mogul* throne, an assistance of troops to extirpate the *Ismaelians*, those pests of all society. The indolent khalif referred his messengers to his vizir *Mowadoddin*, who proved both a traitor and an enthusiast. Being wedded to the sect of the *Shiites*, he had conceived an invincible hatred for *Abu Bekr* and the whole house of *Al Abbas*, and resolved to ruin them. With this view, he entered into a secret correspondence with the *Tartar* ambassadors, and, by their means, with *Hulacu* himself; to whom he discovered all the weakness of his master, and of *Baghdad*; promising his assistance in subduing them, if he would be but speedy in his approaches. *Hulacu* was, at this time, at *Hamadan*; and, though he both despised and hated the treacherous vizir, yet he resolved to avail himself of his correspondence; and *Mowadoddin* was not wanting, on his part, in lulling his master into a fatal security. The khalif, at that time, had an army of seventy thousand men on foot, which he could easily have increased to double that number, through the long tranquility which his dominions had enjoyed. But the vizir, instead of increasing this army, or rendering it fit for action, persuaded the khalif to disband a great part of it, because he had nothing to fear from the *Tartars*. This advice was extremely agreeable to the khalif's indolence, as well as avarice; and the vizir even found means to send the most experienced officers of the army to posts at a great distance from *Baghdad*, where they could be of no service to that capital.

*Hulacu* understanding how affairs were situated, immediately divided his army, and gave the command of one half of advances it to *Bayeju*, with orders to pass the *Tigris*, and to invest one part of *Baghdad*; while he himself, in person, invested the other; and then he fell, like a tempest, into the *Babylonian Irak*. The infatuation of the khalif and his people, on this occasion, is almost without a precedent in history. *Baghdad*, and the character of khalif, had so long been held in veneration; its state of affluence, pleasure, and respect amongst all the neighbouring princes, was such; and the power of the house of *Al Abbas* was deemed to be so great; that it was thought



Security  
of the  
khalif.

thought impossible for any prince to entertain the least notion of invading them : but, above all, *Baghdad* itself, next to some cities perhaps in *China*, was, at this time, the most populous place in the world. All this being represented to the khalif, by his treacherous ministers and ignorant courtiers, increased his security. Many of his emirs and ministers, however, who had seen the world, and knew the nature of the *Tartars*, represented to him the danger he was in. At last he was, with great difficulty, persuaded to send ambassadors and presents to *Hulacu* ; but the *Tartar*, despising the quality of the former, and the value of the latter, would receive neither ; and insisted upon the khalif sending either the general of his army or some of his chief ministers, to receive his commands in his camp. But all of them refused to obey him, and he was obliged to send plenipotentiaries of an inferior character, whom the *Tartar* again dismissed with contempt. Notwithstanding all this, the vizir still continued to amuse the khalif, by telling him, that, if the *Tartar* should ever enter the city, the women and children were numerous enough to destroy them, with stones and bricks from their windows and tops of their houses.

Insolence  
of his fa-  
vourites.

By this time, *Bayeju* had passed the *Tigris*, and had begun to invest *Baghdad* on that side ; while *Hulacu* had advanced by *Holwan* almost as far as the gates of the city. Here he made prisoner *Al Halabei*, a nobleman of *Baghdad* of some consequence ; and likewise engaged him, by a faithful promise to spare his life, to endeavour to bring about a surrender of the city. *Halabei* accordingly wrote to his friends in the city, to render them sensible of their danger, and the vast power of the *Tartars* under *Hulacu*. His letter being taken into consideration by the infatuated khalif, and his favourites, they returned *Hulacu* an answer, railing at him for presuming to attack the holy house of *Al Abbas*, who held their empire from *God* alone ; but promised him, by way of favour, that, if he would withdraw his troops, and return peaceably to *Hamadani*, they would endeavour to prevail with the dowaidar, or general of the army, to obtain his pardon, from the commander of the faithful, for his wicked and presumptuous invasion. This insolent answer being treated by the *Tartar* with proper contempt, he proceeded in his preparations for the siege. At last, the khalif was so far roused out of his lethargy, that he ordered the dowaidar to put himself at the head of all the troops he could raise, and to attack *Bayeju*, who was still encamped on the western side of the *Tigris*. But the dowaidar having intelligence that a strong reinforcement under *Sunjak*, another general, was advancing to join *Bayeju*, he marched against *Sunjak*, over whom, at first, he obtained an advantage ; but *Bayeju* hastening to *Sunjak*'s assistance, restored the fight ; and both armies fought, for almost a whole day, without any apparent advantage on either side.



side. When the *Moslems* withdrew to their camp, which was situated on the banks of the *Tigris*, the *Tartars* observed that they lay upon a spot that had been won from the bed of that river, and was secured from inundation by a vast mound. Nothing was too arduous for those barbarians not to attempt. In the night time they pierced this mound, by which the camp of the *Baghdaders* was laid under water, and almost the whole army was either drowned or cut in pieces, their general escaping, with but a few attendants. This disaster was, in part, concealed from the khalif, who thought he had gained a victory, upon seeing his general return safe. The khalif's army destroyed.

It was now the middle of *January*, but the severity of the season did not discourage the hardy *Tartars* from completing their lines of circumvallation around *Baghdad*. The interruption of the *Baghdaders* was such, that we know of no interruption the besiegers met with, though their lines on the eastern, as well as the western parts of the city, consisted of a high wall, strengthened by a ditch, and in that wall were placed their battering and fire engines. There is here a seeming, but, perhaps, no real contradiction, amongst the *Moslem* authors; for some of them say, that the siege continued two months, before the khalif so much as knew of it; and others, that it lasted only three weeks. We may, however, reasonably suppose, that the former speak of the time when *Hulacu* first appeared before *Baghdad*; and the latter, from the time of his completing his lines of circumvallation, when all intercourse, between the city and the adjacent country, was cut off. The siege of *Baghdad* continued.

When the circumvallation was completed, the khalif began to be more sensible of his danger; and he sent two of his chief ministers, with some presents, to *Hulacu*; and, at the same time, offered him his submission. The *Tartar* received and dismissed them with disdain, and demanded, that the vizir and the general should be sent to treat with him, together with *Soliman Shah*, who seems to have been one of the khalif's sons. Some demur was made to this demand, and the siege going vigorously on, the khalif, at last, dispatched his treacherous vizir, and the general, to treat with *Hulacu*. The general being afraid of the *Tartar*, refused to proceed, and returned to the city; but the vizir was received with vast caresses. We are given, however, to understand, that the siege was now so far advanced, that *Hulacu* was above treating, and demanded nothing under an absolute submission: for though he gave the vizir, and his two sons, their liberty, yet he put the other noblemen, and their attendants, under an arrest. In the mean while, the inhabitants of *Baghdad*, who had been so secure, that, to use the eastern expression, the oven was heated, as usual, every evening, and morning, ran from one extremity to another; for they were no sooner sensible of their danger, than they



who pre-  
pares to  
storm the  
city,

which he  
takes, and

purs the  
khalif to  
death.

Hei. 656.  
A. D.  
1258.

they sent out deputies to make their absolute submission to *Hulacu*. But the like submission not having been made upon the part of the khalif, and his court, *Hulacu* disposed every thing for taking the city by storm. He proceeded, notwithstanding, in a manner not very usual with barbarians; for, after making his enemies sensible that it was impossible for them to hold out longer, he ordered billets to be shot into the city, to inform the inhabitants, that he would spare the lives and effects of all the nobility, the descendants of the house of *Ali*, and, in short, of all who did not oppose him; and he left the khalif at liberty either to reside in his own palace, or to take refuge in the *Tartar* camp. It does not absolutely appear, that his offers were accepted, for we are told, that the khalif's eldest son bravely defended the gate of *Calwad*, where he was posted, and where he was killed, together with a great number of his friends; but that prince's generous example had no influence upon the degenerated *Baghdaders*, and gave the *Tartar* a pretext for retracting his offers. Upon a signal given, the walls were mounted, and the city was taken by storm. The thoughtless khalif then perceived he was undone. Being deserted by his army, his people, his nobility, and all but his own family, his wives, and children, eunuchs, and other domestics, he sent a message, desiring *Hulacu* to take him under his protection. The *Tartar*, at first, was inclined to grant him this favour; but, for what reason we know not, the unhappy khalif was stopped at the gate of *Calwad*, and ordered to return to his palace, to which *Hulacu*, soon after, repaired in person. He found the khalif prepared to receive him, at the head of his family, his servants, and eunuchs, the whole amounting to about one thousand; and all his riches, which were immensely great, were exposed before *Hulacu* in costly vases. The *Tartar*, insensible to avarice, instantly gave orders that they should be distributed amongst his officers and soldiers; which was accordingly done, and the city itself was abandoned to be plundered for seven days, ending on the 14th of *February*.

Hitherto the *Tartar* had proceeded with little of the spirit of a barbarian; and it is, perhaps, impossible, at this time, to discover the motives of his after conduct. Having become master of the khalif and of his dominions, he knew not how to dispose of his person. If the truth was known, perhaps it will appear, that the intolerable insolence of the khalif and his court had so greatly disgusted the *Tartars* and *Moguls*, as rendered it unsafe for *Hulacu* to spare his life; be that as it will, it is certain, that the khalif was put to a most barbarous death; for he was sewed up, either in a bull's hide, or, according to others, a felt bag, and dragg'd through the streets of *Baghdad*, till he expired. Some authors say, that his surviving son, or sons, suffered the same cruel death, at the same time, the 14th of *February*.

Before



Before we proceed to make any reflections upon the fate of this khalif, and the extinction of the mighty house of *Al Abbas*, it is highly proper that the reader should be informed, that authors differ greatly in relating some of the circumstances that attended this catastrophe. *Khondemir*, the Persian historian, and *Abul Faraj*, an historian of great credit, who was cotemporary with *Hulacu*, are not agreed in their accounts; but, when they are rightly considered, their difference serves, in the main, to strengthen the representation of the facts which we have preferred. *Khondemir* says, that a slave, one *Atude*, who seems to have had a great deal of the enthusiast in his composition, if we are to believe that historian, was the instrument of *Hulacu*'s success against *Baghdad*. According to him, the *Mogul* army proceeded with so much barbarity, after they entered upon the khalif's dominions, that they destroyed all the fruits of the ground, without leaving subsistence even for themselves; so that *Hulacu* was upon the point of raising the siege of *Baghdad*. But this *Atude* having, by means of a dream, conceived a strong notion, that the sovereignty of the house of *Al Abbas* was drawing to a period, and that he himself should become master of *Baghdad*, he shot an arrow, with a billet fastened to it, addressed to *Hulacu*, into the *Mogul* camp, informing him, that, if he would demand from the khalif, that he (*Atude*) should be sent to him, he would discover to him the means of subsisting his army for a whole month. *Hulacu*, thinking he could suffer nothing by the experiment, made the demand accordingly; and the slave was sent to him. It happened, that his master was the governor of *Yakuba*, where a great magazine of corn had been laid up, or, as is the custom in many parts of the east, deposited in pits. *Atude* being brought before *Hulacu*, discovered to him this important secret; and a detachment being sent to *Yakuba*, the intelligence was found to be true. If we except the mention of the dream, which there is no manner of occasion for supposing, there is nothing in this relation that is not highly probable to be performed by a cunning, sensible slave, such as *Atude* seems to have been; for he came to be so greatly in *Hulacu*'s favour, that he made him governor of *Baghdad*, the taking of which he thought he owed to his discovery. What *Mircond* relates concerning the slaughter made in *Baghdad*, and its neighbourhood, upon this occasion, may serve to give us some idea of the power of the late khalif, who was killed in the 46th year of his age, and the 17th of his reign; for he says, that no fewer than one million six hundred thousand people were put to the sword; a number, perhaps, double of all that *London* and *Westminster* contains at this time. This excessive populousness may, however, be easily accounted for, when we consider the natural advantages of the climate and situation of *Baghdad*, and the *Babylonian Irak*; that it was surrounded by the riches,

Great numbers killed.

1759.

both



both natural and commercial, of the whole world; and that the khalif's dominions enjoyed a state of tranquility, while all around them were scenes of blood and rapine; and that the inhabitants of the adjacent countries retir'd, with all their wealth, to them, as to an asylum, from the calamities of war.

Reflection  
upon the  
decline  
and ruin  
of the kha-  
lifat.

Thus we have seen the extinction of an empire, at one time greater than that of *Rome*, or of any, till then, known in the world. The principles upon which it was founded, and the frame of its constitution, were more admirable, and would have rendered it more durable, than any in history, against all rebellions of their own subjects, had it not been for two misfortunes, which, at first, embroiled it, afterwards, weakened, and, at last, ruined it. The first was, the early conceived difference between the *Sunnites*, and the *Shiites*; or, as they have been already described, the adherents to tradition, and the adherents to the descendants of the house of *Ali*; of whom there never wanted a competitor. But this misfortune, great and troublesome as it was to the khalifs, was not, perhaps, sometimes, without its use, since it obliged them to the practice of many virtues, both moral and political, which an open, secure despotism, might have made them forget; and hence it was, that no single line of monarchs in history, can produce so many virtuous, great, and accomplished princes, as that of *Al Abbas* can.

The second misfortune we are to take notice of, was, the fatal error which some of their most indolent princes, though otherwise good men, fell into, of employing foreign mercenaries for their body guards; by which, though they sometimes enjoyed a deceitful security, yet they were, in the end, ruined: and nothing could have hindered the khalifat from being overthrown, long before it was, but the attachment to *Moslemism*, which those mercenaries, by degrees, fell into, and thereby looked upon themselves as, at least, the spiritual subjects of the khalif.

Parallel  
between  
the khalifs  
and the  
popes.

The reader will naturally form, in his own mind, a comparison between this *Asiatic*, and the *European*, pope. The constitution of the khalifat, under the house of *Al Abbas*, had, however, one great advantage over the *European* popedom: for the government of the former being hereditary, and the succession in the breast of the reigning khalif, who generally made his successor to be recognized in his own life-time, the disputes were but few, concerning the succession; which was far from being the case in the pontifical government at *Rome*.

On the other hand, this advantage was greatly counterbalanced, by the khalifs coming to their power at a time when youth and vigour prompted them to all private excesses, for they seldom were openly indecent; and those excesses, at last, sunk into habitual indolence; which, in fact,

was



was the failing to which their government owed its declension, and, at last, its ruin. This seldom was the case with the *European* popes, who were, generally, men matured in age and experience, and past the sensual enjoyments of life, at the time of their election. The khalifs, in one sense of equity, had a great superiority over the popes: for though, to their very latest existence, they exercised an undisputed claim of disposing of the greatest monarchies of the east, yet all those monarchies had been, at one time or other, the properties of their predecessors; and the possessors of them had at no time disputed the califs right to be their lords paramount. This was far from being the case with the popes, who claimed the disposal of the crowns from their spiritual authority only. It is likewise remarkable, that, even the last khalif, who is looked upon as being one of the weakest princes of his race, reigned with far greater exteriors of state and veneration, than the proudest pope, perhaps, ever could arrive at; for, besides the circumstances of pomp we have already mentioned, and to which the greatest *Moslem* princes submitted, we are told, that, when he went abroad, he wore a mask, or a veil, as if his subjects were unworthy to look upon his face; that all the streets through which he passed were crowded, and that balconies, from whence he could be seen, were hired, at exorbitant rates. This exterior of pride, and mad pomp, was extremely disgusting to the hardy *Tartars*, whose princes, though equally, and more, powerful, chose to display their magnificence in camps, and fields, in receiving ambassadors, or tributaries, and in other acts of a sovereign's duty. The eastern historians observe, that it was this disgust of the *Tartars*, that drew upon the khalif and his son the terrible fate they met with. But, in fact, according to the same historians, had not the khalif's indolence, and want of knowledge in the world, suffered him to be imposed upon by his vizir, he might have bid defiance to all the power of the *Tartars*, who found the conquest of *Baghdad*, after all, to be a much more difficult task than they had imagined.

We have, in the preceding part of this history, introduced all the material events that happened amongst the princes who succeeded to the chief provinces of the antient khalifat, and, consequently, of the greatest part of the then known inhabitable part of the globe; as it comprehended all *Asia*, to the very heart of *India*, *Africa*, and a great part of *Europe*. The facts we have omitted, are neither of authority, nor importance enough, to claim attention. Upon the whole, the method we have observed is such, as does not subject our readers to the double expence and fatigue of reading the same facts over again, under other titles. We shall, therefore, pursue the same plan in the history of the vast empire of *Jenghiz Khan*, and his descendants, which will comprehend that of infinite numbers of



of people, which we have had yet no opportunity of introducing; and, though the incidents are more striking than any to be found amongst the *Greeks* and the *Romans*, yet they have been, till, but very lately, totally unknown to *Europeans*; and the collections that have been made of them, in general, are so dry and disgusting, that they can be read; neither with pleasure nor instruction, by any but compleat masters of the eastern languages and geography.

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*The History of Jenghiz Khan, the founder of the Mogul empire, who began his reign in the year 1205.*

Introduction.

**W**E are now to attempt the history of the greatest conqueror that history mentions; or, perhaps; that the world ever produced. A conqueror, in fortune, power, magnificence, and extent of dominions, far superior to *Alexander*, and to all the monarchs, either of the eastern, or western empires. A conqueror, whose titles it is hard to describe; they being so various, and so numerous, that each claimed the preference of the other. The reader may perceive, that, to avoid the disagreeable task of repeating the same things over and over again, we have purposely, in the history of the khalifat, omitted any particular mention of this great man's actions. We cannot, however, enter, with propriety, upon his history, without giving the reader some general idea of the country whence he sprung, and which we shall just touch upon, as the particulars of climate, situation, produce, manufactures, rivers, hills, and the like, belong to the province of the geographer, rather than the historian.

*Tartary*

Neither is it our business to examine, minutely, whether the antient *Scythians*, and the *Tartars*, were the same, or what were the boundaries of their respective nations. The very accounts given us by historians, of the *Scythians* being a wandering, restless people, roving from clime to clime, through the immense plains of *Asia*, and the bordering countries of *Europe*, render it almost impossible for any author to write, with precision, upon this head; neither is it material to this history. It seems, however; certain, that the old *Romans* were absolute strangers to the greatest part of *Tartary*; and it was but in this, and the last century, that, by the labours of czar *Peter*, of *Russia*, and the munificence of *Lewis XIV.* of *France*, modern *Europeans* have obtained any adequate idea of this vast country.

described. *Tatary*, or as, in compliance with the general custom, we shall call it, *Tartary*; the native country of the *Mungls*, or, as we shall, for the same reason, call them, *Moguls*, is bounded, on the east, by the eastern ocean; and is separated, on the west, from *Russia*, by the *Caspian Sea*, and the



the rivers *Jaic*, and *Tobol*; on the north, the *Russian Siberia* Described is its boundary; and the kingdoms of *Khowarajm*, *Bukaria*, *China*, and *Korea*, on the south. Hence, according to geographers, it contains eighty-six degrees of longitude, or is in length, from west to east, three thousand six hundred miles; and eighteen degrees of latitude, or is in breadth, from south to north nine hundred and sixty miles, where broadest; though, where narrowest, not above three hundred and thirty. There is, however, the strongest reason for believing, that the antient *Tartary*, in the time of *Jenghiz Khan*, and before it, was of a much greater extent; and that it was curtailed into its present bounds by the *Russians*, *Chinese*, and other nations. *Tartary* is divided into east and west; the latter is the most considerable for extent, and, from its inhabitants, the *Moguls*, it is called *Mongalia*. On the south of it lies the famous *Chinese* wall. The *Kobi*, a most enormous sandy desert, secures it on the west and north-west; on its east lies *Eastern Tartary*, and, on the north, the country of *Kalkas*; a region said to be as large as *Tartary* itself, but almost unknown to *Europe*: nor, indeed, can the division and boundaries assigned by us to *Tartary*, be entirely depended on, though they are taken from the best informations.

Before the time of *Jenghiz Khan*, the *Moguls* were but one tribe, amongst many, who inhabited the *Western Tartary*; but that being his tribe, it became the general denomination of all the *Western Tartars*. Notwithstanding the variety of tribes and hords amongst them, it is plain, from their language and manners, that they are all of them, originally, the same people, and had the same ancestors. In short, the *Moguls*, whatever some authors may pretend, was, in the time of *Jenghiz Khan*, a nation of *Tartars*. According to travellers, this nation, though strong in their persons, had very ordinary features; and though they are, at present, barbarians, yet it is certain that, during the time of *Jenghiz Khan*, they had a regular government, well built cities, and they knew the use of letters, of a particular form; which they cut upon boards; but it is hard to say at what time they lost all this politeness; for many of their monuments are yet extant, with these characters inscribed upon them; and though some of their cities, public buildings, and monuments, which are far from being inelegant, were found, yet all of them were uninhabited. Their religion, in the time of *Jenghiz Khan*, seems to have been deistical; but they afterwards became idolaters, and many of them *Mahometans*. Their government seems to have been, in a great measure, patriarchal, great respect being given to the father, or the eldest *Mogul*, of a hord, or tribe. But a number of those being corporated together, are subject to a khan, or head, who is, generally, elected out of a particular



particular family, and a number of those inferior khans are subordinate to one of greater authority.

Origin of  
*Temjuin.*

The original of *Jenghiz Khan*, like that of *Alexander*, and other great conquerors, is run up to divinity itself; nor shall we, after *Fadlallah*, his most genuine historian, trouble the reader with the ridiculous pedigree that has been drawn up for him. The name of his father was *Yessuki*, a prince of a martial disposition, and, from his being the head of a small territory amongst the *Moguls*, became the chief, or commander, of a great hord, which he composed out of the inferior ones he conquered; and which were, all of them, commanded by warriors of great reputation. This small government lay near to *Naymins*, and to *Karakoram*, the chief city of the *Kobi*; and *Yessuki* distinguished his family by the denomination of *Kayat*. Being provoked by a prince, or khan, called *Temujin*, he marched against him, and cut his troops in pieces. Upon *Yessuki*'s return, his favourite wife, called *Olon Ayka*, was, about the year of Christ 1163, brought to bed of a son, whom all authors agree to have held in his hand a piece of coagulated blood, when he came into the world. This was looked upon, by the learned men in astrology and divination, to be an omen that the child would prove a great warrior; and his father, in commemoration of his late victory, gave him the name of *Temujin*, and put him under the tuition of *Karasher*, one of the wisest men of his dominions. The chief khan of all *Tartary*, at this time, was the emperor of *Katay*. To him, all the khans, between *Mount Altay* and the *Eastern Tartary*, and even *Togrul*, the khan of the *Koraites*, paid tribute. *Yessuki* entered into war with the emperor *Katay*; in which he was taken prisoner, and it was with some difficulty he escaped, after a long imprisonment. Upon his return home, he found his son, young *Temujin*, greatly improved in the exercise of arms, and, though he was then but thirteen years of age, he married him to the daughter of *Tieri*, the khan of *Nayman*; in hopes of acquiring, by that match, an useful ally against his enemies. But *Yessuki* being cut off in the flower of his age, reaped no fruits from his alliance. He left behind him five sons, and a daughter, and named *Temujin* to the command of the hord. His youth occasioned his neighbours, and some of his subject hords, to put themselves under the protection of other chiefs, who declared war against *Temujin*. His mother had then the conduct of the affairs of the hord, and proved to be a wise and spirited princess; for, by her good management, she raised the reputation of her son's power so much, that several of the revolted tribes returned to their duty under him; so that the young *Temujin*, attended by his mother *Olon*, who acted in person as one of his generals, took the field, with an army that marched under the banner of a horse's tail. This army seems to have been raised amongst native subjects of *Temujin*, and obliged

His mother's  
good management.



obliged to serve him in the war; being distinct from those hords who were obliged only to pay him tribute. But we are not to look upon this as having been very great, if, as his historian *Abul Gazi* tells us, all the hereditary subjects of *Yessuki* (but exclusive of tributaries) did not amount to forty thousand families. *Taychat* and *Jemuka*, the two chiefs to whom the disaffected hords had revolted, were at the head of thirty thousand men. Besides his mother, *Temujin* was attended by a chief called *Porji*, who was only thirteen years of age, the head of the *Orla* hord. After a bloody battle, in which the young *Temujin* gave surprizing proofs of his judgement and courage, he remained conqueror; *Taychat* being killed, and *Jemuka*, with difficulty, escaping. He is victorious.

The circumstances of this victory were so glorious, that *Temujin* grew into great reputation all over *Tartary*. *Taychat's* great hord, and extensive lands, came under his power; and *Potu*, a chief of a powerful people lying on the banks of the *Argun*, married his sister *Tumalic*. As to *Temujin* himself, young as he was, he discovered an amazing greatness of soul, by the rewards and honours he bestowed on those officers who had served him best; for we are told, that he made them ride upon his own horses, and gave them magnificent presents of habits, and other accommodations. His liberality.

But his character and accomplishments soon procured him such envy, that confederacies were formed against him amongst the neighbouring hords; and fortune, it seems, was not always upon his side. This drove him, in the fourteenth year of his age, to seek to strengthen himself by a powerful alliance, and he married *Purta Kujin*, one of the most beautiful ladies in all *Tartary*, daughter to the khan of the *Kongorats*, and related to *Togrul*, the khan of the *Koraites*. The differences amongst historians leave it doubtful, whether this was the lady to whom he was contracted, or, as some say, married, in his father's life-time. She had a son to him the first year of her marriage; but her young husband being upon an expedition, having left her at *Nairon Kayat*, she was surprized and carried off by the *Markits*, his enemies, but restored to him by *Togrul*, who had a regard for *Temujin's* father, and used to call *Temujin* himself, son. His distresses.

This lady, on her return home, was delivered of a second son: but the confederacy against *Temujin* must have ruined him, had it not been for his own great address, for, being taken prisoner by the tribe of *Tanjut*, he again made his escape, and threw himself under the protection of *Togrul*, the prince of the *Koraites*, who lay under the greatest obligations, while he was in the like distressed circumstances, to *Temujin's* father. Before *Temujin* left his own dominions, he appointed his uncle *Utejkin* his regent, and prevailed with his mother to marry *Buzrak*, a man of eminence, and the head of a hord; and his alliance proved, afterwards, extremely serviceable to *Temujin*. He throws himself under the protection of the khan of the *Koraites*.



Account  
of that  
prince.

he proceeded to the capital of *Togrul*, which was called *Karakorum*, at the head of six thousand men; whom he devoted, together with his own life, to the service of *Togrul*.

*Togrul*, though subject to the king of *Katay*, was, notwithstanding, a prince of great power and merit; but had come to his throne after prodigious encounters, with his own brothers, and other relations. The *Christians* in his dominions met with so much encouragement, that he is said to have been himself a *Christian*; and pompous accounts of his piety, as well as power, under the title of *Prestor John*, had been forged by the *Nestorian* monks, who appear to have given the same title, to almost every prince in *Asia* or *Africa*, who have favoured the *Christians*. *Togrul* received *Temujin* with extraordinary affection; employed him with great success at the head of his armies; declared him the first man of his court, and, at last, gave him his daughter in marriage, in preference to *Jemuka*, the same chief who had been at war with *Temujin*; with whom, we are told, the lady was violently in love. In short, *Temujin* appeared at *Togrul's* court as a sovereign allied with him; which has made some historians omit mentioning that he sought his protection. All this preheminance, however, raised our hero a great number of enemies at the court of *Karakorum*.

*Temujin*  
and he  
serve the  
emperor  
of *Katay*.

Notwithstanding this, he had leisure enough, by the assistance of his mother, his uncle, and his father-in-law, who all of them served him with great zeal, to retrieve his domestic affairs, and to reduce all the hords who had rebelled against him, to their duty. But *Temujin* had soon occasion to discover himself in a higher sphere; for the emperor of *Katay* summoned *Togrul* to his service, against a powerful rebellion; and *Togrul* was attended to the field by *Temujin*. They attacked the rebels with such valour and success, that they gained a complete victory; and the king of *Katay* created *Togrul*, vang khan, which answers, in the *Chinese*, or *Katayan* language, to sovereign prince; while he gave *Temujin*, who was then not above twenty-two years of age, a great command in his army. Those glorious distinctions, conferred by so great a sovereign, upon the two *Tartar* chiefs, increased the confederacy which had been already formed against *Temujin*, and was headed by the vang khan's brother. The most powerful hord in this confederacy was the *Markits*, and these calling in to their assistance the *Tayuts*, they were afterwards joined by many other hords; and their chiefs meeting together in secrecy, upon horseback, they resolved to attack the vang khan, as well as *Temujin*. Upon this occasion, the ceremony of the oath, by which they bound themselves, was very peculiar; for, all of them drawing their swords, they cut in pieces a horse, a wild ox, and a dog, with the following words: "Hear, O God, O Heaven, O Earth, the oath we swear against the vang khan, and *Temujin*; may the man amongst us become as

Remark-  
able form  
of an oath.

"one



“one of those beasts, who shall spare them, when once occasion serves; when he shall fail in his promise to destroy them; and when he shall take their parts against their enemies.” This conspiracy, though kept very secret, was revealed, by a *Kongorat* chief, to the two princes, who were at that time lying with their armies at some distance from one another. The *Naymans*, who were parties in the conspiracy, headed by their khan *Tayun*, and by *Erkekara*, the vang khan’s brother, had the good fortune to surprize him, and drive him out of his dominions, after a bloody battle; which gave to *Erkekara* the throne of the *Koraites*, and to his soldiers the plunder of the city *Karakorum*. A few of the vang khan’s soldiers, however, escaped; and they, with his son *Sankin*, retired to the most inaccessible parts of *Tartary*, while the vang khan made the best of his way towards *Temujin*, whom he found lying upon the borders of the *Tanjuts*, advantageously posted, with a body of thirty thousand men, half of whom were *Koraites*. This last circumstance, with the superior dignity of the vang khan, made *Temujin* resign to him the chief command. Their enemies were very numerous, and the main body of the vang khan’s army being headed by himself, *Temujin* took upon him the command of the right wing, and the left was commanded by a *Korait* general; their front being extended as far as they could, and their baggage, with their beasts of burden, were placed behind all. The whole of *Temujin*’s army is said to have been formed out of thirteen tribes. A battle ensued, in which the conspirators, chiefly by the valour of *Temujin*, were totally defeated.

The vang khan retrieves his affairs.

It is uncertain whether this confederacy, or rebellion was finished by this action. From the complexion of historians, who differ in dates, and speak of different actions with much the same circumstances attending them, it seems as if this battle had been decisive; for the vang khan was soon after restored to his throne. As to the conspirators, the chief of them were thrown alive into seventy caldrons of boiling water, where they perished; their estates were plundered, and their subjects either led into slavery, or incorporated with the victorious army.

*Temujin* now became formidable to his neighbours; and, tho’ we cannot ascertain the facts from any positive informations that have come to our hands, yet he seems, from his first outset in life, to have had the acquisition of all *Tartary* in view. *Jamuca Bograk*, another great chief of the *Naymans*, and brother to *Tein*, the chief of the *Kongorats*, and almost all the great princes of the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, except the vang khan and *Tein*, who was father-in-law to *Temujin*, appear to have been of that opinion, by their repeated conspiracies and great armies they formed against him. On the other hand, *Temujin* was forming his army by his own example; and we are told of four intrepids he had amongst his generals, who

Great progress of *Temujin* in war.



Conspi-  
racy  
against  
him,

is disco-  
vered and

defeated.

were his favourites, whose names were *Mubuli*, *Porchi*, *Porokona*, and *Chilakona*; to these a fifth was added, who was a stranger and a fire-worshipper. Historians have mentioned a singular league, or family agreement, which was at this time entered into between the vang khan and *Temujin*; and, that they not only promised each a daughter to the other's son, but that the same intermarriage should continue ever after; but peace being restored by the restoration of the vang khan, *Jamuka* visited that court. Being a prince of great penetration and address, and finding that nothing in the way of arms could be done against *Temujin*, he applied himself to *Sankun*, the son of the vang khan; and found no great difficulty in impressing him with notions of *Temujin*'s dangerous ambition; and he insinuated, that not only all the vang khan's misfortunes had proceeded from *Temujin*'s management, but that the latter was plotting how to set him aside from the succession. *Sankun* brought his father, who was naturally of a suspicious disposition, into the same way of thinking; and it was therefore resolved, that *Temujin* should be put to death; or, according to others, that his person should be secured. But it was difficult to execute this design. *Temujin* had, upon his side, the greatest part of the *Koraité* army; and he commanded, in a separate body, his own guards, who were all of them heroes, and chosen out of the bravest tribes of *Tartary*. It was therefore resolved to find a pretence to send *Temujin* with his troops, which consisted of no more than six thousand men, to some distance from *Karacorum*; which was accordingly effected. *Sankun* then wrote to *Temujin*'s father-in-law, to acquaint him, that he was ready to assist him in putting his wife's son to death, which would open his way to the throne. The father-in-law was generous enough to acquaint *Temujin* of this; and, in the mean time, *Temujin* had an invitation from the vang khan to repair to his court, that the marriages they had concluded upon might be celebrated. *Temujin*, having been before apprized by his father-in-law, evaded the invitation; and the vang khan, suspecting that his design was discovered, resolved to surprize him unawares. *Temujin* had the good fortune to be apprized of this likewise; for, being extremely well beloved, two domestics belonging to a chief officer of the vang khan's court, informed him, that, while they were bringing milk to their master's tent, they heard him declare the vang khan's intention, to his wife. Upon this, *Temujin*, who was not very ready to credit all that had been told him, decamped, but left his tents standing, and took possession of a very strong pass. He had scarcely departed, when the vang khan's troops, under the command of *Jamuka*, fell upon his tents; which finding empty, to their great surprize, they traced his march to the pass where he had encamped; a battle ensued, in which *Temujin* was victorious, as he was in several others fought some days after.

This



This war drew the attention of all the princes of *Tartary*, who were divided, some taking the part of *Temujin*, and others of the vang khan. *Temujin*'s allies having joined him, he ordered a horse to be killed in the river *Panchuni*; and, taking a draught of the water mixed with blood, he swore, that he would share the sweet and the bitter with all who followed him; imprecating, at the same time, that he might become like the water he had drank, if he violated his oath. This solemn engagement attached all his friends and followers very strongly to his interest, and the hord of the *Kunlurats* soon after joined him, as did a great number of the *Koraites*, who were enamoured with his courage. Notwithstanding this, *Temujin* was extremely averse from continuing the war, and sent several messengers to the vang khan, sometimes upbraiding him for his ingratitude, and sometimes offering him terms of accommodation. The vang khan could not deny the charge of ingratitude; but, as the war had been undertaken by the advice, and at the persuasion, of his son, he entered upon no treaty. Upon this, *Temujin* went to his own native dominions, and calling together a grand assembly of all his followers and allies, he proposed shaking off their subjection to the *Koraites*. The assembly agreed to this proposal; and the vang khan, finding how dangerous his situation was, absolved the *Markits*, one of the most powerful *Tartar* hords, from their tributes; in hopes thereby to keep them firm to his interest. All *Tartary* was now involved in war. The vang khan, by his son's advice, continued inexorable to all terms of peace proposed to him by *Temujin*. On the other hand, *Temujin*'s allies had so great an opinion of his abilities, that they gave him the *topuz*, or batton of command. But *Temujin*, before he would accept of it, exacted from every one of them a military oath, promising that they would be obedient to his orders. This oath was cheerfully taken; and the consequence was, that the vang khan was totally routed, and lost forty thousand men in one battle. Upon this, finding that his retreat to *Karakorum* was cut off, he was obliged to throw himself under the protection of the head of the *Kongorats*, who, in all probability, was, at that time, the son of *Temujin*'s father-in-law. There the vang khan was put to death; some say, with the privacy, or at the command, of the prince of the country; while others pretend that he highly disapproved of the deed.

After the vang khan's death, *Temujin* became master of his dominions. This great success, next to his own valour, was owing to his vast generosity: he nobly rewarded the two *Tartar* herdsmen who had informed him of the vang khan's design, and preferred all the *Koraites* who joined him, to places of honour and profit. This conduct raised his reputation so much, that even *Hakembu*, the brother of the deceased vang khan, courted his alliance, and offered him his daughter



daughter in marriage. This alliance was equally advantageous as honourable for *Temujin*; but perceiving that one of his favourite officers was in love with the princess, he bestowed her upon him in marriage: but at the same time he expressed himself in the most grateful and polite terms, with regard to the vang khan, and threw the blame of all the differences he had with him upon *Jemuka*. That prince, after the vang khan's defeat, had retired to the dominions of the prince of the *Naymans*, whom he persuaded to make war upon *Temujin*. The war ended in the defeats of the *Naymans*, who had suffered *Temujin* to advance too far into their country. *Jemuka*, whose hatred to *Temujin* was unalterable, in this war was made prisoner, and had his head cut off.

Great  
power of  
*Temujin*.

His laws,

*Temujin* was now the most powerful prince in *Tartary*, and, in a short time, he subdued the *Markits*, and several other tribes who were jealous or envious of his glory. He was now called the grand khan, and almost all the tribes of *Tartary* acknowledged him for their sovereign; and he pitched upon *Karakorum* to be the capital of his empire. But *Temujin* was not only the greatest conqueror, but one of the greatest legislators, that ever lived. Finding himself the absolute master of *Tartary*, or, as it is called, *Mogulstan*, he composed a body of laws, religious as well as civil, by which the belief of one supreme being was strictly enjoined; and all his people were divided into subordinate classes, according to their different degrees of preheminance and merit. In short, he formed a new code of laws, the great lines of which were agreeable to the truest policy; but, though he was absolute, he did nothing in a despotic manner; for he had established a privy-council, whom he consulted upon all his institutions.

and re-  
markable  
form of  
his inau-  
guration.

*Temujin* was perfectly sensible of the vast effect that exterior have upon the human mind, and his next care was to be solemnly inaugurated. To prepare the way for this, he employed one of his fathers-in-law, who affected the reputation of a prophet, and being a man of singular abstinence and sanctity, was believed to be such by the common people. This person, whose name, we are told, was *Kokza*, predicted a long train of happiness to *Temujin*, and enjoined him to take the name of *Jenghiz Khan*, which, some say, in the *Mogul* tongue signifies the great king: while others affirm, that it alludes to the noise made by a bird of good omen. Be this as it will, it is certain that this pretended prophet obtained such credit amongst the *Moguls*, that they firmly believed they were destined to be the greatest people in the world under *Jenghiz Khan*; and they laid aside all kind of thought or care but to equip themselves for acting under his banner. *Temujin* and his emissaries having thus artfully worked them into this belief, he assembled a great council, or, what may be called, a parliament, consisting of all his own relations and the chief princes of his empire, clothed in white,



white, as *Temujin* himself was. This assembly was held in the open fields. *Temujin*, who was placed on a rising-ground, but upon a plain form, opened it in a speech, full of that eloquence which distinguished him far above all his subjects. The chiefs of the assembly then displaying nine banners of command, they being divided into nine bodies, chose him for their emperor; and their election was signified to him by placing him upon a piece of black felt, where the speaker of the assembly harangued him, and told him it was through *God* alone he held his power, and that the Almighty would prosper him if he governed his subjects with mercy and moderation; but that, if he did not, he would render his person and memory black and despicable, as the felt which was under his feet.

This significant ceremony being over, seven of the principal khans elevated and placed him upon a throne, in the midst of the assembly, where he was proclaimed and recognized as emperor, first by all the princes and great lords present, and then by the whole body of the people, all present bowing their knees nine times before him. The new emperor was not wanting on his part, in declaring his resolution to answer the highest expectations of his subjects; and gave orders for celebrating a most magnificent festival, which lasted for several days; and we have intimations that the very rich presents he made to some of the principal khans, were no inconsiderable means of his elevation. This assembly was held at *Dilon Ildack*, which is said to have been situated about the source of the river *Oner*; by which we may conjecture it to have stood almost in the heart of the *Western Tartary*; and the title he assumed, on this occasion, was, the grand khan of the *Moguls* and *Tartars*. The time of this assembly is fixed to the year 1205; and the three following years was employed in entirely subjecting the *Naymans*, the *Markits*, and other tribes of *Moguls* or *Tartars*, whose chiefs were dissatisfied with the power of *Jenghiz Khan*.

The empire of *Jenghiz Khan* was thus established over all *Marches Tartary*. In the year 1209, having raised a most prodigious army, he marched southward against the empire of *Hya*; *China*, which, according to travellers, is a kingdom which contained in it *Shensi* all to the north of *Ping-lyang-fu*, as far as *Kya-yu-quan*, the country of *Ortus* and *Etsina*, the country of *Koko-nor*, with that lying between *Kya-yu-quan* and *Shachew*, besides several places to the north and west of *Kya-yu-quan*. The reader, from this quotation, and by throwing his eyes upon the general maps, will easily perceive the impossibility of ascertaining the situation and boundaries of those places and countries. The names we meet with are sometimes *Tartar*, sometimes *Mogul*, sometimes *Chinese*, *Persian*, *Arabic*, and *Indian*; and often five or six words that have no affinity to one another either in sound or spelling, are made use



His great  
successes  
against the  
*Chinese*.

use of to denominate the same place. We know, however, in the main, that *Jenghiz Khan* penetrated into *Hya*, or *China*, through the great wall; and that emperor submitted to pay him tribute. He then took advantage of *Gurkan*, king of *Turkeston*, and the khan of the *Igurs*, who put himself under his protection, to conquer their country; and then he prepared to march against the great emperor of the *Kin*, or of all *China*, who claimed to be lord-paramount of all *Tartary*, and had even received a tribute as such from *Jenghiz Khan* himself. *Yong-tsi* was then emperor of the *Kin*, and an old quarrel had subsisted between him and *Jenghiz Khan*, he having advised the late emperor to put *Jenghiz Khan* to death. The latter, therefore, upon *Yong-tsi's* accession, not only refused to pay him tribute, but reproached the ministers, who were sent to claim it, with their countrymen being so far from having, as they boasted, a son of heaven for their emperor, that they did not know how to chuse a man. This brought on a general war, which divided all that vast country: *Yong-tsi* marched prodigious armies to the strongest posts of the great wall; and *Jenghiz Khan*, with *Edihut*, the prince of *Igur-chepe*, a chief of great power, with many others, who had courted his alliance, drove their enemies from those posts, and penetrated into the very heart of *Kin*, or *China*. *Jenghiz Khan* was then joined by *Leyw-ko*, who swore allegiance to him, with one hundred thousand men, and who declared himself emperor of the *Kitan*, a people who were at that time oppressed by the *kin*. In the year 1212, a great battle was fought between *Jenghiz Khan* and *Yong-tsi's* general, who, though at the head of three hundred thousand men, was entirely defeated; but *Jenghiz Khan* after that besieging *Tay-tong-fu*, a place of great strength, was wounded, repulsed, and driven out of many advantages he had obtained.

Revolu-  
tions in  
*China*.

The truth is, the scenes of *Jenghiz Khan's* actions were now greatly altered. Instead of attacking hords, tents, and open villages, as in *Tartary*, he was making war on a country full of well-fortified towns, and flourishing in all the arts of life. He knew, however, how to avail himself even of his enemy's virtues; for he soon became their master in their art of war. *Hujaku*, general to *Yong-tsi*, emperor of the *Kin*, was a wicked and an ambitious man; and, having been disgraced for some time by *Yong-tsi*, after he was reinstated in his command, he was so far from opposing the progress of the *Moguls*, that he marched his army against the imperial palace; where he seized the emperor's person and put him to death: but not being able to persuade the people to make himself emperor, he raised *San*, a prince of the imperial blood, to the throne. Soon after, he himself was put to death, and his chief enemy was created generalissimo of the *Kin*; while *Jenghiz Khan*, encouraged by the distractions of that empire, was heaping victory upon victory; and, at last,



last, in 1214, he invested *Yen-kin*, the then capital of their empire, and called by others *Pekin*. *Jenghiz Khan's* successes were greatly furthered by vast numbers of the discontented *Chinese*, who flocked to his standards, and to whom he was very liberal both of posts and honours. It was by their assistance he was enabled to form four vast armies, with which he laid waste that whole empire, by far the most populous and the best provided of any that is mentioned in history; nor does the treatment he gave to the inhabitants, especially old men, women, and children, redound to the character of his humanity; for we are told that he caused immense numbers of children to be massacred, as if he intended to extirpate the race of the *Chinese*. The latter, however, at last found some relief in despair; and the armies of *Jenghiz Khan* being greatly reduced, by sickness and fatigues, he accepted of a sum of money, and other costly presents of captives and commodities, and raised the siege of the capital. *San* was greatly blamed for his pusillanimous behaviour, and a rebellion soon after breaking out against him, *Jenghiz Khan* re-entered *China*, and *Lyew-ko* was invited to mount the imperial throne, if he would declare himself independent of *Jenghiz Khan*; but he remained faithful to that conqueror, who again besieged the capital. *San* endeavoured in vain to save it; and, of the two generals who commanded in the city, one of them deliberately poisoned himself; and the other, retiring with his garrison, left all the ladies of the palace to the conqueror's mercy; for which, and for other crimes, he was afterwards put to death.

*Jenghiz Khan's cruelties.*

In the mean while, the *Moguls*, finding no farther resistance, broke into the city, and put to death a vast number of the chief inhabitants, and set fire to the imperial palace, part of which, we are told, continued burning for a whole month. *China.* *San* now perceived himself in danger of being stripped of all his dominions by *Jenghiz Khan*, and applied for a peace; but he found the *Tartar* stood upon terms he could not comply with: and thus the war continued to rage till the end of the year 1216; when the conquests of *Kitay* and *Kourge* were compleated. The name of the general to whom *Jenghiz Khan* owed his greatest successes, was *Muhuli*. *Jenghiz Khan*, who acted, on most occasions, with great pomp and state, had so high an opinion of this officer, that he declared him generalissimo in the presence of all his troops, enjoining them to obey him as they did himself; and, as the badge of his authority, he presented him with a golden seal. After this, *Jenghiz Khan* returned to *Tarary*, where he took some repose in a magnificent palace he had erected there; while *Muhuli* penetrated into *China*, subdued all *Sheu-si*, *Pecheli* and *Shang-tong*. Meeting with an obstinate resistance at *Le-chew*, he gave orders for massacring all the inhabitants; but he was prevailed on to desist from this barbarous intention by one of his



his best officers, who was a native of that city, and offered to lay down his own life to save that of his mother, brother, and the other inhabitants.

**His wars continued.** In the year 1217, *Jenghiz Khan*, having declared his brother *Utakin* his vice-gerent in *Tartary*, put himself in motion against *Kuchluk*, his most capital enemy, and son to *Boyrak*, king of the *Naymans*, and who had got together a body of three hundred thousand *Chinese* and *Tartars* to oppose him. *Kuchluk*, however, was defeated and put to death. This *Kuchluk* had been encouraged and supported greatly by *Mohammed*, the sultan of *Khwarazm*, whom we have already so often mentioned as being one of the greatest princes of the east. This prince was so much alarmed at the progress of *Jenghiz Khan*, that, while the latter was employed in the conquest of *Hya* and *Kitay*, in *China*, he persuaded the *Tartars*, who were the most averse to *Jenghiz Khan's* government, to chuse for their head *Kuchluk*, the prince of the *Naymans*, and the inveterate enemy of *Jenghiz Khan*. The power of *Kuchluk* encreased so much, that all the countries, as far as the river *Sir* and *Amu*, the antient *Jaxartes* and *Oxus*, and on the side as far as the *Obi* and the great river *Jutish*, declared against *Jenghiz Khan*. Besides, *Kuchluk* had found means to make alliances with the *Markits*, and the chief of the *Kipsaks*, and of other tribes living to the north-east of *Samarcand*. He had attacked and stripped *Gurkhan*, *Jenghiz Khan's* father-in-law, of part of his dominions; and *Kudab*, one of the princes of the *Markits*, was making the like progress against *Jenghiz Khan* in other parts of *Tartary*.

Alliances  
against  
him.

His wars  
with  
*Kuchluk*.

The *Chinese*, and the more western historians of those transactions, are not perfectly agreed, whether *Jenghiz Khan* went in person to suppress those insurrections. It seems most probable that he commanded his own army against the *Kitans*, or *Karakatayans*, who had joined with *Kuchluk*, and who were totally defeated, though they composed a body of three hundred thousand men. Mention is here made of *Jenghiz Khan* having visited *Kopanyu*, or *Clene*, one of his *Chinese* generals, who had been wounded; and, when recovered, that he reduced *Bishbaleg*, a considerable city in *Great Bukaria*, situated to the north of *Turfan*. *Jenghiz Khan*, about the same time, sent *Supatay* and *Kamu*, two of his generals, who subdued *Kudab* with vast slaughter of his forces, and abolished the sovereignty of the *Markits*; as did *Burgu*, another of his generals, that of the *Tomats*, a tribe on the frontiers of *China*, which had joined with *Kuchluk*, and whom even *Jenghiz Khan* pitied for the hardships they suffered. As to *Kuchluk* himself, whom *Jenghiz Khan* considered as his capital enemy, it appears that *Jenghiz Khan* sent against him one of his best generals, who is called *Zena* by the western historians, but who probably was the same with *Chepe* above-mentioned; who,



who, after a bloody battle, defeated *Kuchluk*; and, having destroyed all his followers but four, never desisted from the pursuit till he overtook him in the road to *Badagshan*, in *Great Bukaria*, where he killed him and cut off his head.

In the preceding relation, the affairs of *China* are mentioned only in general from their own historians; who, according to the genius of their country, are very dry and jejune in their accounts, giving little more than what may be called the contents of a history; but those so over-run with uncouth names of places and people, who either do not now exist, or, if they do, have changed their names, that it would be equally uninstruative and tiresome to the reader to recount them. It is sufficient to say, that the great empires or *Kitan* and *Hya*, or *Northern China*, had been reduced by *Jenghiz Khan*; and, that he was absolute master of all *Tartary* and great part of *Bukaria*, and many other countries of vast extent; but whose antient names, as well as precise limits, are now either extremely uncertain, or entirely unknown. But he had a rival of his power in the person of *Mohammed*, sultan of *Khowarazm*. That prince possessed countries which commanded the greatest part of *Proper India*, and its trade. He was master of the finest and greatest provinces of *Persia*, of *Khowarazm*, *Great Bukaria*, *Korasan*, and *Azerbijan*: so that, upon the whole, though the countries which *Jenghiz Khan* commanded, were, perhaps, more extensive, yet they were not so rich, or so advantageously situated for the empire of the east. We are to add to this, that the *Tartars* required to be kept in perpetual action, in order to prevent their revolting; and that the *Chinese* he had subdued, though the most ingenious people in the world, as to domestic arts and manufactures, had little foreign commerce, nor were they of a genius to be employed out of their own country.

Upon the whole, therefore, *Jenghiz Khan* resolved, if possible, to detach the sultan of *Khowarazm* from his alliance with *Kuchluk*; and, for that purpose, he sent him a deputation, at the head of which was one *Jalazi*, to offer him his friendship; and promising, if it was accepted, to look upon him, the sultan, as his son. *Jalazi* being admitted to an audience of *Mohammed*, the haughty *Khowarazmian* was shocked at the last expression, which he thought intimated a supposed superiority on the part of the khan, he himself being then sixty-three years of age, and therefore was the more provoked at the affront. *Jalazi* either was a *Khowarazmian*, or spoke that language; upon which, *Mohammed*, drawing him aside, made him a present of a very beautiful vest, ornamented with jewels, and desired him to tell him sincerely the meaning of so disrespectful a message. *Jalazi* then assured him of his master's great conquests; but the *Khowarazmian* stopped him short, by putting him in remembrance of his own unbounded power and dominions. The manner in which the sultan



Artful  
turn given  
by an am-  
bassador.

sultan talked, made *Jalazi* perceive that he had mistaken his character. He gave an artful turn to his discourse, and acknowledged the *Khovarazmian's* superiority in power; but pleaded, that the khan being his master, he was, as his ambassador, obliged to obey his orders, and serve his interests; and concluded, that the khan was sincere in his professions of friendship. The submissive manner in which *Jalazi* spoke, reconciled the sultan to his person, and the subject of his embassy; one great object of which was, the introduction of foreign commerce into the dominions of *Jenghiz Khan*, of which they were, at that time, very destitute. In short, *Jalazi* prevailed with *Mohammed* to suffer some of the *Khovarazmian* merchants to return with him, that they might trade in the dominions of *Jenghiz Khan*; and *Mohammed* loaded him with presents, both for his master and himself.

The kha-  
lif *Naser's*  
corre-  
spondence  
with *Jeng-  
biz Khan*.

We have, in the history of the khalifat, recounted the differences that subsisted between this great sultan and the khalif *Naser*, whose dominions were then providentially saved from the sultan's invasion. It appears that, tho' *Jenghiz Khan* was a *Deist*, and despised *Mohammed*, yet the khalif, in resentment of *Mohammed's* treatment of him, kept up a correspondence with *Jenghiz Khan*; and, we are told, that he sent him an envoy whose credentials were wrote upon his head with the point of a needle and indigo (as was the common practice, at that time, in the eastern countries, and was to be read when the head was shaved) inviting *Jenghiz Khan* to invade the *Khovarazmian's* dominions. *Jenghiz Khan* was sensible of the importance of the khalif's alliance, and assistance, which was likewise offered him; but *Mohammed* having, by this time, made himself master of the great empire of *Gazna*; and his army, which was very numerous, being reputed to be composed of the bravest troops in the east, he thought proper to delay declaring himself at that time: he intimated, however, to the ambassador, that a fitter opportunity might soon present itself, which he would not fail to lay hold of. Thus the negotiation ended.

*Moham-  
med* jea-  
lous of  
*Jenghiz  
Khan*.

For a year or two after the alliance was formed between *Jenghiz Khan* and *Mohammed*, the tranquility amongst the subjects of the two empires was so great, that it grew into a proverb, That a man might travel through their dominions, with his hands full of gold, without fear of being robbed. But *Mohammed* was not of a disposition to continue this harmony. As he grew in power, he became more jealous, and less respectful towards the khan. He even connived at many indignities and injuries offered, in his dominions, to the *Mogul's* subjects; and, at last, he seized part of *Kushluk's* dominions, from which he drove the *Mogul* troops, who held them for the khan, in right of conquest. Even this insult did not break into the moderation of *Jenghiz Khan*, who, it seems, found vast advantages from  
the



the commerce his subjects carried on with those of *Great Bukaria*: from whence he imported into *Tartary* all the products of *Persia* and *India*. By this intercourse, not only the commerce, but the manners, of his *Tartars*, were improved, by their conversing with the *Persians*, the *Sogdians*, and other people, the most learned and polite of any in the east. But, whether some of those *Khovarazmian* merchants had been secretly instructed by their sultan, or were themselves prompted by avarice, they began now to put a much greater price upon their commodities than they had done formerly; which made *Jenghiz Khan* order all their goods to be thrown back upon their hands, to their great disappointment and detriment; shewing them, at the same time, large wardrobes, and magazines, of commodities, he had purchased at a far less expence. He then examined the merchants, the subjects of the sultan, who politely offered to part with their goods at any price, or for nothing, if his majesty did them the honour to accept of them in presents. Upon this obliging answer, *Jenghiz Khan* not only offered them double the value of the merchandize he wanted, but gave them liberty to dispose of the remainder to the best advantage, without their being obliged to make the smallest present to the great officers of his court, or camp.

This proceeding shews us what true ideas *Jenghiz Khan* had of commerce: but he knew that the profits of it consist in the exports which every country makes; and the *Tartars* were, as yet, too unpolished for cultivating the arts of peace, either at home or abroad. *Jenghiz Khan* attempted to remedy this vast inconveniency. He named three officers, all of them subjects of the sultan, whom he had raised to the highest employments of his court, to be his ambassadors deputed to *Mohammed*; but, as usual, one, perhaps, had a pre-eminence over the rest; which may be the reason why some trade writers have said, that he sent only one ambassador. By this time, *Jenghiz Khan* had formed a kind of a trading company within his dominions, which was governed by four directors; and he ordered the ambassadors, and one hundred and fifty of the merchants of this company, to attend the *Khovarazmian* merchants in their return to the sultan's dominions: charging them, at the same time, with a letter to the sultan, full of friendship and affection; but hoping he would give the *Mogul* merchants the same protection and privileges that he gave to the *Khovarazmians*. *Jenghiz Khan*, at the same time, ordered the ladies of his court, and his great officers of state and war, to send agents for themselves, along with the ambassadors and merchants, to buy up such curiosities and commodities, as, perhaps, the merchants would not venture to purchase.

The reader is to observe, that *Jenghiz Khan*, who appears to *Bukaria* to have no refined notions of religion, in consequence of his great plan for improving his commerce and manufactures,



tures, employed persons of all persuasions indifferently, and *Christians* and *Mahometans* were equally welcome to his court, upon their professing that they held the belief of one Supreme Being. This grand caravan, however, going to the country of a *Mahometan* prince, who had not the same free notions, he took care that it should consist mostly of *Mahometans*. He had introduced an excellent police, for the safety of travelling, by ordering guards to be stationed on all his great roads, and those guards, upon this occasion, were redoubled, to protect so rich a convoy from the roving *Tartars*. The merchants then pursued their journey across *Turkestan*, and arrived at *Otrar*, a city of vast trade, situate on the river *Sir*; and governed by one of the sultan's near relations, named *Gayer Khan*.

**Reflection** *Jenghiz Khan*, in all this proceeding, had acted wisely, and according to the received notions of hospitality and intercourse that prevailed in the countries where he governed. But he does not seem to have been sufficiently informed, that, in great trading nations, princes act upon different maxims, and make trade a secret, which is neither to be communicated to, nor practised by, foreigners. *Jenghiz Khan*, likewise, did not act upon the models of the most refined policy, when he raised *Khowarazmian* subjects to high posts in his court; nor would any modern prince in *Europe* be pleased with the like conduct in another. *Jenghiz Khan* acted upon the great lines of common sense and government, without minding those refinements which jealousy and self interest have introduced amongst other states. When the ambassadors, and merchants, came to *Otrar*, *Gayer* received them with great caresses and civilities; but soon perceived that they had immense riches, and understood that they came by trade. He sent advice of this to *Mohammed*, and insinuated, that it was dangerous to suffer, either the ambassadors, or the merchants, to return to *Jenghiz Khan*, after the knowledge they had obtained of his country, and, far less, to proceed any farther; intimating, that, by the discourse he had had with them, they seemed too inquisitive not to have any other views than trade. *Mohammed*, who is said to have cut off the heads of one hundred princes to make way for his ambition, returned *Gayer* such an answer, as amounted to a permission to murder and rob his guests; which he most punctually executed, while they thought themselves in perfect security, no more than one merchant escaping, who carried to *Jenghiz Khan* the news of the massacre. *Jenghiz Khan*, possibly thinking he might be misinformed, ordered three ambassadors, some say only one, to go to *Mohammed's* court; but the *Khowarazmian*, far from giving them any satisfaction, put them all to death.

*Jenghiz Khan*, by the most authentic accounts, had been often guilty of equal cruelty, as that now committed by *Mohammed*;



*Mohammed*; but those acts had not been attended with equal *Jenghiz* intolence, and breaches of hospitality. When he was con- *Khan* vinced of the truth, he was so touched, that he wept for clares war rage; and is said to have spent three days, without eating against or drinking, in the necessary preparations for revenge. He that sul- declared, that he never would put up the sword, till he had tan. punished the sultan for his barbarity; and, renouncing all farther connections with him, he ordered all his allies, and tributary princes, to attend him, with their contingencies of troops, in the field; informing them, at the same time, of the provocation he had received. In a few weeks, he got together an army of eight hundred thousand men, and then he concerted the proper measures for their being subsisted and recruited.

But *Jenghiz Khan* was then going upon the most arduous expedition he had yet undertaken; for he was, now, not to fight with the undisciplined *Tartars*, or the effeminate *Chinese*, but with the terrors of the east, the *Khwarazmian* troops. He, therefore, wisely thought proper to introduce His wife amongst his troops an entire new system of military disci- regula- pline, and it was such, as, when observed, must render any tions. body of men invincible. He subdivided his whole soldiery, first, into tens, then into hundreds, then into thousands, then into ten thousands, and so forth; so that one hundred thousand men contained ten thousand companies, of ten men each, of which every tenth man was the commander; as every hundredth man was the commander of ten of those troops; and so on, to the highest number. If one of those companies was engaged, and the leader offered to fly, he was to be killed upon the spot by those who stood; a regulation which seems to have been intended to keep the whole in a body in case of a defeat; than which nothing could be more wise, or better calculated, for saving an army, or a detachment. He established the same penalty against every man who did not do his utmost to assist his companions, when he saw them engaged in fight, or to bring them off, when prisoners, or overpowered: in short, he made it death for any *Mogul* to retire before his enemy without fighting. *Jenghiz Khan*, at the same time, introduced many useful regulations in the arms, both offensive and defensive, of his soldiers. The bow and the quiver were in use amongst the *Moguls*, as were the sabre, and the battle ax, with some ropes, which they carried to the field, where they were very convenient; as to the lance and javelin, they seem not to have been employed by the *Tartars* of those days; but, as they were of use amongst the *Khwarazmians*, *Jenghiz Khan* ordered all his officers to wear entire suits of mail, or, at least, to have helmets and breast-plates of iron, or leather, proof against the push of a pike, or the stroke of a sword; and such of the common soldiers who could provide the like armour of defence, had the same indulgence. *Jenghiz Khan*, likewise,



likewise, ordered his officers of cavalry who could be at the expence, to case their horses in armour.

in war.

By this last regulation, it appears as if there had been two sorts of armour, one purchased by the officer, or soldier, which was his private property, and the ordinary armour, which belonged to the khan. For, by another ordinance, it is commanded, that soldiers, at the beginning of a campaign, shall receive their arms from their officers; that, during the campaign, they shall keep them bright and in good order, and that, at the end of it, they shall give them back to their officers; it was likewise ordained, on pain of death, that there should be no pillaging, before the general command for that purpose was given out: and that, then, no distinction should be made in the shares of officers, and soldiers, for each should be master of all the plunder he could make, upon paying a certain part of it to the khan's receiver, or collector.

Actions of  
prince  
*Tusht*.

Those regulations being fully established, the khan sent for his favourite son *Tusht*, who was then in *Kipjak*, to be present at a general review of the troops, and to receive his commands, which were, to advance with a large detachment of the army against the remains of *Kuchluk's* party, who were very numerous in *Turkestan*, while he headed the chief expedition, against the sultan, in person. It appears, as if *Jenghiz Khan's* enemies in *Turkestan* had either been dispersed, or joined the main body of the *Khovwarazmians*, commanded by *Mohammed*, and his son *Jalaloddin*; for we know nothing of *Tusht's* actions in *Turkestan*, but that, on his return from thence, he was intercepted by *Mohammed*, with far superior forces. According to the same authorities, *Tusht's* general officers were of opinion, that he ought not to hazard a battle, but make a deliberate retreat, in which the *Khovwarazmians* could not pursue him, but under great disadvantages. The prince thanked them for their advice, in giving which, he said, they had acted according to their opinion; but that he would act according to his, and stand his ground. Upon this, an engagement ensued, in which *Tusht* penetrated two lines of the enemy, and came up with the sultan himself, with whom he had a personal encounter, from which *Mahommed* escaped by the goodness of his buckler. At last, night parted the combatants, and *Tusht*, thinking he had done enough for the glory of the *Mogul* name, retreated, and joined his father, who seems to have been encamped in the neighbourhood. Next day, the battle became general.

A battle,

*Mohammed's* army was four hundred thousand men, but they were all of them choice troops; the place where they joined battle was called *Karaku*, and the apparatus, before the battle, was dreadful and solemn. A trumpet, fifteen feet long, gave the signal of engagement, and that was followed by the sound of timbrels, drums, fifes, and all other warlike



warlike instruments ; both parties addressing themselves to Heaven, according to their different religions ; the *Khowarazmians* being *Mahometans*, and the *Moguls*, *Deists*. *Falaluddin*, the prince of *Khowarazm*, commanded under *Mohammed*, as did *Tusshi*, under his father *Jenghiz Khan*. Both of them behaved with prodigious courage, but *Jenghiz Khan* seems to have made the better dispositions ; for, finding himself unable to withstand the veteran *Khowarazmians*, he took the advantage of the superiority of his numbers, to engage them with fresh bodies of reserve ; so that, notwithstanding the amazing acts performed by *Falaluddin*, when night came on, the battle was still undecided. Next morning, *Mohammed*, upon a review of his troops, perceived in which that he had lost about one hundred and sixty thousand of his men, which disheartened him so much, that he resolved to act, for the future, upon the defensive only. His first care was, to entrench himself, so strongly, that *Jenghiz Khan* did not think proper to attack him. He then, gradually, drew off his troops towards places of strength, but gave the command of a large body to his brave son *Falaluddin*, who entirely disapproved of his father's conduct. For *Mohammed* imagining that the *Mogul*, by attacking one strong place after another, must be gradually so diminished, as that he could have nothing to fear from him, retired to his capital of *Bokhara*, where he gave himself up to all manner of luxury ; while *Falaluddin* retired to *Korasan*, where he made fresh levies, and prepared, once more, to oppose the *Moguls*. It appears from history, that *Jenghiz Khan*, in all his undertakings, availed himself greatly of the mildness and generosity with which he treated all those who put themselves under his protection. The haughtiness of *Mohammed*, and his family, had begot him many secret enemies, who now openly declared themselves against him ; for, we are told, that he was joined by *Aslan*, the prince of *Korliks*, *Idikut*, prince of the *Vigurs*, and *Shakuak*, prince of *Amalik*. His sons, *Tusshi*, *Oktay*, and *Jagatay*, were his head generals, and, under them, served *Elak*, and *Suktu Buka*. *Oktay* and *Jagatay*, with two hundred thousand men under their command, were sent to besiege *Ortra*. *Tusshi* and *Elak* commanded one hundred thousand men, and penetrated into *Turkestan* on the side of *Kipjak*. *Suktu Buka*, at the head of fifty thousand men, marched to *Kojend* ; and *Jenghiz Khan*, with *Tuli*, another of his sons, undertook the sieges of *Bukara*, and *Samarkand*, at the head of two hundred thousand men.

in which  
*Jenghiz Khan* is  
victorious.

His vast  
force.

This irresistible force, which was every day improving in military discipline, was more than sufficient for the conquest of the world, under such a general as *Jenghiz Khan* was, had the duration of human life admitted of such an undertaking. His policy was equal to his power ; mild and humane, where his enemies submitted, but inexorable, when he met



Progress,

and policy

Instance  
of his con-  
tempt of  
*Maho-  
metanism.*

with but the face of resistance. The city of *Zurnuk* having, voluntarily, submitted itself, was received into his protection; but he severely punished *Nur*, another city, for making even a shew of resistance. In the mean while, *Mohammed* was in great distress. Notwithstanding his vast abilities, he had procured himself many enemies, and, amongst others, his own mother, who headed not only a party, but an army, against him. *Pedroddin*, one of the wisest princes in his time, and still famous in the annals of the east, had been so much shocked with *Mohammed's* haughtiness and tyranny (who put to death his father, uncle, and brothers) that he put himself under the protection of *Jenghiz Khan*. He was well acquainted with the state of *Mohammed's* court and army, and, by privately dispersing letters amongst his principal officers, he fomented such divisions and distrusts amongst them, as were of infinite prejudice to *Mohammed's* affairs; and that, perhaps, was the chief reason why he resolved to give himself up to desperate courses; for we are told, that he now plunged himself into all kinds of irregularities. That he might, however, enjoy himself in as much security as he could, he garrisoned *Bokhara*, which lay in the heart of his dominions, with twenty thousand men, and retired, with his vast treasures, to *Samarkand*. *Bokhara*, the capital of *Great Bokhara*, was one of the strongest, and most delightful, places, in all the east. It was so much renowned for producing men of learning, that a *Bokharian* was always understood to be a person of literature. But all the advantages of art and nature could not defend it against *Jenghiz Khan*. The garrison, disgusted, or intimidated by the behaviour of the sultan (after making some shew of resistance) abandoned the place; but were followed by the *Moguls*, and cut in pieces. The inhabitants, upon this, were received under the protection of *Jenghiz Khan*, on condition of giving no harbour or shelter to the sultan's soldiers. He treated them, however, not only with severity, but contempt. He entered their city in a triumphal manner, on horseback, and, riding up to the great mosque, he demanded, with a scornful smile, whether that was not their sultan's palace. Being told it was the house of God, he ordered a chief magistrate of the place to hold his horse, and, mounting the pulpit, he threw the koran under his horse's feet, and then began an harangue, which he pronounced with wonderful eloquence, setting forth, in the style of all enthusiasts, the amazing things that God had wrought for him, with the perfidy, cruelty, and infidelity, of his enemy the sultan *Mahommed*. After this, he talked in a smooth manner to the inhabitants, whom he commended, for putting themselves under his protection, but threatened them very severely, if they did not discover all their effects, and concealments, particularly the sultan's soldiers. Notwithstanding all this, *Jenghiz Khan*, for some reasons that do not appear plainly in history, ordered



dered the city to be burnt down, which was executed with unparalleled barbarity; he likewise ordered all the sultan's soldiers, who were found in the place, to be butchered, and part of the garrison having thrown themselves into the citadel, after a very brave defence, could obtain no other terms than having their lives spared. His barbarity.

While *Jenghiz Khan* was thus victorious in person, he was no less so by his sons *Jagatay*, and *Oktay*, who, as we have already observed, had been detached to besiege *Otrar*, which seems, in fact, to have been the principal object of the khan in this expedition, on account of the barbarous murders committed there upon his subjects. The siege, though little taken notice of in history, was extremely remarkable. *Gayer Khan*, the same who had put the *Mogul* merchants to death, continued still to be governor of the city; the garrison consisted of fifty thousand men, and *Mohammed* sent an additional ten thousand, under the command of one *Hajib*. As *Gayer* knew well, that, if vanquished, he was to expect no mercy, he omitted no means of making a most obstinate defence; and the princes, despairing of success, consulted their father, whether they ought to proceed in this expedition. The answer of *Jenghiz Khan* was entirely in his own character; for he told his sons, that they must fight: though some say, that he went in person and directed the operations of the siege, which is far from being improbable. By the best accounts, they were, at first, very unpromising; for though the *Moguls*, with most indefatigable trouble, brought their battering engines to play against the walls, yet the fire of the besieged destroyed them. But nothing was insurmountable to their perseverance and patience. In five months time, *Gayer* was beat from post to post, and, at last, obliged to entrench himself within the inner fortifications. *Hajib* foresaw that the *Moguls*, in the end, must prevail, and advised a capitulation, which *Gayer* utterly rejected. Upon this, *Hajib*, at the head of his ten thousand men, issued out of the city, and put himself under the protection of the *Moguls*; but they, with almost an unexampled magnanimity, put him, and the chief officers under him, to the sword; as expecting nothing but treachery, from those who could betray their own prince: the common soldiers were made slaves, though some pretend, that they, likewise, were cut in pieces. This desertion, however, facilitated the reduction of the place. For though *Gayer* disputed it inch by inch, and had driven all the useless mouths out of the city, yet he was, at last, obliged to throw himself into the castle; where he defended himself so obstinately, that the whole of his garrison were reduced to himself and other two men. The princes, it is true, could have had little difficulty in cutting off this miserable remnant, had it not been, that the order from *Jenghiz Khan* was peremptory, for taking *Gayer* alive. At last, he was



pent up with his two companions on the terras of his own palace ; where he was supplied by his wife with large stones, which he threw down upon his enemies, till, his strength being exhausted, he was taken, loaded with chains, and put to death. As to the place, the ruins of the walls were repaired, but the castle was demolished, though the city itself was repeopled.

as is Sag-  
nak,

Prince *Tusbi*, after the conquest of *Otrar*, undertook that of *Sagnak* ; which, being a place of great importance for *Jenghiz Khan's* conquests, he would willingly have spared. For this purpose he entered into a parley with the governor, who granted a passport to one *Hassan*, a *Mahometan Mogul*, to treat of an accommodation. But, in fact, the *Khwarazmian* court and officers had inspired their people with a most invincible aversion towards the *Moguls* ; which their appearance was far from contributing to remove. *Hassan* was admitted into the city, but was there put to death. Upon this, *Tusbi* made his troops take an oath that they would revenge his murder. They accordingly stormed the place, and, after putting ten thousand of the inhabitants to the sword, *Tusbi* ordered a magnificent monument to be erected to the memory of *Hassan*. The reduction of *Sagnak* was followed by that of *Uzknut*, the inhabitants of which, afraid of the fate of those of *Sagnak*, voluntarily submitted, and obtained a protection from the conquerors. *Alsash*, which lies upon the river *Sir*, was next summoned to surrender ; and, because it did not obey, but held out for some time, *Tusbi* ordered great numbers of the inhabitants to be put to the sword.

and *Jund*. The next place attacked by the *Moguls* was *Jund*, a city lying on the confines of *Tukeshon*, and near the river *Sir*. This place was of vast strength, and was the inheritance of one *Kutluk*, a prince immensely rich, and strongly prepossessed against the *Moguls* ; but the irresistible progress they had made, daunted him so much, that he retired with his riches through the *Desert* into *Khwarazm*. Upon his abandoning his capital, *Titmur*, a *Mogul* general, and an able engineer, was sent to summon it ; but, though some of the inhabitants were inclined to surrender, the majority were so much prepossessed against the *Moguls*, that he narrowly escaped being torn in pieces. He made observations, however, on the strength of the place, which he perceived must cost a vast deal of blood to reduce ; and therefore, upon his return to the *Mogul* camp, he proposed to make two false attacks, but to plant ladders, and to make the real attack at a third place. This scheme, though by no means agreeable to the *Mogul* genius, after some debate, was agreed to, and proved successful without costing the *Moguls* a single life. This was a happy circumstance for the inhabitants, for no more than two or three, who had personally abused *Titmur*, were put to death ; and the rest, after their numbers had been taken, were suffered to return home.



It is almost incredible, that a barbarous people, like the *Moguls*, used to a roving life, should make so rapid a progress in the art of war, as to subdue the strongest cities in the east. *Tushti* now divided his army into two bodies, each of fifty thousand. The one he allotted for besieging cities, and the other for the operations of the field. His intentions in this were to penetrate into *Kojend*; but before he could do that, the city of *Tonkat*, in *Ilak*, must be reduced. This city was so delightful in its situation and neighbourhood, that it was very frequent then for the inhabitants to say, that, if *God* was to reside on earth, he could not chuse a more beautiful spot to reside at than *Tonkat*. *Elak*, a *Mogul* general of great experience, commanded the fifty thousand men destined for the sieges; and he found himself under an absolute necessity of reducing *Tonkat* before he could penetrate into *Kojend*, it being one of the barriers of *Ilak*. The place was defended by one *Ilenko*, with a *Turkish* garrison; but the inhabitants refusing to stand the siege, the place was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword for presuming to make dispositions for its defence. *Kojend*, a place of vast importance and strength, was next besieged by order of *Tushti*. It was the barrier of *Bokhara* on the side where it lay; and, besides its natural strength, it was governed by one *Timur*, who was justly looked upon to be one of the best officers of the east. As he knew that the storm must fall upon his government after the reduction of *Tonkat*, he had omitted no precaution for its defence; and had rendered all the country round *Kojend* a mere desert. As we have at present very few accounts of those cities, which were then of so much strength and importance, and as even their names are uncertain, it is impossible to ascertain the nature of their operations, though they are minutely described; but, according to the best accounts, they were most dreadful on both sides. The *Mogul* engines discharged even mill-stones against the walls; and *Elak*, who commanded the siege, built a bridge, the abutments of which he afterwards filled up with great stones, to give his men firm footing for their assaults. *Timur*, on the other hand, equipped certain boats, of a peculiar construction, from which he annoyed, with his engines, the *Mogul* camp, which lay along the river. He likewise built a strong fortress, which he garrisoned with one thousand men, and which was a kind of inlet to the city. By means of certain pretended deserters to the *Mogul* camp, he persuaded *Elak* that it would be easy to reduce that fortress, which must be attended by the immediate reduction of the town. The *Moguls* soon found, by their vast loss of men, with what design this advice had been given, and desisted from their attempt; but attacked the city in another manner, with such amazing obstinacy, that *Timur* was obliged to betake himself to his boats, in order to secure his own retreat. The *Moguls* pursued him, and vast numbers

Policy and  
conduct  
of *Tushti*.

*Kojend* be-  
sieged,

and taken;



Valour of  
*Timur.*

of men were lost on both sides. Historians tell us, that on this occasion, *Timur* performed most extraordinary acts of valour, especially when his boats, being forced upon the shallows of the river, were attacked by the pursuers, which often was the case. At last, however, all his followers were cut off, and he was pursued by three *Moguls*, one of whom he shot through the eye, and they all then desisted from the pursuit. Thus escaping, he fled to *Farnakant*; and, having collected some faithful followers, he surprized that city, and cut in pieces the *Mogul* garrison there; upon which he was made governor of the same by the sultan *Mohammed*. It is but justice to the memory of *Timur*, who must be considered as a very extraordinary personage, to follow him to his death. Being the sworn enemy of the *Moguls*, he fought them till they had over-run all *Persia*; and, at last, the admiration of his virtues prevailed with the *Mogul* government to suffer him to retire to *Kajend*, where he found one of his sons living, and had permission to re-enter upon his estate.

His death.

But it had passed, by that time, to other possessors, who became his declared enemies; and who, finding out the *Mogul* officer whom he had wounded in the eye, he was by him shot dead.

Account  
of *Sa-*  
*markand.*

By this time, *Jenghiz Khan* had proceeded within a day's journey of *Samarkand*, then one of the chief cities of all the east, and the capital of *Bokbaria*. The reader, from the modern accounts of this great province and city, can have but a very imperfect idea of its state at the time we now treat of. Tyranny blasts all the bounties of nature: and the inhabitants of this country, fallen, as they are, into a state of slavery, retained only the faint vestiges of power and riches. The destroyers of mankind, however, even at this time, have not been able, as we are told, to destroy all the majesty of *Samarkand*. It still retains its bulwarks; it has a noble castle; its streets are paved; many of its houses are built with stone dug out of neighbouring quarries, a magnificence uncommon to that country; and its neighbourhood is one of the most delightful spots in the east: but the chief glory of *Samarkand* was its noble university, in which some of the greatest men of the east were educated. When *Jenghiz Khan* marched against it, it is said to have been three leagues, or nine miles, in compass; but, in the time of *Alexander the Great*, who, by some, though falsely, is said to have been the founder of it, it was twelve leagues, or thirty-six miles, in circumference. In short, it is represented, at this time, to have been a terrestrial paradise; but so fortified as to render it impregnable to any enemy, but one who, like *Jenghiz Khan*, commanded troops who had no idea of dread or danger.

Its vast  
import-  
ance.

The irruption of the *Moguls* into *Bokbaria*, had rendered *Samarkand* the asylum of all the *Kouwarazmian* subjects; and the sultan *Mohammed* had placed in that city, or its neighbourhood,



bourhood, an army of one hundred and ten thousand men, who were strongly entrenched, to oppose the *Moguls*. It was in the latter end of *May*, 1220, and in the year of the *Hijra* 617, when *Jenghiz Khan* appeared before this formidable city. He was received, on his first approach, by a sally from the troops; and the inhabitants are said to have been so numerous, that the city, large as it was, was unable to contain them. But *Jenghiz Khan* repelled the sally with great slaughter both to himself and his enemies, and encamped under the walls. The garrison was composed of the bravest men in the east, and most of them were *Turks*; so that *Jenghiz Khan*, with all his intrepidity and resolution, must have been baffled in his attempt, had not some differences arisen between the garrison and the inhabitants; who, amongst the other means of defence, had twenty elephants. It is probable, that the dissolute life of the sultan made the chief noblemen and inhabitants desirous of changing their master; for the *kadi* and the *mufti*, with about fifty thousand of the chief personages of the country, presented *Jenghiz Khan* with the keys of the city, imploring his compassion for the inhabitants in general. But the *Tartar*, always acting by invariable maxims, was inexorable, and refused to give quarter to any but those who made an absolute submission to his power. *Alub*, the khan, who governed the city, refused this; and, being still at the head of a very numerous garrison, he formed barricades upon the streets; and, notwithstanding the *Moguls* had got admittance into the place, he disputed with them every inch of the city for four days. But the *Moguls* forcing one post after another, *Alub* saw himself in danger of being massacred, or, which was worse, taken prisoner, by his merciless enemies. Upon this, he and his chief officers, at the head of one thousand resolute horse, broke through the *Mogul* camp and escaped. This with great discouraged the remainder of the garrison, of whom thirty thousand were put to the sword, and, among them, many princes and noblemen of great eminence. Thus this noble city came under the power of the *Tartars*; and *Jenghiz Khan* made a present of thirty thousand of the inhabitants, as slaves, to his officers; leaving the remainder in possession of the city, upon their paying a tribute of about two hundred thousand pounds a year.

Though the loss of *Samarkand* gave a dreadful blow to the *Moham-*  
*sultan Mohammed*, yet he still was possessed of vast resources. *Jenghiz Khan* was no stranger to this, and he sent three of his generals, *Zena*, *Suday*, and *Tegazar*, at the head of three thousand light-horse, to pursue him; with orders to receive the submission of, or to force the same from, all the cities and countries through which they should pass; but not to desist from their pursuit, even though the sultan should fly to *Darbend* and *Shizwan*; and to offer no injury to such places as should quietly submit. The pursuing generals formed their army into three divisions, and each took a separate route.



His dis-  
tress,

and miser-  
able death,

route. *Togazar* marched towards *India*, and the other two took the route of *Korasan*; but all of them were disappointed in the object of their pursuit. *Amin*, however, the governor of *Korasan*, offered to submit to *Jenghiz Khan*; and was received into protection by the two *Mogul* generals, who fell into his territory. *Togazar*, in his return from *India*, pretending he knew nothing of *Amin*'s submission, began to commit hostilities; but the inhabitants had spirit enough to march against him, to defeat his army, and kill himself. Upon this, *Zina* and *Suday* attacked and plundered *Zaveh*, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword; while the sultan fled into the *Persian Irak*: which was, by no means, in a condition to shelter him so well as the province of *Korasan*, which was full of great and populous cities, could have done. The two surviving *Mogul* generals, having intelligence of the sultan's route, followed him to *Nishapur*: which opened its gates to them, as some historians say, upon being summoned: but others pretend the chief inhabitants requested the *Moguls* to continue the pursuit of the sultan; and, that, upon their return, they would deliver up the city. *Mohammed* then fled to *Bastam*, from whence he sent his jewels, sealed up in ten coffers of prodigious value, to be deposited in *Ardahan*, a castle that was deemed to be almost impregnable. Retiring from *Bastam*, he was received by his son *Roknoddin*, at the head of a body of about thirty thousand horse; but, when they came to *Farzina*, they were overtaken by their *Mogul* pursuers; who defeated their army, and obliged the sultan to fly to *Eastadad*, in *Mazandaran*. There he might have been safe against all the power of *Jenghiz Khan*; but his crimes pursued him; the horrible murders he had been guilty of, while in the plenitude of his power, raised him up enemies in every spot during his adversity. A *Persian* nobleman, whose uncle he had murdered, conducted a party of the *Moguls* to a little sea-port town to which *Mohammed* had retired. In this place, after a review of his life, he betook himself to extraordinary acts of devotion, and formed a great many pious resolutions of amendment: but, before he had an opportunity of putting them in practice, he was disturbed by accounts, that the *Mogul* detachments, headed by the *Persian* nobleman, were at hand in pursuit of him. He had, however, time to throw himself on board a small bark; but his pursuers were so near at hand, that they reached it with their arrows. This was upon the *Caspian Sea*; and trouble, fatigue, and anguish of mind, threw the miserable monarch into a pleuretic disorder, and forced him to put into the island *Aboskum*. Here, being in want even of the necessaries of life, he was visited by his son the brave *Jalaloddin*, whom he nominated to be heir of his empire; and at the same time recommended to him an implacable vengeance against the *Moguls*. After this, he died  
in



in a little tent erected on the sea-shore, with scarcely cloaths to cover his nakedness.

Such was the fate of the mighty prince *Mohammed*; but Progress some historians have interlarded his history with immaterial of *Jenghiz* particulars; but with few variations from the general ac- *Khan*. count we have given. *Jenghiz Khan*, at the time of *Mohammed's* death, was at *Samarkand*; from whence he issued the most inhuman orders, even to the massacring the mother, His troops children, and relations of the unfortunate sultan. Being take apprized of his death, he ordered his three sons, *Tusbi*, *Ok-Khwarazm*, and *Jagatay*, to march, at the head of a great army, to *razm*. besiege *Korazm*, or *Khwarazm*, the capital of the great province of the same name. It does not lye within the limits of general history to be particular as to the marvellous beauties which travellers have ascribed to this country and its capital. They would appear romantic, was it not that the stupendous remains of their cities and forts are still to be seen; as well as the evident alterations that the country had suffered from tyrants and barbarians, and even from the courses of rivers and other natural casualties. It retains the same name that is given to it by *Herodotus*, the *Greek* historian; and its prodigious fertility, arising from a great lake, called the *Lake of Eagles*, and three rivers; of which one, *Amu*, is the celebrated *Oxus* of the antients; and the names of the other two are *Kesel* and *Sir*, which render it inexpressibly fertile and rich. To this we are to add, that the inhabitants were reckoned the most polite of any in the east; and, immersed as they were in indolence and luxury, they were so famous for their turn to poetry, that even the cries of their children have, by eastern writers, been ridiculously represented, as having in them somewhat that was musical. But the description of this country is not more romantic than its history. *Korazm*, we are told, at this time, was governed by *Turkan Katun*; which, amongst the easterns, appears to have been a common name for sovereign princesses; and she was the widow of *Takash*, the sultan of *Khwarazm*, of whom we have already given a full account. This lady was the daughter of a *Turkish* prince, and, by her superior abilities, she held an absolute dominion over her son the sultan *Mohammed*; and was a kind of vicegerent to him over his vast empire. But she stained all her noble perfections, the Cruelty of chief of which was her administration of justice, and the di- a sultaness, struction of charity, by her vast cruelty. She is said to have held, as hostages, the children of twelve sovereign princes, whom she put to death when the *Moguls* invaded her son's dominions; and to have been guilty of other acts of inhumanity. She had a great partiality in favour of *Kothboddin*, her grandson; and had even influence enough to prevail with *Mohammed* to disinherit *Jalaloddin* in *Kothboddin's* favour, till that sultan, convinced of *Jalaloddin's* superior abilities, restored him to the succession. This gave her so much disgust, that,



that, abandoning the affairs of government, she left the inhabitants to defend themselves; and fomented a conspiracy against *Jalaloddin*, in which even the *Moguls* were concerned. *Jalaloddin*, upon this occasion, though forced to abandon his capital, behaved with the utmost intrepidity; but, notwithstanding he defeated the *Moguls* in several engagements, he was at last surrounded, and obliged to fly, leaving two of his brothers, and almost all his followers, dead upon the spot. *Jenghiz Khan* endeavoured to avail himself of those divisions amongst the *Khowarazmians*, and gave orders for his sons to press the siege of that capital, with all possible expedition; which they did, and, at last, invested the place. The *Khowarazmians*, however, perceiving their danger, united under one *Himar*, a relation of the late sultana, and bravely despised all the menaces of the *Moguls* summoning them to surrender. It was remarkable, that even the *Khowarazmian* ladies, the descendants, it is more than probable, of the antient *Amazons*, took the field against the *Moguls*, and behaved with as much intrepidity as the boldest veterans: so that the *Moguls* vigorously, but ineffectually, besieged the place for seven months. *Jenghiz Khan* knew not what it was to give up an enterprize; but he perceived, from the slow progress of this siege, that he had been mistaken, in point of policy, when he invested his three sons with the joint command of the siege. The *Moguls* found that it was impossible to take the town without filling up the ditch; which could not be done without turning the course of the river that perpetually supplied it with water. This they attempted to do, and three thousand men were employed upon the work, who were all cut to pieces by the besieged in one night.

*Oklay* This miscarriage might have had a fatal effect upon *Jeng-*  
made ge- *hiz Khan's* affairs, had he not committed the sole command  
neral of of the siege to his son *Oklay*. Under him the canal, into  
the *Mogul* which the course of the river was to run, was finished; and  
troops. the ditch being filled up with rubbish, the *Moguls*, after a  
most obstinate attack, planted their standards upon the wall;  
but were repulsed by the valiant *Himar* and the garrison.  
This served only to redouble the ardor of the *Moguls*; they  
renewed the assault, and at last made a lodgment upon the  
fortifications; while the besieged, under *Himar*, fought their  
enemy, from house to house, through every street of the ca-  
pital. The vast supplies which *Jenghiz Khan* sent to *Oklay*,  
made it soon evident that the city must be reduced. No  
quarter was given on either side; and no fewer than one hun-  
dred thousand *Khowarazmians* are said to have fallen during  
the siege; while some historians double that number.

Generosi- Amongst the besieged was one *Nojmoddin*, a man of so ex-  
ty of a emplary courage and virtue, that even the *Mogul* general  
*Khowa-* *Oklay* sought to rescue him from death. For this purpose he  
*razmian* sent him a message, offering him safety for himself and ten  
officer. of



of his friends. *Nojmoddin* rejected the favour, and *Oktay* increased the number to one thousand; but *Nojmoddin* generously declared, he would bury himself in the ruins of his country, unless all the inhabitants were saved likewise. This could not be granted; and, a general assault being given, both *Himar* and *Nojmoddin* were killed; the city was taken; and the inhabitants who survived the slaughter were reduced to a state of slavery, and distributed, by the *Mogul* general, amongst his troops.

The fate of *Khovarazm* struck other cities and provinces with terror; the conqueror dismantled its fortifications; and the other cities of the country, *Kat*, *Ferabar*, *Dargan*, and *Zamakshar*, submitted to him without resistance. *Oktay*, after this, marched to join his father, who had marched from *Samarkand* to *Termed*; which important city he took after a siege of eleven days, and, as is said, put to the sword all its inhabitants. The country around furnishing abundance of jewels and pearls, the inhuman *Moguls* ripped up the bellies of the people, thinking they had swallowed them; and yet historians have mentioned this mighty conqueror, *Jenghiz Khan*, not only without horror, but with praise. However, notwithstanding the success that attended his own arms, and those of his sons, he met with some checks in *Khovarazm*, where his generals commanded against *Jalaloddin's* officers: but the good fortune of these monsters prevailed in the main. *Nesha*, in *Khovarazm*, which, for its agreeable situation, was termed *Little Damascus*, was by them besieged and taken, and the inhabitants massacred. After this, the *Moguls* besieged *Kaender*, which was reckoned the strongest place in all *Khovarazm*. Some of the richest men in that country had retired thither with their effects, but fled as soon as the *Moguls* began the operations of the siege. The inhabitants, however, defended themselves so bravely, that the *Mogul* general offered to raise the siege, upon their furnishing him with some cloaths, and other necessaries, that his army greatly wanted. The known cruelty of the *Moguls* deterred every one from undertaking to execute this commission after the terms were agreed upon. At last, two venerable old personages went to the *Mogul* camp with the stipulated commodities; and no sooner were they received, than the throats of the two aged deputies were cut.

Barbarity  
and per-  
fidy of the  
*Moguls*.

A nevian, for so the *Moguls* call their princes or generals, termed *Hubbe*, attacked *Damagan* about this time; and, such was the terror which those monsters struck into the inhabitants, that they deserted the place; and after that he took *Amol*, and reduced many places of the *Eastern Tabarestan*, as he did all the *Western*. We have already mentioned *Turkan* History of *Katun*, the mother of sultan *Mohammed*; and her having, out of hatred to *Jalaloddin*, her grandson, abandoned *Khovarazm*, and retired with all her immense riches. For some time, the place of her retreat was unknown; but *Jenghiz Khan*, amongst



Her disgrace and death.

amongst other qualities of a great general, possessed that of having excellent intelligence; and, at last, he discovered that that princess had taken refuge in a fortress called *Hal*. He ordered *Hubbe* to besiege it, which he did for three months, but without effect. He then commanded him to turn the siege into a blockade, and to shut up the place with strong lines of circumvallation; which was accordingly done. The garrison, however, could have held out against every thing but the want of water; which never was known to fail before the lines were finished, so very rainy was the climate; but water failing all on a sudden, struck the garrison with consternation, and they judged it to be a punishment inflicted upon the sultans for her inhumanity. She still might have made her terms, and have been relieved by *Jalaloddin*; but so invincible was her hatred towards him, that she declared, rather than have the least connection with him, she would submit to the worst indignities the *Moguls* could inflict. The strictness of the blockade, and the want of water, at last, obliged her to surrender the place; and with it all her immense riches, with her children and grand-children; and that too without obtaining any terms, or, at least, none that were observed. *Jenghiz Khan* ordered her to be carried to his camp, or court, where he made a mock of her misery, and threw to her scraps from his table; while all her sons, daughters, and grand-children, excepting the youngest, were butchered before her eyes; and, at last, the youngest underwent the same fate. Not contented with inflicting those inhuman mortifications upon this once great princess, her conqueror ordered her to be exposed as a public spectacle thro' those places where she used to appear in her greatest pomp and lustre; but, in the end, he put her to death. It is, however, remarkable, that *Tushtu*, the son of *Jenghiz Khan*, married one of her great-grand-daughters; and the others were betrothed to some of the chief *Mogul* generals and princes. The north and western parts of *Khovarazm* were now reduced by *Jenghiz Khan*, who then laid siege to the city of *Ray*. This place was miserably divided by religious differences; and one part of the inhabitants, without the consent of the other, surrendered the city to their common enemy, who put to the sword all who had opposed them. The conquest of *Ray* was of the utmost importance to *Jenghiz Khan's* arms. The most considerable places to be now reduced in *Korasa*, or rather in the empire of *Persia*, were *Hamadan*, *Kon*, and *Ispahan*. The *Moguls*, however, were not insensible of the beauty and delicacy of their conquests; and enjoyed them, for some time, till they were ordered by *Jenghiz Khan* to proceed to new ones. *Kon* soon fell a prey to them through the religious divisions that prevailed in the place, and most of the inhabitants were put to the sword. *Hubbe* after this laid siege to *Hamadan*, called by the sacred writers *Ematha*, and by the *Greeks* *Ekkatana*. This



This city and neighbourhood, before they were desolated *Hamadan* and destroyed by tyranny, were justly considered amongst taken. the most beautiful objects of the east; and, at the time we now treat of, the place was so strong, that *Jenghiz Khan* gave private orders to *Hubbe* to grant it a capitulation, rather than drive it to extremities. *Hubbe*, accordingly, made an accommodation with *Majedoddin*, the governor of the garrison, to the great disappointment of his troops, who expected to have plundered it; and the more, because the inhabitants had behaved with uncommon haughtiness, a fault that seldom passed unpunished by *Jenghiz Khan*. This great conquest, of *Hamadan*, was followed by the reduction of many other places in *Persia*; in some of which, the barbarous conquerors put fifty thousand persons to the sword.

In the year of the *Christian* æra, 1221, *Jenghiz Khan*, who, Remark- in all his proceedings, observed vast magnificence, exhibited able de- a grand hunting-match in the plains of *Termed*. The man- scription ner of performing it was usual amongst the antient *Scythians*, of a hunt- or *Tartars*, and was lately in practice amongst their descend- ing: ants, particularly the *Scots*. The hunters, to the number of, perhaps, forty, or fifty, thousand *Moguls*, encompassed a large space of ground, within which was the game, of every kind, deer, lyons, elephants, tygers, and all kinds of animals. They then, by degrees, narrowed the circle, by doubling, or trebling the ranks, and kept the prey, which began to grow desperate, at bay, on the points of their arms; after that, they struck up all kinds of martial instruments of music, which confounded the creatures so much, as to bring them into a kind of state of insensibility. The khan and his sons, with other great lords, then advanced with their swords within the circle, and began the slaughter, and, when tir'd, they attended *Jenghiz Khan* to a magnificent tent erected for them, on a neighbouring eminence, where they saw the hunting finished, by the destruction, or taking of the game. But what is most remarkable, is, that we are told this great match continued for four months; till a stop was at last put to the slaughter, by a petition of the princes of the blood to *Jenghiz Khan*.

We have been the more particular in relating this piece Account of rude magnificence, as it will serve to give our reader some of *Balk*. idea of this mighty conqueror's manners, and the means which he employed, in at once amusing, and exercising, his troops. The hunting being over, he resumed the operations of the campaign against the brave *Jalaloddin*, who had taken refuge in *Balk*, a city that lies to the south of the province of *Samarkand*, and east of that of *Proper Bukharia*. The province is about three hundred and sixty miles long, and two hundred and forty in breadth; and, at the time we now treat of, the city was esteemed amongst the richest of all the east, and particularly noted for commerce. It had been taken, by the sultan *Mohammed*, from its lawful prince, who



*Mogul*  
cruelty.

who had been confined in irons; and *Jenghiz Khan*, therefore, imputed it to the inhabitants as a crime, that they had sheltered *Jalaloddin*. They willingly would have made their submission, and have purchased their pardon by immense presents; but the barbarian, intent upon the spoils of so great a city, rejected all their offers, and upbraided them with befriending *Jalaloddin*. In short, he rejected all the rich presents that were offered him, and that people, dreading his resentment, tried to appease him by submission, and opened their gates to his troops. No sooner was the vanguard entered, than the inhabitants were ordered to rendezvous in a great plain, where the young men were selected for slavery, and the more aged put to the sword; and the city, after being plundered, was dismantled of its walls. According to the eastern authors, the riches which the *Moguls* found in *Balk* were incredible. It had long enjoyed peace, with a most profitable trade; and the inhabitants, being remarkable for learning, and the arts, had enriched it with public monuments and buildings; amongst which, are reckoned, twelve hundred temples, and as many baths, besides private chapels, and other public edifices.

*Jalaloddin*  
pursued.

*Talkan* be-  
sieged,

and taken.

Farther  
conquests  
of the *Mo-*  
*guls*,

After this great conquest, *Jenghiz Khan* sent eighty thousand men, under his son *Tuli*, in pursuit of *Jalaloddin*, who had fled to *Persia*; while he himself undertook the siege of *Talkan*. This appears to have been one of the most difficult of all his undertakings. The city, or, rather, fortress, was almost inaccessible, by its situation on a very high mountain, and a numerous garrison, provided with every thing necessary for a most obstinate defence; while the heats of the season, and the rockyness of the soil, put the *Mogul* army under inexpressible difficulties. They were exposed, without shelter, to the wildfire, and the other combustibles, of the besieged; and such numbers of them were killed, that the constancy of even *Jenghiz Khan* himself was put to so severe a proof, that he thought of abandoning the siege: but as that would have been, to him, worse than death, he ordered his son *Tuli*, who had not yet left *Korasan*, to join him, and, in the mean time, discontinued his attacks. But, in a few days, having got together a great number of grappling irons, ladders, and other engines, he renewed his attacks with such fury, that his soldiers, notwithstanding the great slaughter made of them by the garrison, gained the heights of the mountain, and, being perpetually supplied by fresh forces, the place was, at last, after a siege of seven months, taken, with the slaughter of all its inhabitants, before the main body of *Tuli's* army had joined the camp; though, some say, that he received a strong reinforcement from it.

*Jalaloddin*, by this time, was recruiting his troops in *Persia*, and *Tuli* having stopped short, reduced the city of *Korasan*, and marched against *Maru*; a city so delightfully situated,



as to obtain the name of, *king of the world*. Nothing being thought able to withstand the *Mogul* arms, the inhabitants marched out, loaded with rich presents, which they gave to *Tuli*, and offered him the keys of the city. This submission pleased the barbarian so much, that the keys of the city were returned; nor did *Tuli* think it worth his while to throw a garrison into the place: but, no sooner had *Tuli* begun to pursue his march, than one of the *Khowarazmian* generals, *Bukha Turkman* (who, upon the approach of the *Moguls*, had retired to the neighbouring fastnesses with a body of men) seized upon the city, and refused to suffer *Masar*, who was the sultan's governor, and had retired, by his order, upon the approach of the *Moguls*, admittance into it. But *Masar*'s party being very strong in the place, *Bukha*, for the sake of peace, resigned the government to *Masar*, who soon saw himself at the head of eighty thousand men. *Tuli* and his generals began now to perceive the oversight he had committed, in not taking possession of *Maru*, and sent a summons for *Masar* to surrender; but he put the messengers to death. *Tuli*, upon this, on the 24th of February 1221, marched against *Maru* with his whole army; but *Masar* defended himself so vigorously, and made so many sallies, that the *Moguls* lost a vast number of men. Their perseverance, however, was invincible, and, for twenty-two days, they every day renewed their attacks, but were as bravely repulsed by the garrison. *Masar*, however, *Maru* became sensible that he must submit in the end; and though, taken. in one sally, he cut in pieces one thousand of the bravest of the *Mogul* troops, yet he sent presents to *Tuli*, and demanded a capitulation. The barbarian, who began to despair of taking the city, or was in haste to join his father, gave a ready ear to this proposal; for he sent *Masar* a protection for his own person and goods, and for those of four hundred of his friends; but, at the same time, obliged him to deliver in lists of all the rich people of the place. This One hundred being done, the *Moguls*, as was their general practice, ordered thousand the inhabitants to appear in a neighbouring plain, and men where one hundred thousand of them were cut in pieces; massacred. but the rest were saved, and ordered to their respective habitations.

The virtues of the sultan *Jalaladdin* had begot in his subjects a fidelity unusual to the people of the east; and which *Jenghiz Khan* severely resented, whenever he discovered it. Though the city of *Nishapur* had submitted to the *Moguls*, *Nishapur* yet it had secretly raised large supplies for *Jalaladdin*; which taken, as *Jenghiz Khan* discovering, he ordered his son *Tuli* to give over all other enterprizes, that he might march against *Nishapur*, and the city of *Tuz*; which, it seems, had been guilty of the same offence towards *Jenghiz Khan*. The people of *Nishapur*, expecting no mercy, made, for some days, a noble defence; but *Tuli* having prepared prodigious numbers



numbers of battering engines, made a breach, by which his *Moguls* entered, and not only put all the inhabitants to the sword, but destroyed the city, and all the district that belonged to it. It is said that the *Moguls*, after this destruction, had the curiosity to number the dead, which amounted to one million seven hundred and forty-seven thousand persons: but this number, perhaps, includes those that were killed at *Tus*, which was taken and destroyed much about the same time.

vast  
slaughter.

Siege of  
*Herat*,

it is taken.

History of  
*Jalaloddin*

Recruits  
of *Jeng-*  
*biz Khan*.

Such massacres are related with pain, and, indeed, they would seem incredible, had not the like depopulations, in the same places, happened in our own time; an amazing proof of the salubrity of the climate, and the temperance of the inhabitants. But all the places of *Jalaloddin's* dominions were not equally faithful to him. *Herat*, another very populous city in *Persia*, was usurped by one *Shamsoddin*, who was at the head of one hundred thousand men. *Tuli*, however, having intelligence, that *Jalaloddin* had shut himself up in *Herat*, marched against that city, and summoned it to surrender; but *Shamsoddin* put his messengers to death, and bad him defiance. This brought on a vigorous siege, in which the *Moguls* met with repeated repulses, till *Shamsoddin* was mortally wounded with an arrow. His friends, however, prudently concealed his death, and offered to treat with *Tuli* about a capitulation. The barbarian,\* dreading the courage of *Shamsoddin*, readily listened to the proposal, and agreed to ease the inhabitants of half the taxes they paid to *Jalaloddin*. But *Tuli*, perceiving that he had been imposed on, or from some other motive, ordered twelve thousand of the garrison to be put to the sword, and marched, with sixty thousand of his troops, to join his father at *Turkan*.

In the mean while, the unfortunate *Jalaloddin* was hunted from place to place; but, at last, he raised twenty thousand men in the province of *Sejestan*, and, being joined by his uncle *Amer Malek*, who had been governor of *Herat*, with ten thousand more *Turkish* horse, he marched to *Gazna*; where an army of *Moguls* were besieging *Kandahar*, in the neighbourhood. He immediately attacked them, and the garrison of *Kandahar* making a sally at the same time, the *Moguls* were almost all of them put to the sword. It is, at this time, difficult to account for the prodigious recruits which *Jengbiz Khan* must have received, to have compleated his conquests, after such losses as he sustained. But, not to mention the neighbourhood of *Bokharia* to *Tartary*, by which he had infinite supplies from those populous countries, we are to reflect upon the inconstancy of the eastern people; many of whom had been severely treated by *Jalaloddin's* family, and had, in revenge, joined with the *Moguls*. The army before *Kandahar* was no sooner routed, than *Jengbiz Khan* ordered *Kukutu*, one of his best generals, to march



march against *Jalaloddin* with eighty thousand men. But He is opposed by the *Turks* of *Gazna*, and the neighbouring countries, who pressed by were all of them *Mahometans*, had an invincible aversion to the *Turks*, towards the *Moguls*; and, though they had no great affection for *Jalaloddin*, yet they joined him with thirty thousand men. *Jalaloddin*, upon this, attacked *Kukutu* with such fury, that, though the scale of victory sometimes inclined to one side, sometimes to the other, yet the *Moguls* lost the battle, and very few of *Kukutu's* men escaped the slaughter.

While *Jalaloddin* was thus victorious, *Jenghiz Khan* was advancing, with the main body of his army, against *Gazna*; but he was impeded in his march by the garrison of *Bamyan*, who shut their gates against him. This stop was unexpected, and the more vexatious to *Jenghiz Khan*, as he found the country, for some miles round, rendered quite a desert by the inhabitants of *Bamyan*, who had long expected his visit; and, being determined to defend themselves, had removed even their stones, and all the other materials that could be of use in battering the city. Under such circumstances, *Jenghiz Khan* made his approaches with infinite loss and labour: but fortune still befriended him. He found means to bring up other materials, and to erect wooden towers, which, after the manner of the age, he covered with raw hides, to defend them from the combustibles of the besieged, and from which he battered the city; but all to no effect, for his engines were destroyed, and his troops repelled, in every assault. At an infinite expence, he prepared fresh materials, and renewed the siege, but with no better success; and, at last, had the mortification to hear of the great defeat that had been given to his general *Kukutu* by *Jalaloddin*. This news enraged him beyond measure, and, opening his immense treasures, he distributed them amongst his soldiers, to encourage them to renew their attacks: which inspired such an emulation amongst his troops, that a boy, his grandson, the son of *Oktay*, endeavouring to distinguish himself to please his grandfather, who tenderly loved him, was killed. This served only to redouble the fury of *Jenghiz Khan*; and his intrepid perseverance, at last, bore down all opposition; breaches were made in the wall, through which the barbarians rushed, and gave no quarter to the inhabitants. The horrors of the massacre were heightened by the inhumanity of the mother of the boy who had been killed, and whose revenge was so insatiable, that she stood by till the belly of every woman in the place was ripped up, and the throats of all the children cut. In short, the scene was so dismal, that even the hardened *Moguls* gave, to the place, the appellation of the “unfortunate city.” Those transactions are related with some variations; but authors are agreed, in the main, in the facts we have exhibited.



*Jalaloddin* The avarice of *Jalaloddin's Turkish* auxiliaries ruined him. The spoils they had acquired by their late victories were im-  
 ruined by the avarice mense; and they quarrelled about the distribution of them.  
 of the *Jalaloddin* not having sufficient power to adjust their differ-  
*Turks.* ences, they rose to such a height that they left the sultan. They soon, however, became sensible of their imprudence; but it was too late. The vigilant *Jenghiz Khan*, being informed of every thing that had passed, ordered eighty thousand of his troops to seize all the passes, and to cut off all possibility of the *Turks* rejoining *Jalaloddin*, who was obliged to fly towards the river *Indus*, beyond which he had still great dominions; and to leave *Jenghiz Khan* in possession of his capital and province of *Gazna*, which his troops entered without resistance. At this time, according to the most authentic accounts, *Jenghiz Khan*, notwithstanding all his labours and losses, was at the head of three hundred thousand fighting men, with whom he closely pursued *Jalaloddin*, whose army amounted to no more than thirty thousand; and who was likewise encumbered by his mother, wife, and family; all whom he most tenderly loved. He continued, however, undaunted amidst all his calamities; and, finding that he could pass no farther, he chose a spot of ground, formed, by the winding of the river, narrow in front, and flanked on both sides with mountains, where he drew up his army, with the river in his rear. To take from his great officers all hopes of escaping, he sent to the other side the few boats that were upon the river; which, in that place, was remarkably rapid by the contraction of the stream; reserving only one to carry over to a place of safety those dear pledges of affection, his family: but, unfortunately, before it received them, it was, by the violence of the waves, stove in pieces; so that they were obliged to remain in the camp.

He makes a stand with his army. *Jalaloddin*, to compleat his misfortunes, was, at that time, greatly indisposed with a cholic; but, understanding that the van of *Jenghiz Khan's* army had advanced to a certain pass, where he could attack it with advantage, he left his litter, and, mounting his horse, put himself at the head of a select body, and surprized the *Moguls* so critically that the whole van-guard was cut in pieces; and *Jalaloddin* led his men victoriously back with vast booty to his strong camp. This blow stunned *Jenghiz Khan*, and gave him the highest idea of *Jalaloddin's* military abilities. He resolved, however, to attack him at all hazards; and, by the force of money, procured intelligence of a path round one of the mountains, by which he might fall upon the sultan's rear. Thither he sent *Bela*, with a strong body of troops, while he himself made dispositions for attacking the sultan in front. He gave the command of his right wing to his son *Jagatay*, and that of his left to *Oktaï*, and he commanded the centre in person. Perceiving that the situation of the ground did not admit of his



his flanking his enemy, he formed his left wing into a kind of a column, to support his attacks. *Jalaloddin* commanded the main body of his own army, his vizir commanded his left wing, and *Amur Malok* his right. The signal of the Great charge being given, *Jalaloddin* attacked the khan's centre battle with such fury, that *Jenghiz Khan* himself was unhorsed, between him though he was surrounded by six thousand of his bravest and *Jeng-guards*. This created such a confusion amongst the *Moguls*, *hiz Khan*, who thought their khan had been killed, that victory was upon the point of declaring itself absolutely for the sultan, when the detachment under *Bela*, having compassed the round of the mountain, attacked the flank and the rear of the *Khowarazmians*, where they thought themselves most secure, and consequently were least provided for defending themselves. This diversion gave *Jengiz Khan* time to The mount another horse, and to re-animate his troops, who now *Khowa-razmians* attacked the *Khowarazmians* on every hand, and defeated them, after the engagement had lasted for ten hours. defeated.

*Jalaloddin* still continued intrepid, and maintained the fight at the head of a small body of his bravest subjects. His eldest son was taken prisoner, some of his troops threw themselves into a river, and others retired to strong passes in the mountains, where the *Tartar* horse could not follow them. *Jenghiz Khan*, by means of *Bela's* detachment, had now got between the river and the rear of *Jalaloddin's* remaining army, which, we are told, did not exceed seven thousand men; and he issued general orders to his officers, to do all they could to take *Jalaloddin* alive. With this view, he drew up his troops into a semicircular form; which taking from *Jalaloddin* all hopes of escaping, he led his troops upon a desperate attack; and, finding all was lost, he resolved, rather than fall into the hands of so merciless an enemy, to trust himself to the *Indus*, deep, rapid, and almost impassable as it was. But the tender calls of nature carried him to bid adieu to his mother, wife, children, and family. According to some accounts, at the request of the women, he killed them with his own hands, to secure them from the brutality of the *Tartars*; but all his sons were put to death by the inhuman *Jenghiz Khan*. Despair of *Jalaloddin* whose family is destroyed.

This conqueror was one of the most unfeeling monsters that history has mentioned. He admired, and was perpetually praising, the virtues of *Jalaloddin*, whose innocent children he had just butchered; and nothing was more common than for him to say to his own children, pressing his mouth with his fingers, as a mark of serious admiration, "Happy is that father who has such a son as *Jalaloddin*." At other times, he was heard to say, "Happy is the son who can boast of such a father." But these sentiments were so far from mollifying the *Tartar*, that they served only to increase his dread and hatred of the sultan, who behaved, on this terrible occasion, with unparalleled intrepidity; for, soon after the bloody adieu taken of his family, he put off his heavy armour,



*Jalalod-* armour, retaining only his sword, bow, and quiver; and,  
*din's won-* calling for a fresh horse, he plunged him into the river, in  
*derful* the sight of *Jenghiz Khan*, who run down to the bank to be-  
*escape.* hold him. Being perceived by *Jalaloddin*, before he had  
 passed the middle of the river, he reproached him most bit-  
 terly for his cruelty and injustice; and we are even told dis-  
 charged some arrows against him; and then again commit-  
 ting himself to the strength of his horse, he arrived safe at the  
 opposite bank; where, after passing a solitary night, he was  
 joined next day by some of his faithful troops who had sur-  
 vived the defeat. As to *Jenghiz Khan*, it is said that he for-  
 bid his being pursued, when several of his *Tartar* officers of-  
 fered to plunge into the river after him. From which, and  
 some other circumstances, we might be inclined to believe,  
 that he intended to spare his life, had it not been that he in-  
 humanly butchered his sons. Perhaps his motive for wishing  
 to take him alive, was no other than avarice, which might  
 force him to discover where he had concealed his immense  
 treasures; part of which, we are told, *Jenghiz Khan* reco-  
 vered, by means of divers, out of the bed of the river.

*Jenghiz* *Jenghiz Khan* was no less fortunate in the *Persian Irak*,  
*Khan's* which was subdued by his generals *Hubbe* and *Suida*; who,  
*progress in* after that, marched to *Azarbejan*, or the ancient *Media*, after  
*Irak.* defeating several strong parties of *Khowarazmians* whom they  
 met on the road. But all those successes cost *Jenghiz Khan*  
 dear; and he computed, that, in his last campaign, he had  
 lost no fewer than two hundred thousand men, twenty thou-  
 sand of whom had been killed in battle near the *Indus*. Fresh  
 supplies, however, allured by the hopes of plunder, still kept  
 his armies compleat; and his two generals in *Azarbejan* hav-  
 ing received strong reinforcements, took *Ardebil*; and, tho'  
 they met with no resistance, they put to death vast numbers  
 of the people for the sake of plunder. They then attacked  
*Tauris*, the capital of that province, which was bravely de-  
 fended by its governor; but he being defeated in a pitched  
 battle, the inhabitants compelled him to come to an accom-  
 modation with the *Moguls*; which the barbarians readily did,  
 being apprehensive of some commotions in *Ispahan*; to  
 which they immediately returned, after being attacked by  
 the *Georgians*. These last were reckoned the most free, and  
 were, at this time, the bravest, people of all the east, since  
 the *Khowarazmian* empire was in a manner extinguished.

War be- The *Georgians*, at once dreading and detesting the *Mo-*  
 tween the *guls*, accordingly, in the year 1222, took advantage of the  
*Moguls* absence of *Hubbe* and *Suida*, and attempted to recover *Azar-*  
 and *Geor-* *bejan* from the *Moguls*, who had been left there. But the  
*gians.* latter being very numerous, the *Georgians* were unsuccessful,  
 though, in their return, they repulsed the *Moguls*, who en-  
 deavoured to enter their country. They could not, how-  
 ever, prevent the *Moguls* making themselves masters of *Ma-*  
*ragha*, a fine city in that neighbourhood in friendship with  
 the



the *Georgians*. *Hubbe* then went to suppress an insurrection which had broke out at *Hamadan*, and which he quelled with a good deal of difficulty and loss. The two *Mogul* generals then reduced and plundered the western part of *Azarbejan*, and all that lay between that province and *America*; treating the inhabitants of all the cities they took with greater or less cruelty, as their barbarous caprice, revenge, or interest dictated. But they were, diverted from pursuing this expedition, by intelligence they received that a great body of *Georgians* were advancing to attack them. Upon this they divided their army, and drew the *Georgians* into an ambuscade, where they gave them a total defeat, and, as is said, cut thirty thousand of them in pieces. The intention of the *Moguls* was to have proceeded, after this victory, against *Teflis*, the capital of *Georgia*; but they found the passes of the country so well guarded, that they were obliged to leave them.

The sultan *Jalaloddin*, *Jenghiz Khan*'s capital enemy, was still alive on the other side of the *Indus*, and as active as ever in his military operations; in which he was greatly favoured by the vast fatigues of *Jenghiz Khan*'s army, who were then reposing in their winter-quarters. Early in the spring, however, the khan again took the field. He ordered twenty thousand men, under *Bela*, to advance towards *Multan*, on the other side of the *Indus*. Eighty thousand men were dispatched, under *Henku*, to reduce *Herat*, which had rebelled. *Oktay* commanded in the province of *Gazna*, and prince *Jagatay* marched, with sixty thousand men, towards the provinces of *Sond* and *Karman*; where *Jalaloddin*'s friends were still very powerful. *Jenghiz Khan* would have headed one of those expeditions himself; but he understood that *Targut* and all *Kitan* were then threatening a rebellion; which determined him to return to *Tartary*: but he took *Kandahar*, a place of great trade, lying between the borders of *Persia* and *India*, in his march. About the same time, *Bela* reduced *Multan*; but found *Labur*, another city of *India*, too well guarded for him to attack it. *Henku* proceeded with more success against *Herat*, where he is said to have put all the inhabitants, excepting fifteen, to the sword: so that, by the *Mogul* calculations, they slaughtered upwards of sixteen hundred thousand persons during the six months they were employed in this expedition. *Oktay* proceeded with equal success, but less cruelty, against *Gazna*, which, for some time, made a vigorous defence under a brave governor: but he being slain, and the garrison, which was very numerous, greatly reduced, he stormed and took the place. It was thought, from the cruel, unforgiving temper of *Jenghiz Khan*, that *Oktay* durst not have ventured to save any of the inhabitants from the sword; he, however, was moderate enough to be contented with the slaughter made of the garrison; and, after indulging his troops, he suffered the inhabitants



bitants to redeem themselves and their habitations at a certain tax. *Jagatay*, with his division of his father's army, entered *Karman*, or *Karamania*, a rich, but, to a *Mogul*, an unwholesome, province of *Persia*. Such was the providence of *Jenghiz Khan*, that he put his son on his guard against this inconveniency. But *Jagatay* having taken and destroyed the chief towns of the province, put his troops into winter-quarters. The *Moguls*, by this time, were excessively rich through the plunder they had made: not only their officers, but their common men, were attended by slaves; and they soon came to relish the pleasures of that enchanting country, by raising houses, laying out gardens, rearing flocks, and entering upon all other domestic business; being, perhaps, of opinion, that *Jenghiz Khan* would suffer them to remain there as a bulwark against *Jalaloddin's* attempts.

Mortality  
of the *Moguls* in  
*Ferman*.

But what the khan had foreseen happened. The *Moguls* soon contracted diseases, of which many died; and the whole army would have had the same fate, had not *Jagatay* carried them again into the field, and ordered the throats of all the useless slaves to be cut; by which he saved the remainder; and, having put them under the command of proper generals, he marched to *Balk*. *Jenghiz Khan*, after reducing *Kandahar*, being unwilling, if possible, to leave *Korasan*, delayed his march for some time; and, at last, received the submissions of the khan of *Tankut*, whom he pardoned.

Khan of  
*Tankut*  
submits.

Curiosity  
of *Jenghiz*  
*Khan*.

During this recess from the affairs of war, *Jenghiz Khan* gave a full scope to his inquisitive temper; and, being near the chief scenes of the antient *Persian* idolatry, he moved from place to place to inform himself of their antiquities, and particularly of every thing relating to the famous *Zoroaster*, who was thought to be the founder of fire-worship amongst the *Persians*. Having passed the river *Amu*, in order to return to *Bekbara*, he was equally curious to converse with the learned *Mahometans*, with which that country abounded, concerning the principles of their religion. Those that related to the belief of one God, and to the practice of almsgiving, he was so far from condemning, that he said he held the same belief, and approved of the practices. But, when the doctors told him, that one of their capital articles of their religion consisted in their pilgrimages to *Mecca*, and in worshipping God, he treated them with contempt and ridicule; "As if," said he, "the whole earth was not the temple of God, its creator." A freedom of sentiment that was extremely disgusting to the *Mahometans*.

He goes  
to *Sa-*  
*markand*.

The khan having amused himself with whatever was curious in those countries, but without losing sight of his military operations, of which he had, perhaps, a greater variety than any prince ever known, went to *Samarkand*; where he spent some months, till he could order his affairs so as to return with safety to *Tartary*. He had not yet been rejoined by *Hubbe* and *Suida*, who had orders to return from *Georgia*.



gia by the way of *Darbend*, or the city of the *Iron Gate*, lying between the *Caspian Sea* and the mountains; to the top of which the walls reach, and are amazingly strong. The Description of which the walls reach, and are amazingly strong. The Description of space on which the city is built, is said to have been not a quarter of a mile broad; but the length, between the sea *Derbent*.] and its strong castle, built upon the top of the hill, is above a mile, some say near two miles. Being thus fortified by art and nature, it is looked upon as impregnable; and no travellers can pass through it, but at a gate which moves by iron chains and gives name to the place. This city, or, at least, part of it, was built by *Alexander the Great*; and its neighbourhood is said once to have been a paradise.

When *Hubbe* and *Suida* received orders to return by *Darbend*, they had no idea that they must pass through this impregnable fortress, which belonged to a sovereign prince, whose dominions they entered with their usual fury, and took *Shamakiya*, the capital of *Shiwan*. But, when they came to understand the difficulties and dangers they had to encounter, they changed their conduct, and entered into a treaty with the prince of *Darbend*; who, with great difficulty, was prevailed upon to give the barbarians a passage through that city; which, when the *Mogul* generals had viewed its situation and strength, they declared they never could have forced. This is said to have been the only army that had ever passed through *Darbend* since the days of *Alexander the Great*. They and now proceeded into the country of the *Tartars* of *Dayhestan*, the country of the antient *Alani*, and by some called *Allans*, to this day. This people, alarmed and terrified by the appearance of the *Moguls*, broke up and destroyed the roads to hinder their march; and drove away all the cattle, and whatever could supply them with provisions; which obliged the *Mogul* generals to take two of their cities, *Tarku* and *Terki*. But, intrepid as the *Moguls* were, they must have been cut off to a man, before they could have reached their own country, had not their chiefs applied to the *Kalmuk Tartars*, who, like themselves, were idolaters: there being, besides, many other resemblances in their manners and language. The *Kalmuks*, partly by presents, and partly by persuasions, listened to the *Mogul* generals, who told them they were their countrymen, and sought only to go peaceably home to their own country; which the *Kalmuks* granted: and, upon this, the other nations, who were not near so powerful as the *Kalmuks*, being intimidated, suffered them to pass. After this amazing march, they had still the broad and rapid river of the *Volga* to pass before they could reach *Kipjak*, where they intended to winter; but even this difficulty they surmounted, by the assistance of their new allies the *Kalmuks*.

The country of the *Kipjaks* was then governed by *Tusshi*, which is to whom it had been given by his father *Jenghiz Khan*, together with all the vast undiscovered, and most of them conquered, countries in the neighbourhood; which *Tusshi* had

by the *Moguls*.



who penetrated to Astrakan.

had orders to subdue: even the country of the *Kipjaks* seem not to have been then thoroughly reduced. For, when *Hubbe* and *Suida* came to take up their winter-quarters amongst them, the natives bore their new guests so uneasily, that *Tushti* was obliged to send against them part of his troops, who, at last, subdued them. *Tushti* being then obliged to attend his father, he committed the care of his dominions to *Hubbe* and *Suida*, with orders to conquer all the people round who had not yet submitted; and the two *Moguls*, favoured by the ice, carried their conquests as far as the famous city of *Astrakan*; which they took, though it lies upon an island formed on the *Volga* near the *Caspian Sea*; and thus that vast tract of rich lands and coasts was entirely reduced to the obedience of *Jenghiz Khan* and his son *Tushti*.

*Jenghiz Khan's* cruelty to an empress.

During those transactions, *Jenghiz Khan* resided at *Samarkand*, to the inhabitants of which city he shewed unusual indulgencies; and from thence he issued mandates for holding a general diet, of all the princes of his blood, his governors, generals, and other great lords, at *Toncat*. Nothing was, perhaps, ever so magnificent as the appearance of *Jenghiz Khan* upon this occasion; had it not been tainted by a barbarity which even the practice of the antient *Romans* cannot recommend: for he ordered the unhappy *Turkhan Katun* to be carried as a slave before his chariot, attended by all his great prisoners of state and quality; and the procession was closed by a display of the magnificent crowns, jewels, and other riches, that had belonged to the sultans of *Khovarazm*. In this state *Jenghiz Khan* proceeded from *Samarkand* to *Toncat*, through those countries where that unhappy princess had been so long adored as a deity.

His magnificent march, and general diet.

But the magnificence of *Jenghiz Khan*, during the diet, or parliament, he had indicted, exceeds all description, though not belief, when we reflect upon the prodigious acquisitions of riches and territory he had now made. *Toncat* is a town situated upon the river *Sir*, lying extremely convenient for a communication with *Tartary*: and, by its situation, the beauty of its neighbourhood, the conveniency of its water-carriage, and many other advantages both of art and nature, it was perhaps better calculated than any town in *Jenghiz Khan's* dominions for such a congress. The members being all assembled, *Jenghiz Khan* pitched upon the plain of *Toncat*, which runs level to the length of seven leagues; but even that space was hardly sufficient to contain the tents, and other habitations, of the members. The great khan's tent, and the apartments of his household, took up two leagues; and regular streets and markets were laid out for the accommodation of the company. The tent, or moveable house, where the diet was to set, and the khan was to appear in all his glory, was formed so as to contain conveniently about twelve thousand persons; and, by way of distinction, it was covered with white: having two entries; at one of which the



the khan alone was to enter ; and, at the other, which was for common use, stood his guards. Within this tent was placed a magnificent throne for the khan ; and, on an eminence near it, the famous black felt, to put him in mind of the coronation oath he had taken upon it. Tents all along this vast plain were distinguished by flags and streamers of gold and silver, with silks of the richest dye, which had a most agreeable effect ; and the *Tartars*, as well as the *Chinese*, *Persians*, and the other more polite nations who attended this assembly, were, by the khan's orders and example, dressed in all the magnificence that the most precious metals and jewels, with the finest embroidery, could bestow.

Before the opening of the diet, *Jenghiz Khan* signified his His diversion that a whole month should be spent in feasting and fions and hunting ; both which were performed to the utmost extent feasts. of luxury and grandeur. When *Jenghiz Khan* received his sons, he entertained them with the highest marks of affection ; and all of them made him noble presents. That of *Tusht*, not to mention other valuable curiosities, consisted of sets of horses, each set containing the same number, but of different colours, and the whole amounting to one hundred thousand.

The reader will naturally reflect upon the vast alteration Reflec- of manners which *Jenghiz Khan* appears now to have intro- tion. duced amongst his *Tartars* ; who, at the time of his accession, differed little from brutes ; but in this, perhaps, his genius was inferior to that of *Peter of Russia*. It is, however, *Jenghiz* amazing, that, employed as *Jenghiz Khan* was, in such a *Khan* a le- variety of extended, and some of them barbarous, conquests, gislator. he could give himself leisure to think upon forming laws, or giving new constitutions to his empire. The regularity with which all this was done, was owing, in a great measure, to the care which his son *Jagatay*, who acted as his father's first minister, and as marshal of the diet, had taken to preserve and enforce the laws ; as well as that every thing should pass with the greatest order and decency. When the diet was He opens met, *Jenghiz Khan*, who is said to have been the most elo- the diet quent man in his dominions, made a long speech ; in which he recommended the constitutions he had formed, and observed how much they had contributed to his vast successes. Before the close of the diet, he received the compliments and closes and prostrations of all his tributary princes, and the deputies it. from the countries he had conquered ; and then the assembly was dismissed.

Before we entirely dismiss this subject, we are to observe, His great that *Jenghiz Khan*, amongst other talents, possessed, to the discern- utmost, that of discerning the characters and peculiar abi- ment ex- lities, of those employed under him ; and to this undoubt- emplified edly was owing, more than to any other cause, the vast and in his em- continual success he always met with : for we seldom or ever ploying find his sons.



find him deceived or betrayed. To his son *Tusbi*, a prince of great generosity and magnificence, he gave the post of honour; which was that of being his huntsman, or master of his horse; for he settled all the œconomy of the court. *Jagatay*, as we have already seen, was his chief judge and secretary of state. But his eldest son, *Oktay*, on account of his great experience, presided next to his father at the council-board; and nothing regarding the regulations of the provinces, or indeed any thing of consequence, was transacted but according to his opinion, especially in the affairs of money, and the management of the revenues. *Tuli* acted as his father's first aid-de-camp, and gave all the orders concerning military affairs. It must, however, be acknowledged, that his own strong natural parts, were the primary springs of all his greatness; for he was equally fortunate in the choice of all his other ministers and generals; and severe, or rather inhuman, as he was, it does not appear that he ever disgraced or punished one of them.

Two generals go to court.

When *Tusbi* returned to his government at *Kipjak*, which was now become of itself a great empire, his two lieutenant-generals immediately resigned to him the command of the army; and he gave them leave to repair to the khan's court to repose themselves, after the incredible fatigues and adventures they had undergone. *Jenghiz Khan* received and rewarded them like faithful servants, took them into his familiarity, and expressed great delight in hearing the particulars of their expeditions, and ordered that they should always have admittance to his person.

*Jenghiz Khan* meditates the conquest of *China*.

*Jenghiz Khan*, though now aged, had lost none of his vigour, either in body or mind. Having finished his conquests, he concerted with his sons, and other great men, a form of succession and government for them. He then cast his eyes eastward, where a prince, called *Utakin*, but whom the *Chinese* writers call *Wache*, governed that part of *China*, which had been subdued by *Jenghiz Khan*, who, it seems, was his brother; but all military affairs were under the direction of the khan's favourite *Muhuli*. In 1220, *Lyeuke*, the king of *Lyantong*, who had always acted with remarkable fidelity under *Jenghiz Khan*, died; and *Utakin* conferred his government upon his widow, and gave a body of troops to preserve the tranquility of her country until the arrival of *Jenghiz Khan*. *Muhuli*, on his part, preserved the great reputation he had acquired; and *Changyan*, a *Chinese* general of great spirit and interest, having had his father and mother put to death by *Mingan*, another *Chinese* general, came over, and served in *Muhuli's* army. The *Chinese* were, at this time, miserably divided amongst themselves; and *Muhuli* was the declared enemy of them all, but those who had submitted to *Jenghiz Khan's* government; so that he was, at the same time, at war with the emperor of the *Kin* and the king of *Kya*. *Changya* did him vast services against both; and,

Progress of *Muhuli*.



and, at last, *Muhuli* subdued all *Korea*, and took the important fortrefs of *Ching-ting*. But *Muhuli*, upon this occasion, is said to have behaved with great humanity; and to have ordered, that all his prisoners should not only be saved, but set at liberty, and their estates preserved from plunder. *Suting*, the general of the *Kin*, at this time, was at the head of two hundred thousand men; with whom he drove his enemies out of *Shensi*, and, encamping at *Wangling-han*, he ordered a detachment of twenty thousand men of his army to attack *Muhuli* at *Tsianfu*; but the *Mogul* general defeated this detachment, and, pursuing his advantage, he attacked the main body of the *Chinese* army with such fury, that he gave them a total defeat. *Muhuli* then formed the siege of *Tonchang-Tongchangfu*: but, being intent upon other conquests, he turned it into a blockade; which reduced the garrison to such extremity, that they endeavoured to escape; but seven thousand of them were cut in pieces by the *Moguls* who blockaded the place, and who then took possession of it. *Muhuli*, still pursuing his conquests, entered the province of *Ortus*; and the king of *Kya*, perceiving that his progress was irresistible, made his terms with the *Mogul*; which prevented their farther hostilities in *Kya*: and *Muhuli* then turned his arms against the *Kin*. In order to penetrate into *Shensi*, leaving the country of *Kya*, he blocked up *Kan-yan*; but he was obliged to raise the blockade, and march against *Kyachew*, which he took and fortified; and, after gaining many other great advantages over the enemy, he proceeded against *Kay-fong*. But, in the year 1222, while he was in the career of his victories, he died, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. The rise of the khan's affection for this great general, is said to have been owing to the following incident: Having, in his youth, been defeated by some of his enemies, he endeavoured to return to his camp, attended only by *Muhuli* and *Porchi*. A great snow falling, they lost their way; and the khan being obliged to pass the night upon some straw over the snow, they held a covering or canopy over him till morning. But *Muhuli*'s conduct justified the khan's partiality for him; for, to his last, he served him with such inconceivable affection and ardour, that he underwent as much fatigue and danger in the field, as the meanest soldier in the army.

*Jenghiz Khan* seems to have returned, in the year 1224, to *Tartary*: but there is, at that period, a kind of chasm in his history. All we know, is, that he was greatly affected with the death of *Muhuli*; and, that he appointed his son *Pulu* to succeed him in all his honours and dignities. We likewise, in general, learn, that he still continued to treat the unfortunate *Turkan Katun* very cruelly, and carried her about with him loaded with chains. Being arrived at his *Tartarian* capital, *Karakoram*, he applied himself to make other regulations



and pre-  
pares to  
enter  
*China*.

tions in his government; and ordered his chief officers, both military and civil, in *Tartary* and *China*, and all his vast dominions on that side, to attend him, to give an account of their conduct; and then he rewarded or punished them as their actions appeared to him to deserve; but more especially as they were reported to him by his brother *Utakin*. He then proposed to pass the *Tula*, and enter *China*; which he did with a great army, and attended by his chief general officers. His pretext for his undertaking this expedition, was, that *Lite*, the king of *Kya*, since the death of *Muhuli*, had given, not only protection, but employments, to some of *Jenghiz Khan's* declared enemies; and had been guilty of many other indignities against his person and government. The march of this mighty conqueror filled all the countries through which he passed with astonishment; and *Jenghiz Khan*, who seems to have been perfectly sensible of the vast effects that exteriors have in matters of government, exacted the personal homages and prostrations of all the governors and princes of the countries through which he passed.

Interview  
between  
him and  
*Tyauli*.

Amongst others who resorted to him on this occasion, was *Tyauli*, in order to get *Utakin's* grant of the government of *Leotong* confirmed. The khan was sensible of the merits of her husband towards him, but was perfectly charmed with the wisdom and virtue of the queen. He condoled with her upon her husband's death; and, in return of the compliments she had made to him, upon his great conquests, he praised her fine abilities for government, and the prudence with which she managed her kingdom; promising always to be a friend to her family. *Tyauli* upon this exhibited an unparalleled generosity of soul. She had been married to *Lycwko*, who, by his first wife, who was dead, had a son named *Pitu*. *Tyauli* had likewise several sons by him, the eldest of whom was *Shenko*, a prince of distinguished merit. Notwithstanding this, *Tyauli* begged of *Jenghiz Khan* to nominate *Pitu* to the succession of *Leotong*. *Jenghiz Khan* could not help expressing his admiration of this generous request, and endeavoured to dissuade her from insisting upon it; but offered to nominate *Pitu* to govern in conjunction with *Shenko*, her own son. But the queen was so earnest in her petition, that *Jenghiz Khan* granted it, and provided for *Shenko* at his own court. He then entered into a relation of the particulars of his glorious expeditions; and, when *Tyauli* took her leave, he ordered an escort, under the command of a great lord, to attend her and *Pitu* to their own dominions.

He takes  
*Yetsina*.

After this, in *February*, 1226, *Jenghiz Khan* proceeded in his expedition against *Lite*, and took an important city named *Yetsina*; but we know neither its precise situation, nor those of many other towns and fortresses which he reduced at the same time. We know, in general, however, that



that, in a few months, he made such a progress, that the king of *Kya* broke his heart and died. After this, in November, the *Moguls* took *Lingchew*, a city of great importance, not far to the south of the great wall.

While *Jenghiz Khan* was thus pushing his conquests in *The war Kya*, which some authors have mistaken for *Tangul*, *Oktay* against the penetrated into *Honan*, and besieged the *Kin* emperor in his *Kin* re-capital of *Kayfong*, lying to the eastward of the city of *Honan*. But the *Moguls*, finding themselves unable to take the city, raised the siege, and marched towards *Shensi*, where they reduced a vast number of places, of most of which we only know the names as they were pronounced at that time. But *Oktay's* affairs calling him back to *Tartary*, he left the command of his army to *Chanan*, with orders to resume the operations against the *Kin* in *Honan*. This general making dispositions for continuing the war, and for re-entering *Honan*, the emperor of the *Kin* again offered to conclude an accommodation with *Jenghiz Khan*, who rejected his terms. Upon this, the *Kin* unanimously resolved to sell their lives and liberties at the dearest rate they could, and raised an army of two hundred thousand men for that purpose. This They are called *Jenghiz Khan* in person into their country, where he defeated. killed thirty thousand of their men, and took *Hochew*, *Sining*, and *Kintaufu*; after which he retired into *Shensi*, for the sake of the cool retreats, which the mountain *Lupan* afforded against the heat of the summer.

*Leti*, king of *Kya*, was succeeded by his son *Likyen*, called *Likyen* by *Christian* writers, *Skidasku*. This prince was very earnest opposes to have checked the progress of *Jenghiz Khan*, and found *Jenghiz* the same dispositions in the *Chinese* of *Manji*, and his neighbours the *Eastern Turks*; which last were extremely dis- forms a gusted with the cruel treatment inflicted, by *Jenghiz Khan*, great con- upon their favourite queen and countrywoman, *Tukan Ka- federacy tun*: as the former were with *Jenghiz Khan's* seizing upon against *Kitay*. But, though an alliance was formed amongst them, him. yet *Jenghiz Khan*, by the force of money, having bribed great numbers of *Likyen's* subjects to become spies, he had early intelligence of all the enemies motions. His army, at this time, consisted of four hundred and fifty thousand men, one hundred thousand of which he sent to keep the *Kitayans* from rebelling; while he himself, with the remainder, advanced against the confederates; whose army, according to the western authors, consisted of five hundred thousand men, most of them furnished by the *Oriental Turks*.

*Jenghiz Khan* seems to have considered this as the most im- A bloody portant expedition he ever was engaged in: all his army, campaign numerous as it was, consisted of veteran troops; and he follows. had with him all his bravest and most experienced generals. His sons, *Oktay*, *Tuli*, and *Jagatay*, with the commanders *Karashar*, *Hubbe*, *Suida*, *Henku*, *Bela*, *Bedroddin*, *Danishmend*, the khan of the *Igurs*, and others; and every one of those



those commanded a number of forces proportionable to his dignity, rank, and interest. Historians greatly differ concerning the particulars of the campaign that followed; but all say that it was the most bloody of all that ever was known in the world. The *Moguls* rendezvoused at *Ezina*; and it is agreed, on all hands, that *Likyen* detached a body of thirty thousand choice troops to surprize the person of *Jenghiz Khan*; but his intelligence was so good, that the design was discovered and defeated, though the *Kyans* obtained some advantages at first. After this, the two main armies showed an equal impatience to come to a general action; and at last they came within sight of one another.

Great general action;

the *Moguls* defeated;

but remain victors at last.

Three hundred thousand men killed by

Historians tell us, that nothing was ever presented to the eye more beautiful, than the display of the confederate army on this occasion: their officers were dressed in cloth of gold and silver, silks, and other rich stuffs and ornaments produced by *China*, which had more manufactures of that kind than all the world besides; and their common men were more superbly dressed than the *Mogul* officers. *Jenghiz Khan* confided less in the numbers, than in the courage, discipline, and experience of his troops; and *Likyen* had equal confidence in his general *Mayan Khan*, and the known valour of the *Turks* commanded by the prince of *Turjeh*. All we know of the particulars of the battle is, that, when the confederate army was drawn out, their lines of battle took up a vast space of ground; and that the *Moguls* were drawn upon a frozen lake. In the beginning of the engagement the troops of *Kya*, or, as it is called, *Tangut*, soon gave way to the fury of the *Moguls*. But the *Chinese* of *Manji*, headed by *Mayan Khan*, and the *Turks*, not only kept their ranks, but fell upon the victorious *Moguls* with such intrepidity, that they cut thirty thousand of them to pieces, and penetrated the very centre of the khan's army, which was all composed of selected veterans, commanded by prince *Oktay* in person. But even this chosen band must have given way to the impetuosity of the confederates, had not the latter, believing themselves sure of victory, lost their ranks, and attacked in disorder. The *Moguls*, on the other hand, remained compacted and firm; and when the confederate generals thought themselves sure of victory, they were struck with consternation at the discipline of their enemies. While this dispute continued hot and obstinate on both sides, the *Moguls* who had been routed, rallied, under their leaders, and, with a body of reserve, they attacked the confederates in their flanks and rear, and, after a most bloody dispute, in which *Likyen* signalized his valour, broke them, so that the victory remained to the *Moguls*, who are said, in this battle, to have killed three hundred thousand of their enemies; but the loss of *Jenghiz Khan* does not appear. *Likyen*, finding all lost, fled to *Ninghya*; which was besieged by *Jenghiz Khan*, and obliged to surrender at discretion; which



which opened new and most frightful scenes of massacre in that unhappy country. As to the particulars of *Likyen's* fate, authors are not agreed upon them; but it seems indisputable, that he was put to death upon *Jenghiz Khan's* order. Some say, that, upon the rendition of *Ninghya*, he went to throw himself at *Jenghiz Khan's* feet, but was slain in his journey; but the relations of others, better informed, are more particular, and probable. They tell us, that he escaped to a fort called *Arbaka*, and that, after the great battle, the *Mogul* armies fell into the countries of the *Turks* at *Turgi*, who agreed to submit to them; and that they likewise attacked the *Manji*, or *Southern Chinese*; but, with what success, does not appear. But before *Jenghiz Khan*, in the spring of the year 1226, entered upon the latter expedition, *Likyen* sent one of his officers to treat with the khan, and to ask permission to repair with safety to his court, to pay him homage. The khan promised him the safety he required, and to forget whatever had passed. But no sooner did the officer set out on his return to his master, than *Jenghiz Khan*, who began, about this time, to find his health declining, sent for his sons, and gave them private orders to put him to death as soon as he came into their power, and this order they were to execute, if he, the khan, should die, before the arrival of *Likyen*, which was accordingly done, with most punctual barbarity; so inhumanly faithless was this tyrant, even in his last hours.

*Likyen*  
escapes.

The death of *Likyen* put an end to the kingdom of *Kya*, The king- according to some good authorities, and, indeed, the pre- dom of ceding confirm them. When this diabolical conqueror re- *Kya* abo- turned from his western expeditions, he was advised by lished. some of his chief lords to exterminate the inhabitants of *Kitay* and *Kya*, and to give their country as a reward to his own troops, and to people it with *Moguls*, who would turn it into pasture; and that, in consequence of this advice, he destroyed eighteen millions of the inhabitants; but was, at last, diverted from pursuing his inhuman resolution, only by the remonstrances of *Yelu Chutsay*, the wisest of all his ministers; who made him sensible, how much more it would be to his advantage to preserve the inhabitants, and reap the fruits of their industry in manufactures and agriculture. *Kya* had been an independent kingdom for about two hundred years.

Eighteen  
millions of  
men kill-  
ed.

While *Jenghiz Khan* was thus victorious in *China*, the Adven- active *Jalaloddin* had returned from *India* to *Persia*, where ture of he obtained many advantages over the *Moguls* there, and en- *Jalalod-* deavoured to animate all the neighbouring princes into a din. confederacy against them; but their divisions not suffering this confederacy to take place, *Jalaloddin*, after a great variety of fortunes, reinstated himself in great part of his dominions, and then attacked those princes who had refused to join him; but, after meeting with several victories, and



defeats, he was, at last, surprized, and entirely routed, by the *Moguls*; after which, he is said to have been hunted from place to place, and to have been killed in a private house, belonging to one of his friends, where he had taken refuge.

But, by this time, all good fortune became tasteless to *Jenghiz Khan*; for, while he was moving towards the borders of *Turkestan*, to overawe the *Turks* who should attempt the conquest of the *Kin*, he received certain accounts of the death of his eldest son *Tusbi*; who was succeeded by his son *Patu*, a prince of great virtues. *Tusbi's* death affected *Jenghiz Khan* so deeply, that every thing, after, appeared to him to be indifferent; at last, his spirits were sunk so much, that he fell sick. His illness, undoubtedly, was increased by his long residence in moist places, which disagreed with his constitution. At last, about the middle of *August*, 1227, he became sensible of his approaching end, and ordered all his generals and great men to be summoned, to receive his last commands.

Death of  
*Tusbi*.

Particu-  
lars of the  
death of  
*Jenghiz  
Khan*;

He was then in his camp, which was pitched in a forest upon the road to *Ching*, and they being introduced to his presence, he raised himself in his bed, with that majesty which was so peculiar to his person, and began with the deduction of the measures they were to pursue in the war against the *Kin*, and he advised them, by all means, not to attempt to penetrate into their country by *Tong-quan*, but to demand a passage into it through the territory of the *Song*, who were mortal enemies to the *Kin*; and that their first operation ought to be the siege of *Talyangfu*; that the danger of that capital would bring the army of the *Kin*, by fatiguing marches, to *Tongquan*, so that they might be attacked, and defeated, with ease. Some historians say, that those were his last words; but it is certain, from all accounts, that, before his death, he addressed himself to his sons, and his descendants; telling them, that, though he left to them the greatest empire in the universe, yet the preservation of it depended upon their unanimity. After this, he ordered the princes, who were prostrated before him, confessing themselves his slaves, to arise; and then he nominated his son *Oktay* to be his heir and successor in his dignity, or great khan, or khan of khans. Upon this, the princes, and all the company, again bowed the knee, and promised to be obedient to his will. There are writers who say, that the last order he gave was, that *Likyen*, who had not yet arrived, should be put to death as soon as he came to the camp; and that then he resigned his breath.

who  
names *Oktay*  
to be  
his succe-  
ssor.

His cha-  
racter,

Historians differ as to the age of *Jenghiz Khan* when he died. Most of the eastern historians say, that he was sixty-six years of age. But, when we consider all circumstances, we are apt, with *La Croix*, to assign seventy-three years to his life, and twenty-two to his reign; in which last number all authors are agreed. The bare enumeration of this man's conquests,



conquests, after the age of fifty, proves him to have been, the most warlike genius that ever existed on the earth; considering that, at the age of forty, he was only at the head of a petty hord of ignorant, undisciplined, savage *Tartars*, with understandings little above the level of brutes; and yet he soon rendered them superior, in point of discipline, to the *Khovarazmians*, and *Turks*, and the most renowned troops in the western part of *Asia*. Perhaps, after mentioning those general facts, it is needless to enter upon any particular detail of the abilities of *Jenghiz Khan*, as a general; for they must be admitted to have been complete and supreme. It may not, however, be amiss to observe, that the difficulties, discouragements, and misfortunes, he met with, while he was in a state of obscurity, formed him to that great character he afterwards arrived at; for we cannot imagine, that a great military genius should, all of a sudden, break out, after the age of forty. *Jenghiz Khan*, in his civil and political character, certainly was possessed of all the strong lines of judgement that ever centered in the greatest legislators. He believed in one *God*; but his court religion, was an asylum to persons of all religions, who could contribute to polish and improve his people. It is true, he seems to have looked upon revelation, of every kind, with contempt; but the famous oath, which he and his followers took, when they drank the waters of *Panchuni*, and when they hewed in pieces the wild beasts, together with the obligation that he put himself under at his coronation, are indisputable evidences of his believing in a particular providence. Besides, the very first article of the *yassa*, or the laws which he published at *Karakoram*, pronounces *God* to be the dispenser of life and death, of riches and poverty; and that his will and power are unbounded and absolute.

But the great genius of *Jenghiz Khan*, as a lawgiver, appears in nothing more, than in his being able to get the better of a number of rivetted prepossessions, which were of great detriment to the *Tartars*, as a people. He had so true notions of grandeur, that he ordered his subjects to give him and his successors no other title but that of *khan*, only pronouncing it with two A's, by which it acquired the signification of *Khan of Khans*; he likewise ordained, that all his successors (*Oktay* should have been excepted) should be elected in a general assembly of the *khans*, and other chief *Moguls*. We shall not resume any account of his military institutions, farther than just to mention, that he enjoined, over all his dominions, a strict preservation of the game through all the summer months in the year, that his soldiers, during winter, might be encouraged to exercise themselves in hunting.

He abolished a ridiculous superstition of the *Tartars*, of and institut-  
not eating blood, and the entrails of creatures; having  
found himself, by experience, that a body of men might



be often at a loss to find themselves food, and wholesome nourishment. Were we disposed, upon this occasion, to deviate from our subject, it would be no difficult matter to shew a strong similarity between the manners of our *Gothic* and *German* ancestors, and the *Tartars*; for, at first, they were very near neighbours, if not the same people. *Jenghiz Khan* made war his great object, and that of his people; but he obliged all, who were not employed in war, to apply themselves to some business that might be of benefit to the society; but to allot one day in seven for his, the khan's, service. Great thefts, such as that of an ox, or a horse, were punished with death, and, smaller ones, by bastinadoes, unless the party was rich enough to buy off the punishment, by paying nine times the value of the thing stolen. He ordered that no person should be a slave, or a servant, in the country where he was born. The reason of this extraordinary institution was, that all might be at liberty to apply themselves to war, and to exert themselves in making captives, who were to be their slaves and servants. He was, likewise, severe upon all who, in any shape, interfered in the property of another man's slave, or ever gave them meat, or drink, without the master's permission. He prohibited marriages between parties who were in the first or second degree of consanguinity; but a man might marry two sisters, and as many wives as he could maintain; and he was allowed the free use of all his woman slaves. But adultery was punished with death, and the adulterer might be killed in the commission of the act. The tribe of *Kaindu* were indelicate enough to remonstrate against this law, as breaking upon the rules of hospitality, which obliged them to offer their wives, as well as daughters, to their visitors and friends, and presented petitions for the repeal of it, amongst them. They were so earnest, that *Jenghiz Khan* indulged them in their request; but, at the same time, declared his abhorrence of it, and pronounced it to be infamous.

Wise, but extraordinary piece of policy. But the most extraordinary, though, perhaps, one of the wisest institutions, that *Jenghiz Khan* introduced amongst the *Tartars*, was that by which he cemented tribes and families to one another in society; for he permitted two heads of families, though all their children had been dead, the one to marry his dead son to his dead daughter, and this marriage, or contract (for it was reduced to writing) was deemed to be as valid, as if the parties had been alive. He abolished the custom, which the *Tartars* had, of throwing themselves into rivers, and streams, during the time of thunder, by enacting, that no person should wash, either their cloaths or themselves, in running water, because, by disturbing the stream, it occasioned the thunder; and, by this law, he preserved the lives of many of his subjects. He adjudged to death all spies; all who were convicted of perjury, or giving false evidence; all sodomites, and forcerers; but, in



in what sense that last word is to be taken is somewhat doubtful. It is certain that *Jenghiz Khan* had his astrologers, and that some necromantic arts found encouragement in his reign; but of what species they were we cannot ascertain. The more distant from himself that the governors of his provinces were, the more severely did he punish them if they failed in their duty; which, however, seldom happened.

*Jenghiz Khan*, as we are told by historians, had no fewer His wives. than five hundred wives, who were lodged in four palaces; but the preference was always given to the *Tartar* ladies, the descendants of the *Chinese* women being excluded from the succession. *Hyuchen* appears to have been the first in dignity of all his wives; which is a reason why his son *Oktaï* was appointed to the succession. As to his children, it is impossible to determine their number; nor does he himself seem to have had any regard for any of them but those we have mentioned in the course of his history.

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*Oktaï, the second khan, or emperor, of the Moguls.*

**T**HOUGH historians agree that *Jenghiz Khan* left in Difficulty writing a partition of his dominions amongst his sons, concern- yet it does not clearly appear, either what that partition was, ing the nor in what language, character, or manner, the writing *Mogul suc-* was drawn up. There seems, likewise, upon the face of the cession. history, to be another difficulty that has been taken notice of by no writer; and that is, nominating *Oktaï* to be his successor; and yet ordaining, that all future khans should be elected by a general meeting of parliament of the chief *Moguls*. This inconsistency appears to have made *Oktaï* very shy of mounting the throne.

Particular reasons rendered it adviseable to conceal the *Jenghiz* death of *Jenghiz Khan*, as long as possible, from the public; *Khan bu-* and one of those reasons, we are told, was the inhuman or- ried. der he gave, upon his death-bed, for murdering *Likyen*. That prince, his sons, and some of his chief noblemen, trusting to the assurance of safety given by *Jenghiz Khan* arrived at his court, or rather camp, a very few days after he expired, and were there put to death. The interment of the khan was extremely magnificent; and the *Moguls*, in a kind of frenzy, occasioned by the loss of him, put to death a great many people immediately after his burial: which barbarous example was faithfully copied in after-ages, for numbers of subjects were put to death upon the interment of every *Mogul* emperor. The place of his burial is said to have been under a beautiful tree, where, some days before his death, he had reposed; and a noble monument was afterwards erected in the same place.



*Tuli* acts  
as regent.

*Oktay* being at a great distance from the seat of government when his father died, his brother *Tuli* took upon him the regency, according to the deceased khan's will. But the ambiguity we have already taken notice of, of *Jenghiz Khan's* destination, created great perplexities amongst the *Moguls*. It did not appear to them, that *Oktay*, before the general meeting was held, could be recognized as grand khan; and, in fact, he himself seems to have been of the same opinion; for the government was held by *Tuli*, for near two years, before *Oktay* was recognized as grand khan. The war, however, against the *Kin*, was carried on according to the plan directed by *Jenghiz Khan*; and the siege of *Hochew* was formed. This important city, which is now called *Mincheru*, was defended by a *Chinese* nobleman, called *Chimin*, with vast resolution; but he perceived, at last, that the place must surrender to the barbarians. He acquainted his wife with this melancholy news, and desired she would provide for her safety. Her answer was, that she would taste with him the bitterness of death, as she had done the comforts of life. Upon this, she, her two sons, and her son-in-law, took poison; and the unhappy husband killed himself: so that the city fell a prey to the *Moguls*.

*Mincheru*  
taken.

Magnani-  
mity of a  
wife.

Character  
of the  
*Chinese*.

The history of the *Chinese*, at this time, affords ample matter for reflection: for, tho' they must be admitted to have been, at that period, the most moral, the most industrious, and, perhaps, the most polite, people on the face of the earth; yet, being grossly ignorant of all history but their own, and too proud to be instructed, they fell a prey to a handful of despicable barbarians. The little intercourse they had with their neighbours served but to increase their pride, by the ocular evidences they had of their barbarity and ignorance in the politer modes of life. The *Arabs*, the *Persians*, and the *Syrians*, it is true, were far more sentimental than the *Chinese*; but, compared to them, they were barbarians as to arts and industry. It is evident, that this superiority of the *Chinese*, in the arts of peace, made them fall the victims of war. For the *Moguls*, in subduing them, had scarcely any other labour but the fatigue of cutting their throats; so totally had the *Chinese* disused themselves to all military discipline; by which alone the independency of a people can be preserved against a barbarous enemy. Despair, however, seems, in some measure, at this time, to have supplied the art of war amongst the *Chinese*; for we are told that, early in the year 1228, the *Kin*, under a prince of that country, defeated a body of the *Moguls*, and killed eight thousand of them.

The *Mo-*  
*gul* sove-  
reignty  
declined,

There was, amongst the sons of *Jenghiz Khan*, no dispute but that of evading the sovereignty; which each seemed unwilling to accept of. None of the *Moguls* had ventured to give *Oktay* the title of supreme khan; and the regent *Tuli* wisely resolved to take the sense of a general meeting upon the



the will of his father : but, previous to that, they unanimously agreed amongst themselves to make the destination of *Jenghiz Khan* the rule of their conduct, though they seem to have referred the interpretation of it to a general meeting of the states of *Tartary*. Before this meeting could be convened, *Oktay* pressed his brother *Jagatay* to accept of the sovereignty, as being best qualified, by his great experience in the laws and constitutions of the empire. *Jagatay* declining that, *Oktay* declared that he would not take upon himself the sovereignty, unless he was called to it by the voice of the general diet. Those disputes and doubts, according to the *Western Asiatic* accounts, made a kind of an inter-regnum for about two years. At last, the general diet was held, the will of *Jenghiz Khan* was read in it, considered, and approved of; and it was the opinion of the majority, that *Oktay* should ascend the throne of the *Moguls*. This great honour is said to have made no impression upon him, and his brothers were, in a manner, forced to use violence in placing him in the imperial seat. Being then determined to reign, he made *Yuluchsay* his first minister, and his brother *Tuli* his bosom friend. A most magnificent feast was given to the members of the diet, attended with very rich presents; and then *Oktay* applied himself to the affairs of government; which, by the prudence of *Tuli* and *Jagatay*, had not at all suffered by the inter-regnum.

Such an unanimity, at so critical a period, when the greatest empire in the world was to be disposed of, is very extraordinary; and *Shewsu*, the emperor of the *Kin*, was so much alarmed, that, invincible as he once thought himself, he sent to propose an accommodation with *Oktay*. But the commands of *Jenghiz Khan* to continue the war were held as so many oracles, and all proposals of that kind were rejected. *Chelawhen*, one of *Jenghiz Khan*'s intrepids, and now the commander of *Oktay*'s armies in *China*, was ordered to besiege *King-yang-fu*, in *Chensi*; but, despairing to take it, he abandoned the siege; nor do the *Moguls* seem to have made any considerable acquisitions in *China* during the first year of *Oktay*'s reign.

The truth is, that this khan had much greater sensibility of heart than his father ever possessed; and, upon his accession to the throne, he resolved to do all he could to ease his people. For this purpose, he gave orders to *Yelu* and *Chinay*, another prince or nobleman of great integrity and wisdom, to draw up a plan for reforming all the abuses of government and for establishing the future œconomy of his empire. According to some authors, *Yelu* was the first who ever reduced the laws of the *Moguls* into writing. But, perhaps, this can be understood only in a limited sense; since it appears pretty certain, that *Jenghiz Khan* had a method of promulgating laws, if not by writing, by characters of wood and stone, or by some other invention that answered the same end.



Partition  
of the  
empire.

end. These great ministers applied themselves next to regulate the œconomy and the revenues of this vast empire. *Jenghiz Khan* had bequeathed, in writing, to his son *Jagatay*, the empire of *Great Bukharia*, with many other fine provinces. *Kipjak*, which comprehended all the countries to the north-east, and north-west, of the *Caspian-Sea*, was possessed by *Batu*, *Tushi's* son. *Tuli* had, for his allotment, *Korasan*, *Proper Persia*, and all that part of *India* which had been conquered by his father. Other princes of the blood ruled over other provinces; and they, or their descendants, afterwards arrived at great eminence; but *Oktay* was lord-paramount of all, and reigned immediately over *Mogulstan*, which comprehended all *Tartary*, *Kitay*, and the other *Chinese* conquests. His superiority over his brethren, and their descendants, consisted in their acknowledging him their great khan, or chief; and in his regulating, or reforming, whatever he conceived to be amiss in their respective governments; so that they might, in some sense, be considered as feudatories to him.

Regula-  
tions of  
*Yelu*.

The first business which *Yelu*, and his partner *Chinay*, who had drank with *Jenghiz Khan* the waters of *Panchuni*, applied themselves to, was to ascertain the annual value of the dominions committed to their care. The better to do this, they advised *Oktay*, by all means, to endear himself to the *Chinese* and the people of *Kitay*. He accordingly advanced many of his *Chinese* to the principal posts of his army in *China*. This, perhaps, would have been bad policy, did it not appear that the *Chinese* were most miserably divided amongst themselves; and the generals employed by *Oktay* had given him repeated marks of their attachment to his and his father's government, which they preferred to that of their own tyrants. By this conduct, *Oktay* and his ministers acquired a perfect knowledge of the value of their dominions; and the rates, or quantities of money, silk, and grain, to be paid by the conquered provinces, were soon settled; as were the proportions of horses, and other cattle, to be paid by the *Moguls*.

Greatness  
of *Oktay*.

Thus the greatness of *Jenghiz Khan* survived, for some time, in his son *Oktay*, but in a more amiable light. The renown of his virtues, and the mildness of his government, brought distant princes to submit to his authority. Amongst others, we are told that the prince of the *Ishmalites*, or assassins, threw himself at his feet; as did the prince of *Ispahan* in *Persia*. *Oktay*, however, was not destitute of ambition; and he, and his brother *Tuli*, pursued the operations against the *Kin*, as planned out by their father. As to the particulars of their expedition, the dryness of the *Chinese* historians, and the fabulousness of others, leave us greatly in the dark.

His pro-  
gress  
against  
the *Kin*.

We know, however, that they made a great progress against the *Kin*; but, that, deviating from their father's plan of operation, they laid siege to *Tongquan*, and were obliged to raise it;



it; and *Tuli*, with ten thousand troops, was almost totally cut off. This happened in the year 1231: and, by the advice of the *Kin* officers, who had been taken prisoners, they resolved to pursue *Jenghiz Khan's* plan; and to demand a passage through the country of the *Song* into that of the *Kin*, with an intention to besiege *Pienking*, the capital of their empire. *Tuli* accordingly, early in the spring, demanded that passage from the governor *Myenchew* in *Shensi*; but that governor put the messenger to death. Upon this, *Tuli* entered the country of the *Song* with fire and sword, and cut in march pieces upwards of one hundred thousand of the inhabitants; and, by a march equal to that of *Hannibal* over the *Alps*, cutting roads through mountains, filling up valleys, passing rivers upon rafts, and surmounting a thousand other difficulties, he opened to himself a passage to *Honan* through passes that, because deemed inaccessible, were unguarded; and struck the *Kin* with such terror, that all fled before him; while *Oktay* himself, after reducing many important places, passed the great river *Wangho* with another large army.

The emperor of the *Kin*, at that time, kept his court at *Kay-fong-fu*; and was by no means deficient in his duty towards his people. He had two generals, named *Hota* and *Hapua*, upon whom he greatly depended; and, upon the sudden irruption of the *Moguls* into the very heart of his country, he assembled a great council to deliberate upon the means of defending it. The opinion of the majority was, that all the open country should be abandoned; and, that all provisions of grain, and forage of every kind, should be carried into fortified places; which, they observed, the *Mogul* army, after the fatigues and hardships they had undergone, were, by no means, able to besiege. They perceived, at the same time, that *Tuli's* army was reduced to a handful of thirty thousand men; and that, if the *Kin* stood upon the defensive, the enemy must either lay down their arms, or perish with hunger. This advice, perhaps, was the most prudent that could have been followed; but the emperor rejected it with a sigh, and, reflecting upon his people's calamities, ordered his generals instantly to march and fight the enemy. Nothing could have happened more fortunately for *Tuli*, who passed the river *Han* to attack the *Chinese*. A battle ensued, in which the latter had the superiority; but, in a few days after, *Tuli* surprised the *Chinese* generals, and cut off a great number of their men. By this time, the vanguard of *Oktay's* army had passed the *Wangho*, and, entering *Honan*, his general *Suida* was detached to invest the capital, which was of a most amazing circumference. It was garrisoned by eighty thousand soldiers, and twenty thousand of the country people. *Oktay* sent orders for *Tuli* to join *Suida*; and the emperor of the *Kin*, before that junction could be formed, ordered his generals *Hota* and *Hapua* to attempt to raise the siege at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand



thousand troops. *Tuli*, who appears, on this occasion, to have commanded in chief, felled vast numbers of trees to impede the *Moguls* in their march; but he was more assisted by a deep snow, which fell at the same time, and hindered the *Kin* army from approaching the capital. Soon after, *Tuli*, having received great reinforcements, attacked the *Kin* army on all sides, and defeated it. Being then joined by the great khan himself, they besieged and took *Kunchew*, where the *Kin* general *Hota* was killed; his colleague having been made prisoner in the general action.

Virtues of  
the *Kin*  
generals.

Upon this occasion, some of the *Kin* generals gave noble proofs, that they well understood, and could practise, the doctrine of their great legislator *Confucius*. *Hapua*, by his courage and magnanimity, had endeared himself so, even, to his enemies, that *Tuli* offered him a high rank in the *Mogul* service. He declined it, and modestly asked the favour of dying upon his master's ground; a favour granted him by the barbarians, it is said, with some reluctance. *Hoshang*, a prince of imperial extraction, was the most eminent amongst the *Kin* for all virtues, both civil and military. Having survived the general defeat we have taken notice of, he concealed himself, that he might again be of service to his country. Being discovered and taken, he pretended he had some discovery to make to *Tuli*, and demanded to be carried before him. This favour being granted, he discovered his quality to *Tuli*, and told him he was glad of having that opportunity of setting to his country-men a glorious example, for their imitation, by his death; and, for that reason, he had avoided perishing obscurely with the vulgar. *Tuli*, tho' he endeavoured to bring him over to his party by magnificent promises, had not magnanimity enough to treat the *Chinese* as his virtue deserved; and, finding him determined not to serve amongst the *Moguls*, he gave him up to the fury of his soldiers, who, in his death, gratified, to the full, their native ferocity; for, on his refusing to kneel, they cut off his legs; and, perceiving his eloquence had some effect upon the most humane amongst them, they cut up his mouth, so as to deprive him of the use of his tongue. Some of the *Moguls*, however, held his virtues in such admiration, that they made libations of mare's milk at his grave, and wished such a patriot as he might arise amongst themselves.

Cruelty of  
the *Moguls*.

*Kay-fong*

The siege of *Kay-fong* still went on with great vigour; and, attempted the former attempts for relieving it proving ineffectual, the in vain to troops in the neighbourhood of *Tongquan*, consisting of one hundred and ten thousand foot, and about fifteen thousand horse, were, by the *Kin* emperor, ordered to march to the relief of his capital. But this great army miserably perished in its march, partly by the swords of the enemy, partly by the treachery and cowardice of its leaders, and many of them through fatigue and the severity of the season, which rendered the roads impassable. To compleat their miseries, vast numbers



numbers of peasants, women and children, fled along with this army; and all who were not able to keep up with it, were put to the sword, together with the two *Kin* generals. It is tiresome for an historian to dwell upon such reiterated scenes of horror; and, indeed, was it not that the vast populousness of *China*, together with its plenty, is attested by an unexceptionable evidence, the numbers said to have been slain, during these wars, would be incredible. In short, it does not appear that any of this numerous body ever arrived at *Kay-fong*; and the *Moguls* not only took *Tongquan*, and the posts near it, but intercepted all the convoys of provisions that were coming to *Kay-fong*.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the progress the *Chinese* had made, at this time, in the art of war. It is certain upon the that they had the use of gun-powder, and that they discharged bullets and stones through tubes; but the best historians have not ventured to pronounce those tubes to have at this been worked in the same manner as the modern cannon: they likewise had other methods of employing fire, and discharging projectiles of all kinds, which, in the modern art of war, are unknown or unpractised. Nothing can better prove those assertions, than the defence which the *Kin* made against the *Moguls* on this occasion. The city of *Honan* being besieged by the latter, was defended by *Kyanshin*, a brave officer, though no more than four thousand men were in garrison; from which he selected a band of four hundred, who followed him naked; and, being an excellent engineer, he did such execution against the *Moguls*, who were thirty thousand strong, that they were forced to raise the siege after it had lasted three months.

But the great efforts of the *Moguls* were levelled against *Kay-fong*, the siege of which place was carried on by *Suida*, one of their most resolute and experienced generals. They made use of an engine they called *pau*, and those *paus* were of two sorts; one in the nature of the antient balista, for discharging stones of most prodigious size and weight; and the other was worked by fire; but whether it was a real cannon does not appear. The reader will not be surprized that the barbarians were acquainted with these improvements, when he reflects what a vast part of *China* was now in their possession; and how easy it was to learn them from so timid, and so mercenary, a people as the *Chinese* are to this day. The *Kin*, however, who defended *Kay-fong*, seem to have been greatly superior to the *Moguls* in those arts; and their artillery did such execution upon the besiegers, that *Oktay*, being under some necessity of returning into *Tartary*, entered into a negotiation with *Shewsu*, the *Kin* emperor; and offered to leave him in possession of his dominions, provided he would pay him tribute, and put into his hands twenty-seven families, whom he was to name for hostages. *Shewsu* loved



loved his people, and they adored him ; but he was an irresolute prince, and longed extremely to get rid of the *Moguls*. He therefore lent a greedy ear to *Oktay's* proposal, and ordered his soldiers to desist from hostilities : but neglecting, it seems, to stipulate the like cessation in his own favour, *Suida* continued the siege with double vigour, and half filled the ditches. The garrison, upon this, fell into a kind of mutiny, and *Shewsu* was obliged to appear in a manner very unsuitable to his rank to appease it, and to inform them of the treaty that was on foot, and that he would send his son as a hostage of peace that should put an end to all their miseries.

Operations  
against  
*Kay-fong*  
are re-  
sumed.

It does not clearly appear, in what kind of subordination to *Oktay Suida* acted ; for, even after this hostage was sent, he redoubled his attacks with greater fury than ever : but all of them being defeated, by the frequent sallies, and frequent fire of the *Kin*, *Suida* was, at last, obliged to agree to a cessation of arms, and to draw off from before the city. *Ganyong*, a *Mogul* general, having, upon some dissatisfaction, joined the *Kin* emperor, persuaded him to renew the war, and even to put to death thirty of *Oktay's* deputies who were treating of peace. Upon this, *Suida* received orders from his master to reassume the operations against *Kay-fong* ; and the war broke out with greater fury than ever. The *Moguls* daily receiving fresh reinforcements, were so vigilant, that they cut off all the bodies of men, and all the provisions, designed for the relief of the capital ; which soon became, notwithstanding the nature and plenty of the country, to be afflicted with pestilence and famine.

Death of  
*Tuli*.

Notwithstanding all these misfortunes, it does not at all appear that *Suida* was able to take *Kay-fong*. On the contrary, *Oktay*, at this time, met with an irreparable loss by the death of his brother *Tuli*, one of the greatest generals of his age, and one of the most faithful and affectionate of his subjects. By this time, however, *Oktay* had entered into a negotiation with the emperor of the *Song*, who, in consideration of having *Honan* delivered to him, as soon as *Oktay* had subdued the *Kin*, promised to join him with his troops. *Suida* also was continuing his operations against *Kay-fong*, which *Shewsu* at last abandoned, and the place was given up in 1233, by a traitor named *Tsuli*, who had been left in it, after he had massacred a great number of the chief inhabitants and noblemen. After this, *Shewsu* lost all his authority. His army either deserted from him, or were cut in pieces by the *Moguls* ; and *Puchaquen*, one of his generals, at last took upon himself the command of the army and empire.

*Oktay's*  
treaty  
with the  
*Song*.

*Kay-fong*  
taken by  
treason.

The im-  
perial  
race of the  
*Kin* mur-  
dered.

The treaty between *Oktay* and the emperor of the *Song*, did not admit the former to spare any of the imperial race of the *Kin*, who were all of them most barbarously put to death by



by *Suida*. That monster even went so far as to propose to Cruelty of put to the sword the whole surviving inhabitants of *Kay-fong*, *Suida*, which amounted to about fourteen thousand families; and this barbarity would have been executed, had not the remonstrances of *Yelu* prevailed with *Oktay* that they should be saved, and that no more general massacres should be committed. *Suida*, however, suffered the traitor *Tfuli*, who had His aver- betrayed *Kay-fong* into his hands, to be stripped of all the lion to vast plunder he had made of the imperial palaces, in detesta- treason. tion of his treason.

While the *Kin* emperor remained under the dominion of The *Kin* *Puchaquen*, he received a thousand indignities from that ge- emperor neral, who likewise performed many brave actions against confined *Temutay*, a *Mogul* general. But those services served only to by his render him more insolent; and he, at last, put *Shewsu* under own ge- an arrest. That emperor, however, had still brave and du- neral, who tiful subjects; and three of them put to death *Puchaquen* in is put to the fight of the army, which immediately submitted upon death, the fight of the emperor. After this, *Shewsu* moved from place to place through his dominions; but finding all was full of blood-shed and misery, he was often seen to weep most bitterly, and was answered in the same manner by his subjects. To add to his misfortunes, the brave *Kyangshin*, who had hitherto so nobly defended *Honan*, finding the place no longer tenable, endeavoured to break through the *Mogul* army who besieged it, commanded by one *Tachar*, and was taken prisoner. *Tachar* so much admired his virtues, that *Kyangshin* he offered *Kyangshin*, not only his life and liberty, but pre- taken and ferment, if he would make but one reverence towards the put to north in honour of *Oktay*. *Kyangshin*, instead of this, made death. a genuflection towards the south, where his own sovereign resided; upon which *Tachar* ordered him to be put to death. Many other examples of inflexible loyalty and fortitude were exhibited by the *Kin*'s subjects at this fatal period of their empire:

The emperor *Shewsu* began now to be sensible of the great Loyalty of errors he had committed in his government, and particu- *Shewsu's* larly of his breach of faith towards his enemies. But his sub- subjects. jects imputed that to his love for them, and gave him a thousand marks of their affection. At last, he had the discernment to appoint a prince, named *Huseybu*, to command his troops, and to preside in his councils; and he retired to *Tsayshew*; a place at so great a distance from the *Moguls*, that he there indulged himself in the hopes of again tasting repose. He could not have made a better choice than he did of *Hu- Great vir-* *seybu*, who was a prince of great courage and capacity; and tues of his so devoted to his sovereign's service, that he sold all his estate general to raise and maintain ten thousand chosen troops, whom he *Huseybu*. disciplined and commanded in person; and animated to the defence of *Juningfu*, the city of *Tsaychew*, where the emperor



ror took up his residence. It was not long before he had occasion to exercise all his virtues.

The *Song*  
join the  
*Moguls*.

*Juningsfu*  
besieged.

Brave de-  
fence  
made by  
*Huseybu*.

The va-  
lour of the  
*Kin* em-  
peror.

His dis-  
tress and  
death ;

The *Song*, in consequence of their late treaty with *Oktay*, had now taken the field ; and twenty thousand of them, under a general called *Monkong*, were detached to join the *Tartar* general *Tachar*, in order to besiege *Juningsfu*, after finishing their conquests in *Honan*. *Huseybu* had omitted nothing for making a vigorous defence ; but the army under the two generals was composed of the flower of all the *Song*, and *Mogul* troops ; and the intrepidity of the *Moguls* was assisted by the best of the *Chinese* engineering. They perceived, however, from the reception they met with in their first assaults, that it would be difficult to take the place by storm, and they resolved to reduce it by famine, as well as force ; and, for that purpose, surrounded it by strong lines of circumvallation. The garrison, notwithstanding, animated by the presence and exhortations of their emperor, and his brave general, made a resolute defence against the repeated attacks of the *Tartars*. But the numbers of the besieged were daily diminishing, without any means of their being replaced ; so that *Huseybu* ordered the stoutest of the women to work, in men's cloaths, upon the fortifications. The winter was now far advanced, and the besiegers had made many advantageous lodgments upon the outworks of the city, particularly in a tower that was given out to be enchanted, but was not proof against the valour of the *Song* and the *Tartars* ; who were amazed to find, after all they had done, that they had fresh redoubts to attack, that had been raised, within the place, by the indefatigable *Huseybu*, who defended them for three days and three nights ; and who cut in pieces, in his sallies, great numbers of his enemies.

*Monkong*, who best knew the genius of the *Kin*, having certain intelligence, that the besieged were reduced to the last distress by famine, put *Tachar* upon his guard against the efforts of their despair. This was not without reason, for the emperor collected the little strength he had left him, harangued his people in a most pathetic manner, and told them, he was determined to die like a sovereign, with his sword in his hand. He then distributed the money and jewels he had about him to his faithful followers ; and, putting on an ordinary habit, he made a most desperate effort to cut his way through the besiegers. But the latter being upon their guard, he was driven back into the city ; where he ordered all the surviving horses to be killed ; for the subsistence of the garrison. *Monkong*, being now encouraged with the belief that the common men of the garrison could no longer stand to their arms, made five different attacks, with vast resolution, but was repulsed in them all, with great loss. Next day, however, the combined army succeeded, and planted their standards upon the walls. Pre-  
vious



vious to this, the emperor had nominated *Chengling*, a prince of his blood, as his successor; and finding the enemy had entered the city, he put himself to death; some say, by hanging, and others by throwing himself into the flames. As to the noble *Huseyfu*, after performing wonders at the head of his remaining garrison (which did not exceed one thousand men) even when the enemy had entered the city, hearing of his sovereign's death, he drowned himself in the river *Ju*; and his example was followed by many of his officers, and five hundred of his soldiers. *Chenglin* was put to death next day in a tumult; and, in him, ended the dynasty of the *Kin*, after it had continued for about one hundred and seventeen, or one hundred and nineteen years.

The alliance between the *Song*, and the *Tartars*, was too unnatural to be lasting. The former had as much reason to be jealous of the *Moguls*, as the *Kin* had. But they were governed by a weak prince, named *Litsong*, who was under the dominion of his queen; and, though his generals had taken possession of the places conquered from the *Kin* of *Honan*, yet they were not able to keep them against *Suida*; and the emperor condemned their proceeding. This, however, did not satisfy *Oktay*, who made it a pretext for attacking the *Song*, as he had done the *Kin*.

While *Oktay*, by his conquests and ambition, was shewing himself the true representative of the great *Jenghiz Khan*, his excellent minister, *Yulu*, omitted no means to inspire him with a love for the arts of peace, and good government. He succeeded so far, that *Oktay*, for some time, seemed to have lost all that was *Tartar* about him; but his resolution was not to be depended on, upon account of his vast propensity to drinking, which, at times, rendered him brutal and barbarous. He, however, persisted invariably in his regard for *Yelu*; every day affording him fresh proofs of the advantages arising from his administration: for, after the capital of *Kya* was taken, he rejected that kind of plunder that the vulgar are fond of, but secured for himself all the curious paintings, maps, books, and mathematical instruments, he could get, and, particularly, a very large quantity of that excellent root, *Rhubarb*; which that country produces in the greatest perfection. Soon after, the army falling into those diseases that commonly attend excess, *Yelu* opened his storehouses of health for the afflicted, and removed their disorders; to the credit of his own care and foresight. He abolished that dependance, which the ministers of one department of business generally have upon those of another, in barbarous countries; by persuading the emperor to name mandarins, or officers, who, in their several departments, should be independant upon one another, and all of them accountable to the sovereign only. Thus, the civil policy, the learning, the revenue, and the armies of the empire, had their several mandarins, who not being controuled by others, applied



His advice to his master.

applied only to the faithful discharge of their duties. But the great point he had to abolish with his master, was, the custom of bestowing the governments of cities, provinces, and territories, upon his officers, by way of reward. He succeeded, at last, in convincing *Oktay* how dangerous this practice was, and how oppressive it generally was to the people, when a great man was at liberty to indemnify himself at their expence; and how strong a temptation the practice often was for rebellion. He, therefore, persuaded the emperor to be as liberal of his gold, and rich stuffs, jewels, and other precious commodities, as he pleased, to those who had served him well, but to be very frugal of other sorts of rewards.

He is strongly opposed.

His intrepidity

This conduct, which was diametrically opposite to the interest of the great *Tartars*, raised up a vast number of enemies to *Yelu*, who was himself a *Kitan* by birth. The chief of his enemies were *Wachin*, and *Shemohyen*; the first of them related to the khan, and the latter, one of the great ministers of state; and they concurred in loading *Yelu* with many groundless accusations, besides remonstrating against him for the advice he gave, as to the management of the revenues, and the finances. *Oktay* had penetration enough to discern the motives of their enmity, and remained firm to his minister, who, in like manner, continued to serve his master with great zeal, and an intrepidity which daunted the rest of his friends: for some of them, afraid of the confederacy against him, excused themselves from serving in the high posts to which *Yelu* had recommended them. Soon after, that minister gave a noble proof of his magnanimity: for when his capital enemy, *Shemohyen*, was accused to the khan of several capital crimes, *Oktay* ordered, that he should be tried and judged by *Yelu*; who reported to his majesty, that he found him guilty of nothing but too much pride; and that, when the war was over, it would be time enough to deliberate upon his punishment. This extraordinary proof of virtue, endeared *Yelu* still more and more to the khan; and, ordering the books of his treasury to be laid before his other grandees, he shewed them what vast improvements *Yelu* had made in his revenues: so that, upon the whole, many of his greatest enemies became converts to his virtues, which the khan recommended to the imitation of all his chief men.

and success.

He persuades *Oktay* to cultivate the arts of civil life.

*Yelu* carried his improvements into all parts of civil life, and never failed to take every opportunity of remonstrating against the horrors of war: but, in this part of his duty, he seems to have been unable to get the better of his master's *Tartar* nature. He succeeded, however, so far, as to persuade *Oktay*, in the year 1235, to convert his capital of *Karakoram* (which, before then, seems to have been no more than a collection of huts and tents), into a fortified city, adorned with noble houses, built by his great men, and



and a most magnificent palace for his own residence, with fountains for refreshment, and parks for hunting. In this undertaking, the most ingenious artists that were to be found in *Kitay*, and the conquered countries, were employed; and it was peopled with inhabitants from *Turkestan*, *Kitay*, *Persia*, and other western countries of *Asia*: but such is the vanity of sublunary glory, that this superb city is not now discernable, even by its ruins; nor have geographers been able even to ascertain its situation; for it is uncertain, whether the city now mentioned under that name, is the same with the antient *Karakoram*.

But the cultivation of the arts of peace seems to have increased *Oktay*'s rage after conquests. About this time, he news his raised greater armies, and undertook greater expeditions, preparati- than ever. Three hundred thousand men were sent, under ons for *Suida*, and *Batu*, prince of *Kipjak*, son to the late *Tusbi*, to war pursue the attempts which that general had already made, upon the borders of the *Caspian Sea*. *Suida* was likewise attended by *Queyyew*, the great khan's eldest son, the other princes of the blood, and the descendants of *Jenghiz Khan*'s intrepids (as his four chief generals were called) who were all fond of learning the art of war under so great a master. The differences between *Oktay*, and the *Song*, still increasing, other great armies were raised to subdue them. That which against the was destined against *Sechwen*, was commanded by prince *Song*.

*Kotovan*, the emperor's second son, who was assisted by *Chakay*, one of the generals who had drank the waters of *Panchuni* with *Jenghiz Khan*. Another army was ordered to march against the *Song*, by way of *Kyangnan*, and it was commanded by *Kuchu*, the emperor's third son, who had under him, *Temutay Changjan*, king *Pitu* (who has been already mentioned) with many other great princes. The progress of the *Moguls* against the *Song*, as usual, was at once rapid and terrible. *Kongchanfu* submitted to *Kotovan*; and the *Song* not being well united amongst themselves, gave prince *Kuchu* an opportunity of making himself master of *Kyangnan*, *Syangyon*, and *Tegen*; in all which places he met with great plunder; and the inhabitants of the latter were put to the sword. But, about this time, *Kuchu*, who was tenderly loved by his father, died. *Yelu*, however, did not fail to represent the glory that would attend *Oktay*, if, master as he was of the birth-place of the great *Confucius*, he would cause the halls and monuments there, dedicated to that great man, to be repaired, which was accordingly done; and *Confucius* *Oktay*, as a further testimony of his regard for his minister, honoured. ordered, that the *Chinese* doctors, and literati, who had been made prisoners in the learned province of *Kuquang*, should be set at liberty, and taken into his service, for the purpose of civilizing the *Moguls* and *Tartars*.

In the mean while, prince *Kotovan*, at the head of five Bravery of hundred thousand men, as is said, entered the province of the *Song*.



*Shensi*; and a great battle was fought, between him and a handful of the *Song*, who had devoted themselves to die for their country, under two brothers, *Yeuwen*, and *Tsauwan*, who were very advantageously posted. But though the battle lasted for two days, and the fields, for two leagues round, run with blood, the *Moguls* remained masters of the field, being still supplied with fresh numbers, and the *Song* were at last surrounded and cut in pieces, with their two brave generals. This victory, which cost the *Moguls* an incredible number of men, was followed by the reduction of *Sechew*, and the siege of *Venuhew*, by the *Moguls*. This last place was defended by *Lyeru*, who, finding no hopes of relief, poisoned himself, with his family; and, such was the abhorrence of the *Song*, for the *Moguls*, that a child of six years of age, upon his knees, begged for, and obtained, a draught of the fatal cup; forty thousand more of the *Song* did the same, at the same time.

*Sechew*  
taken.

Desperate  
deaths of  
the *Song*.

Observa-  
tion on  
their con-  
duct.

*Mingkong*  
beats the  
*Moguls*,  
and

retrieves  
the *Song*  
empire.

This desperate practice in a sensible people, and a people so devoted to their country as the *Chinese* were, is pretty unaccountable. We are, however, to reflect, that it was not the interest of the *Mogul* officers and soldiers, to give them leave to die with their swords in their hands; but, as we have already observed, to make slaves of all who could be serviceable to them: add to this, the *Chinese* are naturally addicted to self-murder, and are encouraged in their practice of it by their religion, which either assigns a reward for it, or teaches them that there is no life after this; for the *Chinese* were then, and are now still divided, between those opinions.

The ravages of war still continuing against the *Song*, the great general *Mingkong* put himself at the head of their armies; and the bravery of *Keyewyo*, the governor of *Chincheu*, obliged the *Mogul* governor to raise the siege of that place, with vast loss. *Wangchew* being, at the same time, besieged by the *Moguls*, was relieved by *Mingkong*; and *Chaban*, the great *Mogul* general, and the general, or master, of their ordnance, was defeated before *Yangtong*, which he had besieged, and obliged to retire, with great loss, by its brave governor *Tukew*. *Shaban* then, in the year 1238, undertook the siege of *Suchew*; but *Tukew* throwing himself into the place, by means of the most undaunted resolution, and a fire greatly superior to that of the *Moguls*, obliged the besiegers to abandon the prodigious works they had raised, and to retire towards *Tartary*, after losing half their army in the siege, and the pursuit. Next year, the *Song*, under *Mingkong*, almost every where defeated the *Moguls*, and retook all the places they held in *Shensi*, and *Honan*; together with all their magazines, and captives.

This great reverse of fortune, next to the vast resolution with which the examples of great generals can inspire a people, is to be attributed to *Yelu's* losing part of that influence which he had over his master. For *Oktay's* senses, through



through excessive drinking, began now to be affected, and Degene-  
 his favourite empress *Tolyckona* got an entire ascendancy over racy and  
 him. She, on the other hand, was governed by rapacious drunken-  
 favourites, one of whom, a *Mahometan*, whose name was nefs of  
*Gantulumar*, offered to double the khan's revenue, as raised *Oktay*.  
 by *Yelu*. It was in vain for the latter to represent, that this  
 rapaciousness would, in fact, not only destroy that industry  
 by which the revenue was raised, but the means employed  
 in collecting it would render the people desperate. Those  
 representations having no effect, he retired, with a sigh,  
 from the council-board. His enemies thus getting the bet-  
 ter, employed all the arts of oppression against the best sub-  
 jects the khan had; and those were followed by a total  
 proscription of the *Chinese* from all the places they held in  
 the government, while the most worthless wretches were  
 raised to posts of profit and dignity; and all the prisons of  
 the empire were filled by the inhuman farmers of the reve-  
 nue. *Mingkong* made advantage of all those errors of go- Good po-  
 vernment. He repeopled the re-conquered countries, by licy of  
 inhabitants drawn from the interior parts of the *Song* em- *Mingkong*.  
 pire; to whom he assigned lands in the countries between  
*Sechuen*, *Kyang*, and *Han*; but they held those lands by the  
 tenure of the sword, for he made every husbandman a sol-  
 dier; and, thus, he formed a useful militia against any fu-  
 ture invasion. It was during this reverse of *Oktay*'s affairs, *Oktay* re-  
 that he ordered his eldest son *Queyyew* to return, with his calls his  
 army, into *Tartary*, from the western expedition, which is son *Quey*-  
 said to have been very successful; but we are much in the *yew*.  
 dark as to particulars.

The introduction of the financier *Gantuluman*, proved, at *Oktay* falls  
 last, fatal to *Oktay*. That prince's excess in drinking had ill.  
 often thrown him into violent disorders; and, in the be-  
 ginning of the year 1241, his life was given over. Upon  
 this, the empress *Tolyekona*, a woman of vast address and  
 genius for government, applied to *Yelu*, for his advice; not  
 that she loved him, but because she knew his great autho-  
 rity, and experience, might be of service to her. *Yelu* ho- Conversa-  
 nestly repeated what he had before urged at the council- tion be-  
 board, and told her, that the disorders in government were tween the  
 entirely owing to oppression. His remonstrances had such empress  
 effect, that, some hopes appearing of the emperor's recovery, and *Yelu*.  
 the prison doors were set open, and an act of grace was,  
 at last published, reinstating the *Chinese* in all their rights  
 and privileges; and suffering them to act even as manda-  
 rins, or judges, in certain cases, and inferior capacities.

*Yelu*, at the same time, did not fail to remonstrate to the *Oktay*  
 emperor, the pernicious consequences of his intemperance, drinks  
 both to his person and government; but *Oktay* was too far himself to  
 gone in this vice to be reclaimed. His times of excess were, death.  
 generally, after a great hunting, to which he always went  
 attended by his grandees, and drinking companions. In



November, this year, *Yelu* could not prevail upon him not to go to one of those huntings; the consequence of which proved mortal to him. For after being absent five days, when he returned to a certain mountain, he was overpersuaded by *Gantuluman*, his financier, to sit up all night drinking; and this debauch, next morning, put an end to his life, in the 13th year of his reign, and the 56th of his age; having previously named his grandson *Shelycmen*, or, as he is called by the western writers, *Siramon*, the son of his third son prince *Kuchu*, for his heir and successor.

His character.

Such as we have represented them, were the most important events of this great prince's life; of whom, some particulars are mentioned in the preceding parts of this history. His great merit appears in the respect and friendship he entertained for his excellent minister *Yelu*; to whose councils he seems to have owed his chief virtues: and who, besides the instances we have already given of his humanity and wisdom, prevailed with this khan to rebuild, and repopulate, *Herat*, in *Korajan*; which, as we have already seen, had been destroyed by the *Moguls*. His historian *Abulgaza Khan*, who wrote from the memoirs of *Fadlallah*, a nobleman who lived not long after *Oktay*, and other *Persian* historians, have given us several other particular instances of his liberality and charity; yet most of them are extremely trifling, and appear rather to be fits of good-nature in drunken frolicks, than any settled love for virtue. We are told, however, that his liberality cost him ten millions of gold in presents; but the value of the coin is not ascertained. Two instances of his justice ought not to be omitted here. An enthusiast, of the tribe of *Virats*, who are the inveterate enemies of the *Mahometans*, one day told the great khan, that his father *Jenghiz Khan* had appeared to him, and commanded him to tell his majesty, that his will was, he should put to death all the *Mahometans* within his dominions. The emperor calmly asked the fellow, "Whether his father had spoken to him in person, or by an interpreter?" His answer was, "In person." "Dost thou understand the *Mogul* language?" resumed the emperor. The *Virat* replied in the negative. "Then," continued *Oktay*, "thou must be an impostor. My father knew no other language; so that thou could neither understand him, nor he thee." And then ordered him to be put to death. The other instance was as follows: a severe law, amongst the *Mahometans*, prohibited killing sheep in any other manner, than by ripping up its belly, for a reason that has been already mentioned. This practice was not lawful for the *Mahometans*, and a meddling, malicious *Mogul*, having one day climbed up to the top of a *Mahometan's* house, which he perceived shut up, he looked down the chimney, and saw the *Mahometan* kill a sheep by cutting off the head. The *Mogul* instantly carried the *Mahometan* before

Remarkable stories of him.



before *Oktay*; who, upon hearing the complaint, ordered the *Mogul* to be put to death: for this very good reason, that the *Mahometan's* caution was to be commended, and that his crime was not near so great, as was that of mounting upon his neighbour's house without his knowledge.

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*The inter-regnum, and reigns of Queyyew Khan, and the other successors of Jenghiz Khan.*

IT is not, perhaps, easy, at this distance of time, and Difficult place, to determine the precise form of the *Mogul* constitution, with regard to the succession of their princes to the empire. We have already mentioned the difficulties that *Oktay* was under, before he could be prevailed upon to mount the throne; and the period we now treat of, furnishes us with a fresh proof, that the election of the chief khans, and noblemen, of the *Moguls*, and *Tartars*, in a general diet, was absolutely necessary for making a great khan. For, after the death of *Oktay*, *Tolyckona*, without regarding the nomination of *Oktay*, by the consent of her son *Queyyew*, who was the late khan's eldest son, and *Gantuluman*, the high treasurer, took upon herself the regency, until a general diet of the grandees could be convoked. Her pretext for this, undoubtedly, was plausible. *Yelu*, who was a foreigner, and the professed patron of his countrymen the *Chinese*, declared loudly for adhering to the emperor's nomination; and it was easy to foresee, that, if that took place, he would soon resume all his authority. Interest united his enemies against him, and the conjuncture was extremely favourable to their views. The great officers of the army, and of the state, were absent in the wars against the *Song*, and in other countries, still more distant; and the empress, by means of the vast sums furnished her by the high treasurer, found means to bring over to her views those who were most likely to oppose her at *Karakoram*; where her son was at the head of the army. But, notwithstanding all the discouragements he was under, *Yelu* continued firmly attached to the interests of the young *Shelyemen*, and insisted upon having the high treasurer displaced; till, perceiving all his efforts were in vain, he retired to a private life at *Karakoram*, and died, as is said, of a broken heart, in 1243. We have little to add to what we have already related of this great minister, but that his private life was as amiable as his public, and that he himself formed his children and grandchildren to the practice of his own virtues. When he was dead, his enemies persuaded the regent to make an enquiry into his effects, but, to their confusion, they found amongst them but very little money, and that all his wealth consisted



in the riches of a philosopher, devoted to the studies of mathematics, nature, antiquities, and music. His age, when he died, was no more than fifty-six years; and the *Chinese*, in remembrance of his virtues, not only erected to him a magnificent tomb, but have been very particular in transmitting them in their histories to posterity.

*Queyyew*  
elected  
great  
khan.

Progress  
of the  
*Moguls* in  
*Europe*.

The dow-  
ager em-  
press said  
to have  
been a  
*Christian*.

Priests ad-  
mitted in-  
to the go-  
vernment.

All this while, the war, with various success, was going on, between the *Moguls* and the *Seng*; but generally to the advantage of the latter, through the excellent discipline that *Mingkong* had introduced amongst them: and *Tolyekona*, the regent, two years after the death of *Oktay*, at last convened a general diet, at which *Suida*, and other princes, who had been employed in the western expeditions, were expected. They did not, however, arrive till after *Queyyew* had been formally installed. As we have already observed, the expedition of *Suida* is very darkly related by the *Chinese* historians, who scarcely believed that any other country besides their own existed. From the hints, however, that have fallen from them, it is certain that the *Moguls* carried their arms into *Russia*, *Poland*, several places in *Germany*, and as far as *Hungary*. But, as those countries were, at that time, fully as barbarous as themselves, few of their inhabitants being converted to *Christianity*, the particulars of their conquests are unknown. Plunder seems to have been the great aim of the conquerors, for it is certain they made few or no settlements in the countries they invaded.

The election of *Queyyew* to be khan did not weaken the sway which his mother had in the government. This princess is generally held to have been the daughter of the brave sultan *Jalaloddin*; and we are told, by many popish authors who pretend to be conversant in oriental histories, that she either was a *Christian* or a great favourer of that religion: but this, perhaps, can be understood no farther than, that, as there was no established religion but *deism*, in the *Mogul* empire, the *Christians*, who drove vast traffic all over the east, were well received at the *Mogul* court; and, very possibly, some priests, of the same religion, might have talked to the empress about spiritual matters without her being displeased. Her son, after he came to the empire, discovered an unbounded generosity to the *grande*es and the princes of the blood; which is not surprising, when we consider how powerful a competitor he had in the person of *Shel-yemen*. He is likewise noted for being the first *Mogul* prince who admitted lamas, or priests, into the administration of his government; but those priests seem to have been the ministers of *Chinese* idolatry. One of them was so great a favourite, that the emperor gave him a gold seal, and appointed him to examine into the public grievances. This is almost all we know of *Queyyew*, whose empire lost its greatest enemy in his time by the death of *Mingkong*, the great *Seng* general. As to the success of his wars, we know little, but that he

least



sent an army to oblige *Korea* to pay tribute; and that he sent another army to the west, perhaps to preserve his conquests upon the *Caspian Sea*. He died in the year 1248, in the forty-third year of his age, near *Karakoram*. Death of  
*Queyyew*.

It appears that *Shelyemen* lived at the court of *Queyyew*, in the character of prince successor to the empire; and that he was considered as such by the empress *Waliamish*, the late khan's widow, who took upon herself the regency till the great diet for the election should be held; which, as usual, did not happen till two or three years after the great khan's death. This inter-regnum is noted for introducing luxuries in diets and equipages, and for the vast expences of all kinds which the court run into. The diet was held in the year *Mangu* 1251; and, though the descendants of *Jengiz Khan*, who were numerous and powerful in it, were for electing *Shelyemen*, yet the voices of the grandees carried the election for *Mangu*, the son of *Tuli*, tho' that prince had been amongst the first to nominate *Shelyemen*. Some accounts, however, pretend that *Mangu* was indebted for his election to the intrigues of his mother, a princess in great reputation for her piety and wisdom. The election being over and confirmed, the new khan feasted the members of the diet for seven days; and, amongst the other provisions, three hundred horses were dressed for the guests; a food which, to this day, is in the highest esteem with the *Tartars*. chosen  
great  
khan,

*Mangu* ascended the throne at a time of life when age, and Conspicuous experience in the high commands which he had always borne with the greatest courage and honour, rendered him against very worthy of the power invested in him. He is said to have been generous, open, and unsuspecting; and this encouraged *Shelyemen* to enter into a conspiracy against him; and but it ended in the destruction of himself and confederates. The greatest of *Mangu*'s generals was his brother *Hupily*. This *Hupily*, who came afterwards to be so great a prince, attached himself to a *Chinese* lord *Yausbu*, and was entirely governed by his directions. Being nominated by his brother to the government of all the conquered part of *China*, and of the countries, be-south the *Great Kobi*, or *Desart*, *Yausbu* initiated him in the *Chinese* learning, and prevailed upon him to follow, in all his conduct, the wise maxims of *Yelu* and *Minkong*; which greatly endeared him to the *Chinese*, and kept them quiet under his government.

But, whatever virtues *Mangu* had to recommend him to the throne, he seems, by his actions, to have degenerated into a bloody tyrant; for he grew so suspicious of the other princes of *Jenghiz Khan*'s blood, that he put many of them to death, and sent others of them into banishment. Not contented with this, he ordered the princess *Waliamish*, the widow of the great khan *Queyyew*, and formerly regent of the empire, together with the mother of *Shelyemen*, to be publicly executed, upon the ridiculous pretext that they Cruelty of  
*Mangu*.



were magicians. He likewise ordered his army to enter *Tibet*, and to destroy all who would not submit to his government.

Curious account of *Christian* religion was so much encouraged under the descendants of *Jenghiz Khan*, that not only many of the *Asiatic Christians*, but *St. Lewis*, who was, at the time we now treat of, engaged in his crusades, believing them to be *Christians*, but not papists, sent several ambassadors to convert them to popery. This persuasion seems to have taken its rise from a political view of some of the *Mogul* princes whose territories lay the most adjacent to *Egypt* and *Syria*; and therefore they thought, that an alliance with the crusaders would be of great service to them. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that *St. Lewis* received, from a certain *Tartar* prince, a letter courting his alliance against the *Mahometans*, and wishing good success to the arms of the cross; of which they spoke with great affection and devotion. From the corruption of names, it is very uncertain who the prince or princes were that wrote this letter; but, most probably, it was a son of *Batu*, who reigned in *Kipjak*, whose territories were very extensive. *Lewis*, upon this, examined into the state of religion in those countries, and found that a great many *Christians*, who had visited them, and the *Nestorian* priests and monks, the greatest impostors on the face of the earth, confirmed him in the belief that they were *Christians*; upon which the good king determined, if possible, to make them papists. Accordingly he sent ambassadors to the great khan, and to the prince who is called *Erkoltay*, who wrote him a letter, together with valuable presents for both; and his ambassadors, on this occasion, set out with the *Tartar* envoys. They carried with them, likewise, letters from *Odo*, the pope's legate, to the same princes, exhorting them to submit to the holy father. Soon after, a friar, named *Rubriquis*, who has left an account of his travels, was by the king sent upon the same mission. The reader, however, is to carry it in his eye, that the precise period in which those embassies happened, was the very time when the descendants of *Jenghiz Khan* were meditating the great expedition into *Syria* and against the khalif of *Baghdad*, which soon after took place. *Rubriquis* has very minutely, and, it is to be presumed, very honestly, described his travels and the court of *Batu*, through which he passed, making allowance for the credulity of his age, and the ignorance of his profession. But the particulars are foreign to this history. He was attended by another friar, an interpreter, and three other persons; and he arrived at *Mangu's* court on the twenty-seventh of *December*, 1254. His description of this place, the prince, and his family, together with an account of what happened there a little before his arrival, agree so well with other authentic histories, that they are strong evidences of his sincerity.

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who believes the *Mogul* princes are *Christians*.

*Rubriquis* undertakes a mission into *Tartary*.

Particulars of his journey.



tity. *Mangu* admitted him and his attendants to his presence; He is admitted to  
 but they discovered that he was no *Christian*. Upon his being admitted to  
 asking them, therefore, concerning their business, they made *Mangu*.  
 an apology for the mistake they had been under, and for  
 coming before him empty handed; and begged leave to re-  
 main in his country, as missionaries, till the bitter cold, which  
 then prevailed, was over. The place where *Mangu* then Descrip-  
 kept his court was about ten days journey from *Karakoram*, tion of his  
 and his dwelling was a kind of large tent, or booth, all hung audience,  
 with cloth of gold. He granted their request with a very and of the  
 good grace, and told them, that, as for presents, his power, religion of  
 and that of *Batu*, was so extensive that they wanted none; the em-  
 and he gave them leave, if they pleased, to go to *Karakoram*. press,  
 But the friars, meeting with several *Christians* about the  
 court, chose to remain where they were. During their resi-  
 dence there, however, they saw the khan's chief wife, or  
 empress, with her son and younger children, and some la-  
 dies, repair to the *Nestorian* chapel; where she assisted in a  
 kind of a worship, which, according to the description of  
 it, cannot be called *Christian*; neither, indeed, does it ap-  
 pear that she had been baptized. Soon after, the khan him-  
 self, who seemed to be about 45, and of a *Mogul* aspect, came  
 to the chapel; and his wife and he reposed in a golden bed  
 before the altar. He next called for *Rubriquis* and his com-  
 panion, looked upon their Bible and Breviary, asked the  
 meaning of the images, and then retired; but left his em-  
 press. She then offered presents to all the *Christians* in the  
 chapel, which were accepted of by all present but the two  
 friars. After this, she called for strong liquor and victuals; who gets  
 and, asking a blessing on her knees, she regaled herself so drunk in  
 heartily with the *Nestorians*, that, in the evening, she was the chapel.  
 carried off dead drunk. Next day, *Batu*, the same lady's  
 son by the khan, came and made the priest drunk by way of  
 revenge.

These debauches could not fail of inspiring *Rubriquis* Impos-  
 with great horror; but, upon farther enquiry, he found that tures of  
 the head *Nestorian* monk, who conducted all this imposture, the *Nesto-*  
 was an ignorant weaver; and, that he had acquired, and rians.  
 maintained, the credit he had by the most infamous means;  
 and, that the khan, and the empress, were so far from be-  
 ing *Christians*, that they were gross idolaters, and devoted  
 their whole time to intemperance and idolatry; in which  
 they were assisted and imitated by the *Nestorians* them-  
 selves.

We have been more than usual particular in this relation; Reflec-  
 not only as it gives us a lively idea of *Mangu's* way of living, tion.  
 but as it serves to prove what kind of *Christianity* the succes-  
 sors of *Jenghiz Khan* had embraced. It is plain, from the  
 relation of *Rubriquis*, that the *Nestorians* had insinuated  
 themselves at this court, only by out-doing the most detest-  
 able idolatry of the *Chinese*; which recommended them to  
 a prince,



a prince, so excessively devoted to superstition and drunkenness, as *Mangu* is, on all hands, allowed to have been.

*Mangu's* But, notwithstanding this, *Mangu*, assisted by *Batu*, still great am- maintained his superiority in the *Mogul* empire; and formed bition and schemes of conquests equal to those of his greatest predecessors. idolatry. He was excessively liberal to his troops, and was the first khan who declared a *Chinese* lama to be head of religion in his empire; and sacrificed upon a high mountain, according to the ceremonial prescribed by the *Chinese* idolatry. Having assembled a general diet of his empire, near the river *Onan*, three great expeditions were resolved upon; one against *India*, another against *Corca*, and the third against the khalif of *Baghdad*: and, at the same time, it was resolved to prosecute the war against the *Song* in *China*; where *Hupily* had been very successful, but would have been guilty of the most enormous cruelties, had it not been for the remonstrances of his tutor *Yau*. He had subdued great part of *Yunnan*; and, by his advice, the great khan encouraged the building of cities, and agriculture throughout all the conquered countries. He likewise sent large colonies of *Moguls* to people them, and erected seminaries of learning for their instruction in morality and the arts: so that historians say the *Moguls* were as great proficient as the *Chinese* themselves in both. *Hupily*, however, by his vast popularity amongst the *Chinese*, incurred the displeasure of his brother, the great khan; upon which the latter turned him out of his government, and his favourite generals out of their commands. The great khan, at the same time, appointed commissioners for trying all delinquents in *China*; and their commission was thought to have respect particularly to *Hupily's* conduct.

His brother *Hupily* falls under his displeasure,

The latter, enraged at meeting with so ungrateful a return for all his services, would instantly have fled to arms; but he was diverted from that resolution by *Yau*, who advised him to throw himself and family at the feet of *Mangu*, who was then at *Lupan*, where *Jenghiz Khan* died. *Hupily* followed this advice, and, attended only by his family, he surprised the khan, by appearing before him in the habit and form of a suppliant; and offered to submit to any punishment he should inflict. This appearance entirely removed the suspicions of *Mangu*, and touched him so tenderly that he embraced him with tears, and reinstated him in his government and dignity.

but is reinstated in his favour.

A new capital built.

It was about this time, that the great khan, finding *Karakoram* a place very inconvenient for holding a general diet of his empire, which he seems to have been obliged to call upon all occasions of emergency, ordered a *Chinese* bonza, named *Ping*, who was a great mathematician, to lay out another city, for that purpose, in another more convenient spot. He accordingly built *Longkang*, lying to the east of the city *Wangchew*, in a most delightful and fertile neighbourhood,



hood, surrounded it with strong walls, and adorned it with palaces and most magnificent public edifices. As we have already given the particulars of *Hulaku's* expedition and success against *Baghdad*, we shall not resume them here; but follow *Mangu* in an expedition which he undertook, in person, against the *Song*. This appears to have been in the year 1258, after *Tibet* had been subdued by his generals. To carry on this expedition, he distributed almost his whole wealth, and ready money, amongst his generals and officers; so that, when some *Mahometan* merchants came to offer their commodities and jewels, he was able to buy but very few of them.

The success of *Mangu's* expedition against the *Song*, at this time, notwithstanding his vast preparations, was but very indifferent. The *Moguls* seem, as yet, to have been but novices in the art of erecting magazines; and to have trusted to the fertility of the places through which they marched. The *Song*, sensible of this, took care to remove all provisions out of their reach, and to harass them by flying parties; so that, whatever advantages the *Moguls* got in the field, they were obliged soon to give them up. The latter, however, lost *Chingtu*, a city of vast importance in *Sechwen*; but made themselves masters of *Lanchew*, but spared the governor *Yong*, upon condition of his assisting him in his wars in *Sechwen*. At the same time, *Queylin*, the capital of the province *Quansi*, was taken by the *Moguls*; who, under one of their generals, *Hulyang*, penetrated as far as *Shangshaw*; while *Mangu*, with the main army, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his wisest general, who best knew the nature of the country, laid siege to *Hochew*, in *February*, 1259. This was one of the strongest cities in all *China*, and was defended by one *Vangkyen*; while the *Song* general, *Laven*, with a flying army, observed all the motions of the *Moguls*, cut off their parties and provisions, and put them under inexpressible difficulties. This siege continued till *August*; and sickness from the heats of the season, and other causes, had made vast havock amongst the *Mogul* troops. *Mangu*, however, who was at the siege in person, obstinately persisted in his resolution; and, having supplied his camp with fresh armies, he ordered a general assault to be given. At first the *Moguls* were successful so far, that they mounted the walls, from whence they called out to the governor to surrender, promising to save his life: but *Vangkyen*, far from that, defended the place so bravely, that the *Moguls* were repulsed with the loss of the general who commanded the siege under *Mangu*. This enraged that khan so much, that he ordered the assault to be renewed, and led his men up in person; but they were repulsed, and he himself was killed assaulting on the spot, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the ninth of his reign.

*Mangu,*



His character.

*Mangu*, after he came to the throne, seems to have devoted himself entirely to superstition, idolatry, and strong liquors; for *Rubriquis* says, that he was drunk when he gave him his first audience. This vice seems to have been common, at that time, in *Tartary*; and to have been introduced by the conquests of *Jenghiz Khan* and his successors; which made the *Moguls* acquainted with strong liquors, particularly with brandy, or some liquor that resembled it; for the richest wines are thought too weak against the prodigious colds that prevail, during most of the year, in *Tartary*.

The siege of *Hochew* raised.

The vast losses which the *Moguls* had sustained during the siege of *Hochew*, determined *Moko*, their surviving general, and brother to the late khan, to retire with his remaining troops, to *Shensi*; and, in the mean while, he sent a courier to acquaint his brother *Hupily* of *Mangu*'s death, and to invite him to mount the throne. *Hupily*, whom, after this, we are to call *Kublai*, as we have already seen, was then in

*Vuchang* besieged, and bravely defended.

great reputation for his virtue; and, to enhance his character the more with the *Moguls*, after he received the news of his brother's death, he undertook the siege of *Vuchang*, a city which had often been found impregnable by the *Mogul* arms. As the loss of this city must have been fatal to the affairs of the *Song*, *Luven*, the brave governor of *Sechwen*, defended it in person; but *Kayar*, the *Song* generalissimo, who is, by historians, accused of cowardice and other crimes, made no attempts to relieve the place. Notwithstanding this, *Luven* made an obstinate defence; but *Kayar*, who managed all the affairs of the *Song* entire, offered, amongst other terms of peace, that his master should become tributary to *Kublai*, if he would retire with his army. *Kublai*, at first, rejected this offer with indignation; but, having certain advice that intrigues were on foot to place his brother *Alipuko* on the throne, he, at last, concluded a treaty, by which the *Song* emperor was to pay him a tribute of fifty thousand pounds sterling a year; and the boundaries between the two empires being settled, *Kublai* returned towards *Tartary*, having previously caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, according to some authors: but it is more probable that he delayed that step till he took the sense of a diet; which he did in the year 1260; when all the members recognized him for their emperor at the new city of *Kayping*.

Peace between the *Moguls* and the *Song*.

*Kublai* declared great khan.

He defeats his brother.

Notwithstanding this election, prince *Alipuko* was in possession of *Karakoram*, at the head of a great army, and a strong party, who proclaimed him emperor in that capital. But *Kublai* took his measures so well, that all his brother's intrigues and attempts were disconcerted; and his army was defeated, with a vast slaughter and the loss of his two best generals. After this, *Kublai* made himself master of *Karakoram*. As for *Alipuko*, he cut his way through his enemies; but authors are not agreed as to his fate afterwards: some



some say he threw himself at his brother's feet and was pardoned; others, that he was thrown into prison; where, in a year afterwards, he finished his life. Some historians intimate, as if two general engagements had happened before *Kublay* reduced *Karakoram*; but they seem to be both one and the same.

The defeat of this rebellion left *Kublay* at liberty to pursue His excellent plans laid down by his tutor *Yau*; and the his-  
 tories of *China*, as well as *Tartary*, are lavish in his praises of govern-  
 upon this subject. From their concurrence it appears, that ment laid  
 his main aim was to introduce, amongst the *Tartars*, the down by  
*Chinese* arts, manufactures, and models of government. In his tutor  
 all this he was indefatigable; and he filled all the most im- *Yau*.  
 portant places of his empire with literati, to the surprize of  
 the *Moguls* in general, who had seen none but military per-  
 sons hold places of high importance. He ordered, that  
 learned and ingenious men, of every country and religion,  
 should be encouraged and preferred at his court and through-  
 out his empire; and he himself took great delight in the His studies  
 study of mathematics and history. We shall not, however,  
 be particular as to the names of the persons and the learned  
 men whom he employed; nor as to the means he took in car-  
 rying those noble schemes into execution. *Kublay* had ele-  
 vation of genius enough to prefer those arts to the worthless  
 brutal manners of his *Tartars*; and he knew it must be by  
 them only that he could become a truly great prince. But  
*Kublay* was still a *Tartar* at the soul, without a true relish for  
 any thing but power. He was likewise superstitious to a  
 great degree, devoted to the lamas, or priests of idolatry; and super-  
 and without any true knowledge of the principles of mora- sition.  
 lity, which ought to be the foundation of all greatness.

Upon the evacuation of the dominions of the *Song* by *Kub- Tartars*  
*lay's* armies, about one hundred and fifty *Tartars*, having put to  
 neglected to repass the river *Kyang*, they were cut in pieces death.  
 by *Kya's* orders. Though, perhaps, these persons were  
 stragglers, and deserved their punishment, yet *Kya* gave this  
 incident another turn; for it was represented at his master's  
 court as a victory he had obtained over the *Moguls*. The  
*Song* emperor's name was *Litsong*, and he then resided at  
*Hangchew*; but he was, as we are told, in a manner im-  
 mured by his minister, and kept ignorant of all that passed  
 in public, and even of the late treaty with *Kublay*. That  
 emperor had sent a minister, one *Hauking*, to notify to the  
*Song* emperor his accession; and, at the same time, to carry  
 the late treaty into execution. But *Kya* took care to throw *Tartar*  
 this minister into prison, as soon as he came within the *Song* minister.  
 dominions, to prevent his having access to his master. In imprison-  
 the mean while, some of the *Song* lords, and governors of ed.  
 places, declared for the *Moguls*, and some of the *Moguls* for  
 the *Song*; so that hostilities could not be said to have ceased  
 between the two nations; and, at last *Kublay* declared war  
 against



War with the *Song*. against the *Song*, and gave orders for raising a great army, which he put under the command of a general named *Achu*, who had great experience in war.

*Abama* All expeditions against the *Song* were attended with vast superin- expences, nor can we believe that *Kublai's* ministers, who tendant of were almost all of them *Chinese*, were very forward in invent- the *Mo-* ing the ways and means of defraying them. A *Mahometan* gul reve- *Arab*, called *Abama*, who was well skilled in all the arts of nues. oppression, undertook to do this, provided the emperor would give him the superintendency of his customs, and suffer none to take cognizance of his accounts but himself; to which proposal *Kublai* agreed. This created a kind of mutiny amongst the *Chinese* ministers, who, perhaps with very little reason, are represented as the wisest of men, and the most disinterested of patriots. According to their original model of government, respective tribunals of mandarines, or ministers, had been settled for all the different departments of public business; and the emperor could not regularly take cognizance of the public accounts, till they were laid before him by the tribunal of the revenue. Those remonstrances perplexed *Kublai* not a little: his good sense had induced him to employ *Chinese* ministers in reforming and polishing his *Tartars*; but his ignorance and superstition had made him a zealot for all the forms and follies of *Chinese* idolatry; and he was daily practising one or other of them. At the same time, he had a passion for money, which was equal to his necessities for it; and *Abama* was the only person who could supply him; which he did in a most liberal manner. This increased the dissatisfaction of the *Chinese* ministers so much, that some of the wisest of them withdrew from the court; and they who remained, having got over to their side the heir-apparent of the empire, treated *Abama* with the boldest invectives.

*Yau* de- *Kublai*, to extricate himself, had recourse to his tutor clared first *Yau*, who, in 1263, was declared prime minister: but he minister. seems not to have held that place long; and *Abama*, being master of the purse, was master of the ministry: for, in 1264, that crafty *Arab* gained his point, and the emperor made him superintendent of his revenues and customs, without being accountable to any one but himself. It was doubtless owing, in a great measure, to those divisions, that, for several years, no great operations of war were undertaken against the *Song*. To do *Kublai* justice, however, he made an excellent use of his leisure time, by attending the education of his sons; by embellishing his empire with public works; and, above all, by introducing amongst the *Moguls* a new character in writing, which has ever since been called by their name: and this he did by means of one *Pasipa*, whom, as a reward of his labour, he created a regulo, or prince; a degree of honour amongst the *Chinese*, or rather the

*Mogul* characters in writing.



the *Chinese Tartars*; and his characters were ordered to be used in all the *Mogul* tribunals.

Amongst the *Chinese* ministers who were disgusted with *Perplexi-Abama* was *Kyubeng*. He was celebrated for his wisdom, his ties of parts, his learning, and the boldness with which he had *Kublai*, opposed that *Aral*; and, finding his remonstrances were all who in vain, he had withdrawn from court. *Kublai's* perplexities makes increasing, and being unwilling, perhaps unable, to part *Gantong* with his financer, he threw his eyes upon a descendant of his first the great *Mubuli* to be his first minister. His name was minister, *Gantong*, and, though but twenty-one years of age, he was esteemed, all over *Kublai's* empire, as a prodigy of genius, of wisdom, virtue, and universal knowledge. He was favoured by the *Moguls*, as being the fourth in descent from one of their greatest heroes; and the *Chinese* adored him for his accomplishments in all their arts and learning. *Kublai*, therefore, thinking that this young man might happily be the means of uniting the jarring parties about his court, declared him his first minister; and, so great was his knowledge of military affairs, that he was advised by his generals to give him the command of his armies.

Another young man, of a like, but still more extraordinary character, made his appearance, about the same time, whom he at *Kublai's* court. His name was *Peyen*, and he too was by joins *Peyen* birth a *Tartar*; but, by some very uncommon accident, he *en*. had been educated in *Persia* and *Syria*, and had acquired all the polite learning of the east. After the emperor's brother, His cha- *Hulacu*, had destroyed the khalifat and settled himself in those racter and countries, he sent an embassy to *Kublai*, and *Peyen* had ob- history. tained leave to attend the ambassadors. When *Kublai* saw him, his demeanour and aspect preposessed him so much in his favour, that he entered into particular conversation with him; and was so charmed by his politeness and wisdom, that he immediately pitched upon him to be an associate in the ministry with *Gantong*. After this, the operations of war *Sayangyan* against the *Song* began by the siege of *Sayangyan* and *Tanch-* and *Tan-* ing; which were defended by *Lutien* and his brother *Luten-ching* be- yang. Those sieges proved too difficult for the *Moguls*, tho' sieged the armies employed upon them amounted to three hundred thousand men; but, in the course of the siege of *Syangyan*, the brave *Song* general *Lutien* died. It is said he broke his heart through the grief he had conceived at an error he had committed, in suffering the *Moguls* to impose upon him with regard to a post he had fortified, and which proved of singular use to their affairs. Notwithstanding his death, *Axhu*, the *Mogul* general, was obliged to turn the sieges of the two cities into a blockade; so that they could only be raised by water. They were, however, relieved by a small embarkation, commanded by two *Song* officers, named *Changquey* and *Changshun*; who, for their valour on this occasion, obtained the name of intrepids; and, after performing a thou- sand



land acts of valour celebrated in the *Chinese* histories, both of and taken. them lost their lives in the same service ; and the two places were, at last, taken by the *Moguls*. It is said that *Kublai*, by the advice of one *Ali*, who had served under *Hulacu* in the west, procured two engineers from that country, who erected the batteries by which those cities were taken in the year 1273.

A new art of war introduced amongst the *Moguls*. It was now plain that the successes of the *Moguls* against the *Chinese* had been more owing to their intrepidity and perseverance than to their knowledge of the art of war ; which was far inferior to that which was now practised in *Syria* and the western parts of *Asia*. The truth is, the *Christians*, by their crusades, had greatly improved the *Asiatics* in the art of war, and *Hulacu* had found means to become master of their discipline and engineering ; to which the reduction of *Cyang-yong* and *Fanching*, the two keys of the *Song* empire, were owing. A rumour of some cabals in *Tartary*, about this time, having reached *Kublai's* ears, it was with some difficulty that *Ali*, *Lyewching*, and his other generals, could persuade him to continue the war against the *Song* ; but, being made sensible that the reduction of that empire was now very practicable, he agreed it should be carried on with the greatest vigour. The *Mogul* generalissimo being worn out with age, desired leave to resign ; and the *Chinese* ministers were earnest for having *Gantong* to succeed him in the command of the army ; but the emperor himself bestowed it upon *Peyen*, who was formally saluted generalissimo near *Syangyang*.

who pursue the war with the *Song*.

*Peyen* declared generalissimo.

His great success.

*Peyen*, by his great actions, more than justified the good opinion *Kublai* had of him. One of his greatest merits was the improvements he made in the art of engineering ; and it is not, perhaps, too bold a conjecture, to maintain, from the *Chinese* histories of those times, that he had the art of discharging red-hot bullets from iron engines, but whether cannon or not does not appear, tho' they seem to have been a kind of tubes, but perhaps without touch-holes. His first expedition was against *Shayang* ; which, by amazing, but new, operations, both by land and water, was taken ; as was *Sinching*, though three thousand men died in defence of it, with their swords in their hands, to the high admiration of *Peyen* himself. That general, next, by artful feints, which disguised his true designs, made himself master of *Ssafukew* ; and, ordering his troops to pass the river *Kyang*, after besieging and taking several important cities and posts that had been neglected in all the preceding expeditions of the *Moguls* against *Vuchangfu*, that city, which had so often baffled their attempts, was at last taken. The garrison had been so daunted by the great actions of *Peyen*, who had, with his own hands, killed several of the *Song* generals, that they forced their officers to surrender at discretion, though two of their chief officers declared against it. The barbarous *Moguls* would have put those officers to death, but *Peyen* not only



only preserved their lives, but commended their fidelity. After the reduction of *Fanching*, *Luvewhang*, disgusted with the management of affairs at his master's court, entered into the service of the *Moguls*. He was a lord of great interest and family, and did his new master vast services; for he persuaded many important cities and forts to surrender to the *Moguls* without striking a stroke. *Kyangchew* was one of those which, in hatred to *Kya*, the *Song* general, its governor *Shi* surrendered to *Peyen*; who, upon this occasion, gave a proof of his temperance far superior to that reported of *Scipio*. For, when *Shi*, at a magnificent banquet prepared for *Peyen*, offered to that general two young ladies of the imperial blood, *Peyen*, not only rejected the present, but severely rebuked *Shi* for his proposal. The war thus declaring, in every quarter, against the *Song*, *Kya*, but not till after raising a great army and a fleet, offered to treat of peace; but the khan's answer was, that the time was past. After this, the *Song* seemed to lose all their courage. Their minister was unpopular, their conqueror was humane, and they were divided amongst themselves. *Peyen* therefore continued victorious, taking city after city; and the the bravest of the *Song*, instead of uniting to resist him, fell upon their own swords. Their great fleet was defeated, and their armies cut in pieces; while *Peyen* continued, every day, to acquire fresh interest amongst the *Song* themselves, through their aversion for their minister, and their divisions amongst themselves. At last, the *Song* emperor's grandmother procured *Kya*, who, to his other ill qualities joined cowardice, to be removed; and, notwithstanding the prodigious progress *Peyen* had made in that empire, she re-inspired the *Song* with the thoughts of defending themselves, instead of falling upon their own swords, or submitting to the conqueror. Her spirited edicts, for that purpose, procured a small respite from misery to her subjects. *Peyen*, however, without resistance, entered *Nankin*, which was long the capital of *China*, and the most populous city, perhaps, that ever was in the world. Though it was immensely rich, *Peyen* forbade all plunder; he relieved the necessitous, he sent physicians to attend the sick, he extended his good offices to all, and took the men of distinguished merit into his friendship; at the same time leading a life of such regularity and abstinence, that he was admired even by the *Chinese*, the most temperate people upon the earth.

All that the empress-regent now could reasonably hope for, was a tolerable peace. To pave the way to that, she set at liberty *Hauking*, whose imprisonment had been one of the grounds of the war; but he died before he returned to his own country. But *Kublay* was secretly resolved to become emperor of the *Song*; and he laid hold of some irregularities committed by that people, as a pretext for continuing the war; though the empress-regent, and their ministry,

Temper-  
ance of  
Peyen su-  
perior to  
that of  
*Scipio*.

Conduct  
of the em-  
press of  
the *Song*.

Negotia-  
tions for  
peace.



gave him the strongest assurances that those irregularities were committed without their knowledge, and against their intentions. *Ali*, whom we have already spoken of, was made governor of that great city and province; and, though he had but forty thousand men under him, he performed actions not inferior to those of *Peyen*; for he defeated the fleet of the *Song*, killed the admiral with his own hand, and made so many important conquests in the neighbourhood, that he was congratulated upon them by *Kublai* in a most affectionate letter written with his own hand. The greatest resistance the *Moguls* met with, at this time, was from *Laying*, who defended the city of *Yang*; and from *Shi*, a brave *Song* nobleman, who still kept the field against the *Moguls*. But his men being all of them new levies, he was defeated; and the empress, being still in hopes of obtaining peace, was backward in putting him at the head of another army. He persevered, however, undauntedly in his opposition, and in animating the people against their enemies.

Commo-  
tions in  
*Tartary*.

But, while the arms of *Kublai* were thus prosperous in *China*, commotions happened which shook his throne in *Tartary*. A prince, named *Haytu*, was amongst those whom the tyrant *Mangu* had banished for their attachment to prince *Shelyemen*. This prince *Haytu* was one of the grandsons of *Oktay*, and soon formed a great army upon the borders of *Tartary*, where he erected himself into an independent sovereign. Having declared war against *Kublai*, he engaged, on his side, many princes of the royal blood, and a number of those tribes that lye to the north-east of *Turfan*, and upon the borders of *Little Buckharia*. He then invaded *Tartary*; but he was beaten by *Kublai's* generals, and obliged to retire to his kingdom of *Almabig*. We need not be at a loss to account for the motives that induced him to take up arms, when we reflect, that all the partizans of *Shelyemen* considered *Kublai* as an usurper; as undoubtedly he was, if the will of *Oktay* was looked upon as the standard of the succession. But, whatever were his motives or pretences, it is certain that he formed a powerful party even amongst the *Mogul* subjects of *Kublai*, and a second time invaded *Tartary*, and besieged *Idikut*, a prince who continued faithful to *Kublai*, in his capital in the country of *Igur*, with one hundred thousand men. *Idikut* made so brave a defence, that he held out till *Kublai's* generals forced *Haytu* to raise the siege.

War with  
the *Song*  
continued.

This invasion was so formidable to *Kublai*, that he had ordered *Peyen* from *China* to suppress it: but *Peyen*, who aspired to the glory of being the conqueror of the *Song*, persuaded him to let him finish the war he had undertaken. Upon this, *Kublai* gave the command of the troops against *Haytu* to *Gantong*, who served under his son *Nanmuban*; to whom the great khan, his father, made over *Haytu's* kingdom of *Almabig*. *Peyen*, having obtained this permission, made dispositions for undertaking the siege of *Hongchew* it-  
self,



self, by some called *Linggan*, the capital of the *Song* empire. But, before he could compleat this great undertaking, he was obliged to reduce a vast number of places which lay in his march; in some of which he and *Yaya*, and *Ache*, met with great resistance. But the efforts of the *Song* against the *Moguls* were rather desperate than well concerted, and were made by a few generous patriots who were resolved not to survive the ruin of their country. Amongst the other places distinguished for a noble defence, was *Changchewfu*. This city had been before in possession of the *Moguls*, but had revolted; and it is called, by *Polo*, the great traveller, who lived, at that time, *Tingugui*. Some circumstances distinguish the fate of this place from that of others subdued by *Peyen*; for we understand, by *Polo*, that he had in his army a body of *Allans*, who were *Christians*. These, probably, were the *Kamuk Tartars*, or the subjects of the empire of *Kipjak*, upon the *Caspian Sea*; nor is it improbable that a great many *Christians* were amongst them. Being a very brave people, *Peyen* sent them to storm one of the quarters (*Polo* calls it an outer wall) of *Changchewfu*; which they accordingly carried: but getting drunk with the wine they found there, they were all of them killed in their sleep by the garison. This exasperated *Peyen* so much, that he redoubled his fury against the city. He raised a rampart of earth almost equal to the walls, and made fences for his men by the bodies of those who were killed in the sallies. In short, he gave no respite, by night or day, to the besieged; and, at last, ordering a general storm, he was among the first who mounted the walls from his earthen rampart. Of the four generals who commanded in *Changchewfu*, one was killed in the attack, another was taken, and one escaped. The fourth made a noble resistance in the streets, and might have made his escape thro' the north-east gate, which was open. Being advised to this, he gallantly answered, "'Tis not fit I should die an inch from the place where I am fighting." Being killed, *Peyen* ordered all the inhabitants to be massacred; the only instance of such inhumanity he was ever guilty of; which makes it highly probable, that he had received other provocations from the natives besides those we have mentioned.

By this time, the emperor of the *Song* was dead; and *Kya*, after all his effects had been confiscated, was put to death by a mandarin, to revenge the calamities he had brought upon his country. The young emperor of the *Song* was but a child of six or seven years of age, and *Chini*, his first minister, endeavoured to make a new effort for peace. For this purpose, he sent a nobleman, called *Leyw*, to lay all the blame of what had happened upon *Kya*, and to implore *Peyen*'s compassion for the infant emperor. *Leyw* delivered his commission with tears; but *Peyen* not only rejected this, but an offer which *Chini* afterwards made him, that his young master should call himself the grand nephew



Reflection of *Kublai*, and pay him a tribute. He observed, on this occasion, that Heaven had repaid the injustice of the reigning dynasty of the *Song* in its own kind ; for they had wrested the empire from its lawful prince, who was of the same age with who takes *Chini* his master. *Shonsha* was another city memorable for its defence. Its governor, and the head inhabitants, after holding out against all *Ali*'s formidable artillery, finding the place must be taken, most solemnly performed the rites required by their religion, when they devote themselves to death ; which all of them suffered by their own hands or those of their friends ; and this rage was so general, even among the common people, that, when *Ali* entered the city, he found it destitute of inhabitants.

*Peyen* had now no obstruction to his march against the capital of the *Song*, where every thing was in confusion and all were divided. The bravest of the *Song* generals were for putting the emperor, the empresses, and all the royal family, on board of ships, that they might escape by water to a place of safety. *Chini* was for their flying by land ; and the empress-regent, resolving upon submission, flung her diadem down to the ground, and sent the great seal of the empire to *Peyen*, as a token that *Kublai* was its master. Notwithstanding this, some of the most intrepid of the *Song* lords, thinking the empress not authorized to make so shameful a submission, *Shi* in particular, refused to lay down their arms. *Shi* even cut out the tongue of, and hewed in pieces, a nobleman whom *Peyen* sent to advise him to surrender. Others of the chiefs died by drinking, a species of suicide then very common in *China* ; while others of them went as ambassadors from the young emperor to make better terms. Amongst those were *Ventyen*, a man of such distinguished merit, that *Peyen* sought, by every tender of respect and honour he could pay him, to retain him about his person. But *Ventyen* was inexorable, and even upbraided *Peyen* with violating the law of nations, in detaining forcibly the ambassador of a sovereign power. It is probable that *Peyen* thought, after what had happened, that sovereignty no longer subsisted in the person of the young emperor ; for he not only detained *Ventyen*, but sent him, though in an honourable manner, to *Kublai*.

*Peyen* takes possession of the capital. After this, *Peyen*'s generals entered *Linggan* without resistance ; and he gave orders for sealing up all the archives of the empire, and every thing else of value ; and for treating the empress and her son with the utmost regard and tenderness : but, at the same time, he deprived them of all the exercise of power, and committed the government of *Linggan* to two noblemen, one a *Tartar*, the other a *Chinese*. He even ordered the young emperor to be deprived of the exterior forms of sovereignty. Soon after, *Peyen* declared his resolution of entering *Linggan* in triumph ; for which great numbers of the *Chinese* ladies, who were afraid of violation from



from the *Moguls*, drowned themselves. But no conqueror in the eastern parts ever made a more moderate use of success than *Peyen* did. He forbade, under the highest penalties, any violation, even of property; and contented himself with observing the natural, and other curiosities, of the place. He did not, however, neglect his master's interest. The empress of the *Song*, in her own name, and that of her grandson, desired to see him; but he artfully evaded the visit, under a pretence that he was not fully instructed as to the ceremonial. Soon after, he sent two general officers to notify to the empress, that she, and her grandson, the young emperor, were to hold themselves in readiness to set out for *Kublai's* court, then held at *Tatu*, since called *Peking*, and now the metropolis of all *China*, on account of its neighbourhood to the great wall. "Son," said the empress to the emperor, when this mortifying message was delivered, "beat your head to the Son of Heaven, who gives you life." This ceremony was performed by the emperor and his mother, turning towards the north, then the residence of the great khan, kneeling down and striking their heads nine times against the ground. After this, they set out for *Peking*; but the empress-regent, being indisposed, was excused from hurrying on the march. Upon their departure, *Peyen* ordered all the treasures, jewels, and rich furniture of the palace, to be sent to *Peking*.

The downfall of the empire of the *Song* drove the loyal subjects of that imperial family into despair; especially after seeing the young emperor and his mother carried prisoners to *Peking*. Some of them put themselves to death; but others, of more constancy, vowed revenge; and, raising an army of forty thousand men, they endeavoured to rescue the emperor and his mother, who had been ordered to proceed from *Peking* to *Shangtu*, for so the new capital of *Tartary* was called. But all their efforts, and those of the loyal cities through which they passed, proved in vain; and a great deal of blood was spilt to no purpose. The young emperor and his mother arriving at the court of *Kublai*, were received with great tenderness by that prince's first wife, who, pointing to the spoils of the *Song* palace, desired her husband to remember that dynasties were not eternal; and to learn, from the fate of the *Song* family, what might be that of their own.

In the mean while, the splendour of *Peyen's* actions had created him enemies at court; and *Kublai*, who was perfectly sensible both of his merits and his innocence, either to do him greater honour, or apprehensive of his danger from his enemies, ordered *Peyen* to attend him in person, and treated him with honours equal to his distinguished successes. After this, *Peyen* was employed in suppressing *Haytu's* party in *Tartary*.



Commo-  
tions of  
the *Song*.

A new  
emperor.

He flies,

and dies.

Another  
emperor  
proclaim-  
ed.

But a new scene now opened in *China*. The late emperor of the *Song* had left two sons by another wife than the mother of the young emperor; and they were conveyed to a place of safety by some noblemen, and from thence to *Wenchew*, which soon became the place of rendezvous for all the brave and the loyal *Song*. In a general assembly, at which *Chini*, the late prime-minister, presided, *Iwang*, the eldest of the brother princes was solemnly installed emperor of the *Song*. He was near two years older than his brother the *Song* emperor in *Tartary*; and, soon after his inauguration, he went to *Fakyen*, and was proclaimed emperor in the capital of that province. The *Song* of those days appear always to have acted in extremes, either of valour or cowardice, loyalty or treason. Nothing could be more dastardly than the submissions which many of them made; and nothing was ever more heroic than the behaviour of others. The noble *Ventyen*, of whom *Peyen* was so fond, escaped from the hands of the *Moguls*, and, being arrived at the court of *Twangtsong*, the name which the young *Iwang* assumed after his elevation to the empire, he was appointed commander in chief to the imperial forces. But all his virtues and abilities, though he was joined by many brave *Chinese*, could not prevent the general degeneracy of his countrymen; by which the *Moguls* profited more than by their arms. In short, almost the whole province of *Fokyen* submitted to *Kublai's* generals, as did vast numbers of other places mentioned in the histories of those times, though their situations are now unknown; and, at last, the emperor *Twangtsong* was obliged to go on board his navy, though the army that attended him is said to have consisted of one hundred and eighty thousand men.

After *Twangtsong* was made emperor, the *Moguls* abandoned all the moderate maxims of *Peyen*, and put the *Song* to the sword wherever they could find them. *Twangtsong* himself, after roving about in his ships, and meeting with various disasters, offered to submit to *Kublai*; but we know of no answer he received, and he was obliged to retreat still farther southward, to be out of the reach of the *Mogul* arms. *Kublai* was equally fortunate in *Tartary*, where his great general *Peyen* entirely suppressed the rebellion of *Haytu*. This happened in the year 1278; about which time, *Twangtsong*, after being harrassed from place to place, was obliged to take refuge in a desert island, where he died in the eleventh year of his age.

Though the death of *Twangtsong* struck the loyal *Song* with universal despondency, yet their affairs were far from being desperate. They were still in possession of immense territories, inexhaustibly peopled, and great numbers of strong towns. *Lufyew* proposed to proclaim *Quanwang*, brother to *Twangtsong*, emperor. This being agreed to, the young prince was recognized in form, and he took the name of *Tiping*.



*Tiping*. He was well served by *Lufyew*, and *Shi*, who were declared his ministers, or rather regents under him. They conveyed their master to an island, or a promontory, which was inaccessible to the *Mogul* arms, and so commodiously situated, that they were plentifully supplied with every thing that was necessary for a court, and a camp. *Ali*, the *Mogul* general, being well informed of all that had happened in *Quangtung*, where the new emperor resided, made himself master of all the passes through that province; by which he prevented great numbers from joining the young emperor, though the resort to him was so great, that he was soon at the head of one hundred thousand men. This news reaching *Kublai*, he ordered *Hongfan*, an active general, to attack *Tiping*'s adherents, by sea and land; which he did, with such success, that the *Song*, who were all raw, undisciplined troops, were routed. The loyal noblemen, who had been so active to save their country, were all taken, and either put to cruel deaths, or sent into captivity; and the young emperor went on board his fleet, thinking to escape. But he was prevented by the activity of *Hongfan*, who came up with his fleet; while the *Song* knowing nothing of maritime affairs, were unable to work their ships; and the largest among them struck to their enemy without fighting. *Tiping* was at this time attended by *Lufyew*. That nobleman seeing every thing lost, and that his master must inevitably be a prisoner if he survived the defeat, first threw his own wife and children into the sea, and, after tenderly embracing *Tiping*, and exhorting him not to live a slave, he placed him upon his shoulders, and, jumping into the sea, both of them and he is perished in the waves. None of the great *Song* patriots now were alive, but the undaunted *Shi*. One hundred thousand men are said to have perished in the sea fight. But still great numbers of the *Song* remained; and *Shi*, collecting all the *Song* vessels that were not burnt or disabled, put to sea, after decently interring the young emperor's body, which he had discovered floating on the water. The mother of *Tiping* was on board a vessel during this engagement; and when *Shi* communicated to her the doleful news of her son's death, she threw herself into the sea, without venting a sigh, or dropping a tear; and her example was followed by all her female attendants. Soon after, *Shi*'s ships being overtaken by a storm, and he finding he could no longer be of service to his country, and fearing to fall into the hands of his enemies, he performed a solemn act of devotion, and burnt perfumes in honour to the God of Heaven, and then threw himself into the sea. *Shi* appears to have been the last of the *Song* patriots, for we know of no struggle afterwards made for that dynasty; which now ended, after having reigned in *China* about 320 years.

His fleet  
defeated,

and he is  
drowned.

End of the  
Song dy-  
nasty.

We have already observed, that *Kublai* was much addicted to superstition. Though extremely fond of *Chinese* learning,



Supersti-  
tion of  
*Kublai*.

ing, he could not brooke the religion of the learned of that nation, but put himself entirely into the hands of bonzas and lamas, the priests of idolatry; who were respected at his court, in proportion as they affected a dark, mysterious air, in all they delivered; though it was no other than a cloak for their extreme ignorance. By one of those impostors, *Kublai* was, about this time, persuaded to assign to the *Mogul* empire the name of *Ywen*. In like manner, the great lama *Pasupah* was in the highest degree of favour with him: he was a nobleman of *Tibet*, and, as we have already mentioned, the inventor of the *Mogul* characters. *Kublai* had taken an early liking to him, and, having placed him at the head of his religion, he was, even in his life time, idolized by the other lamas and bonzas; and, after his death, which happened about this time, temples were built to his memory. The emperor's partiality for this lama rendered him very contemptible in the eyes of the *Chinese* literati; the chief, and most sensible, of whom, were *Deists*, or, rather, *Materialists*, as worshipping universal nature alone: and his memory has been severely treated by them, for his superstition and idolatry. Notwithstanding this, *Kublai* was indefatigable in promoting the *Chinese* learning. He gave the literati, who could be serviceable to him in polishing his *Ywen*, great encouragement. He ordered them all, that were taken in war, to be set at liberty: he endowed colleges for their use, and paid great regard to all the memorials, and remonstrances, they presented to him. Amongst other works of learning, encouraged by *Kublai*, the study of astronomy seems to have had the first rank; and, under him, the *Chinese* astronomy was completely new modelled: though we are told by succeeding authors, that their astronomers were miserably ignorant of that science, and their instruments both clumsy and faulty. Mention is likewise made of a curious map, which, about this time, he caused to be made of the *Whango*, or *Yellow River*, to its very source; which, at that time, was unknown to the *Chinese*.

He en-  
courages  
the *Chi-  
nese* litera-  
ti.

His avarice.

Avarice, as well as superstition, is a charge against *Kublai's* memory. He continued, still, to protect his *Mahometan* financier *Abama*, and to follow his advice more than he did that of all his other ministers. It was in vain for the apparent heir of the empire publicly to declare himself against that pest of government, in which he was seconded by all the other tribunals and ministers, for *Kublai* supported him against them all. At last, *Tsu*, a mandarin of great power and popularity, on account of his virtue, and courage, undertook to open the eyes of *Kublai*, with regard to *Abama*. But the artful *Arab* turned the charge against *Tsu*, and accused him, and his friends, of the most corrupt and arbitrary practices in the province he governed, even to the defrauding the revenue of two millions. Upon this, *Kublai* appointed commissioners to try *Tsu*; and they acquitted him



of the charge. But *Ahama* procured another commission, which found him, and two of his friends, guilty ; and they were beheaded (which, in *China*, is the most ignominious death) before the imperial prince could interpose in their favour. This execution raised a discontent, which fell little short of a rebellion, throughout all the *Mogul* empire. But *Kublai* not only still protected *Ahama*, but made him governor of *Peking*. While he was in this post, during the emperor's absence from that city, he was publicly killed at the gate of his own palace, by a mandarin : and, after his death, *Kublai* became sensible of his villainies, dragged his body from the grave, and ordered it to be treated in the most ignominious manner.

*Kublai* being now master of *China*, made preparations for conquering *Gannan*, or the kingdoms of *Thanchin*, *China* and *Tongking*, and even the great island of *Japan*. He was, however, unsuccessful in both expeditions. In the former, the king of *Gannan*'s son suffered the *Ywen* to advance so far into their country, that he cut off their retreat, and more than half their army was destroyed. This misfortune did not discourage *Kublai* from pursuing his designs upon *Japan*. At first, he sent that emperor a kind of an order to acknowledge his sovereignty, and pay him tribute. No regard being had to this summons, *Kublai* sent an ambassador to make the like demand ; but the *Japanese* emperor put him to death. *Kublai* then ordered a vast fleet to be equipped against that island ; but meeting with storms, seventy thousand of *Kublai*'s *Chinese* subjects were forced ashore, and made slaves ; and thirty thousand moguls were cut in pieces. This loss was followed by the death of the emperor's beloved wife ; a woman who had great sentiments of humanity, and always employed her interest for that purpose, particularly in rendering the captivity of the young *Song* emperor, and his mother, as easy as possible. Notwithstanding those misfortunes, the fame of *Kublai*'s power reached the most distant princes of the east, who sent ambassadors to pay him tribute, and to acknowledge his sovereignty. We are likewise told, that he drew a vast deal of gold from the river *Yunnan*, and built great numbers of vessels for the water carriage of provisions from one part of his dominions to the other ; which was a vast relief, and conveniency, to his subjects. We are also informed, by the historians of his reign, that he ordered a meeting to be held of all the learned men of his vast empire, to enquire into the state of literature in his dominions, and to lay the result of their enquiries before him, that he might give orders accordingly. But his superstition, in a great measure, blasted the fruits of his other virtues.

An impostor had presented him with some ridiculous calculations in astronomy, or, rather, astrology ; and another impostor, pretending to be the emperor of the *Song*, dis-quieted



quieted his empire, and, getting together upwards of one hundred thousand men, spread written notices about, as if he had a great party within the capital. *Ventyen* happening to be made prisoner, *Kublai*, in consideration of his great abilities, offered him the first posts of his empire; but he refused them, with a philosophic disdain, and, likewise, to acknowledge any other than the emperor of the *Song* for his master. *Kublai* admired his virtues; but his lamas, and other sycophants, applying the astrological calculations of the one usurper, and the insidious insinuations of the other, to *Ventyen*, *Kublai* was so much eat up by superstition, that he gave way to the execution of that great man; who met his fate as became a philosopher and a loyal subject, in the forty-seventh year of his age. After this, *Kublai* ordered all the princes of the blood royal of the *Song* to be removed into *Tartary*. Not contented with this precaution, he sent orders to his governors of all the conquered provinces, to send to him in custody all persons who were related in any degree to that imperial race.

*Kublai's*  
severity to  
the *Song*  
dynasty.

His avarice en-  
creases.

He em-  
ploys ano-  
ther rapa-  
cious mi-  
nister.

The older *Kublai* grew, the stronger were the returns of his avarice; for, about this time, while he was meditating a fresh attempt upon *Japan*, he took into his service and favour one *Shijong*, who had been bred up under the infamous *Ahama*, in all the arts of public oppression. The advancing this man to *Ahama's* posts, renewed the discontents both of the *Chinese* and *Tartars*. The wiser and the most honest part of the ministry, laid down their employments, and accused *Shijong*, to his face, with treading in *Ahama's* steps; and the imperial prince headed the opposition, as he had done that against *Ahama*. But *Kublai's* avarice supported the financier, who, as all wicked, short-sighted ministers, under an absolute prince, do, advised his master to coin a great number of base copper farthings, and to order them to be current at rates fixed by the court; by which the emperor might be enabled to buy, and afterwards to sell, all the richest commodities of the empire at his own prices. By those means he demonstrated, that the emperor must, in time, become the sole proprietor of all the riches of his dominions; that he then would have it in his power to ease his subjects, by imposing duties, which, however moderate, must bring him in immense revenues, without burthening his people. By these, and many other the like schemes, equally plausible and pernicious, and by being favoured by *Kublai's* ruling passion for money, *Shijong* obtained the sole direction of the finances of the empire; and *Kublai* not only permitted him to employ whom he pleased under him; but, at his request, replaced many of the creatures that had served under *Ahama*. The financier had even the insolence to bid defiance to the imperial prince, and all the great noblemen who complained of his ill conduct.

Though



Though there was not, at this time, a more absolute *Chinese* prince in the world than *Kublai* was in *China*, which he held by right of conquest alone, yet, as he had adopted the government, as well as learning of the *Chinese*, he found himself unable to protect the oppressor. The fundamental principle of that constitution is, that the emperor is the father of his people; and, that his subjects, like dutiful children, are bound to suffer death, and all kinds of misery, rather than fail in their duties to him; the chief of which is, to inform him when his family, for so his empire is considered, suffers through the abuse of his authority by his ministers. This excellent constitution presumed, that the father of the people loved them too well to oppress them; and all sentences, with every thing relating to the executive part of the government, being prepared by proper tribunals, before they were laid before him, the blame, when any thing happened amiss, was always thrown upon the tribunal who had misled him.

Such were the admirable fundamentals of the *Chinese* government; which, notwithstanding all the ravages of barbarous invaders, have rendered it next to coeval with time. The greatest man in the empire bore the most cruel and ignominious punishment, when inflicted by the emperor, as the chastisement of a father to a son. The fear of this did not hinder the *Chinese* ministers and mandarins from uniting, as one man, against *Shijong*; and the rather as he was supported by the *Tartar* lamas, who were greatly in *Kublai*'s favour, and by *Sangko*, brother to the head lama. A mandarin, having boldly carried, to the foot of the throne, his complaints against *Shijong*, was ordered to be bastinadoed, and he expired under the blows. Another mandarin, named *Ching*, supplied his place; he threw himself at the emperor's feet, and not only repeated all that had been urged by the deceased, but swelled the charge, by accusing *Shijong* of his murder. This intrepidity startled the emperor. The cries and commotions of the people seconded *Ching*'s impeachment; and *Kublai* found himself besieged, by all the great men of his court, with his son, the imperial prince, at their head, imploring justice, and the protection of a father, against the ravenous wolf of his children's properties. *Kublai* could no longer stand the shock; all his passion was converted into tenderness for his people, and compassion for their sufferings. He ordered *Ching* and *Shijong* to appear before the proper tribunal, where, *Ching* having made good his charge, *Shijong* was adjudged to die. This sentence, in court, was laid before the emperor, who approved of it, and it was executed immediately.

Puts the  
minister to  
death.

It was not so easy for the *Chinese* to withstand the emperor's passion for foreign conquests. He thought his reputation was concerned in renewing his attempts against *Japan*, and he committed the command of the expedition to *Atabay*, who

*Kublai*  
pursues fo-  
reign con-  
quests.



A new expedition  
against  
*Japan*

and *Gannan*.

*Kublai*  
loses his  
son.

His great  
cares in  
govern-  
ment

who was one of his favourite generals. Had *Kublai* reigned over the *Chinese* alone, they might, perhaps, have prevailed upon him to have laid aside this pernicious enterprize: but he had a vast empire independent of *China*, and great part of *China* had been peopled by *Tartars*, who were yet ignorant of the *Chinese* maxims and manners. *Kublai* ordered *Atabay* to prepare no fewer than five hundred ships for the embarkation, and to provide sailors to man them. Those vast preparations put a stop to the internal trade of the empire, which is chiefly carried on by canals and rivers; and the expedition itself was highly disapproved of by the public, as being not only impracticable, but unjust. The great *Chinese* mandarins, as usual, laid before the emperor the difficulties and confusions that must attend the undertaking; and the general dissatisfaction was so great, that several insurrections happened in the empire: for, notwithstanding all we have said concerning the submission of the *Chinese* to their emperors, we are, by no means, to imagine that the greatest part of them considered *Kublai* in any other light than that of an usurper. Those commotions, however, were quickly suppressed by the *ywan*; and the preparations for the expedition went on. But, though the mandarins could not prevail with the emperor to alter his resolution, yet they threw so many difficulties in *Atakay's* way, that he could not compleat his armament, and the expedition was laid aside. We are told, upon this occasion, that the religion of *Fo*, a *Chinese* sect of idolaters, of whom *Kublai* was very fond, was said to prevail in *Japan*; upon which he ordered a number of bonzas, being the *Chinese* priests of idolatry, to be put on board the armament destined against that island. But, tho' this was conducted with great secrecy, the *Chinese* sailors in those days held that sect in such abomination, that they threw all the bonzas into the sea. About this time, *Kublai* ordered his son *Towhan* to enter the kingdom of *Gannan*, to be revenged of the losses he had sustained in that country. But this expedition likewise proved unfortunate; for the prince, who behaved with great personal valour, after losing two of his best generals, and great part of his army, was obliged to return home without making any conquests. Soon after died the imperial prince *Chengkin*. *Kublai* had spared no cost or pains in cultivating the mind of this heir to his empire; and, according to the *Chinese* historians, he was a model of perfection for princes, and without a single blemish. He left behind him three children; the youngest of whom, *Timur*, succeeded *Kublai*. *Chengkin* died in the forty-third year of his age.

Those losses, afflicting as they were, did not divert *Kublai* from his attention to the public. He made a merit with the *Chinese* ministers of having, according to their remonstrances, dropped his expedition against *Japan*; and even had it published, that he would always govern by the advice

of



of his great men. He sent commissaries through all parts of his empire to look out for men of learning, whom he ordered to come to his court; and he himself examined them in public upon the *Chinese* doctrines and principles of government. This created admiration and affection for him in the breasts of the *Chinese*, who were astonished to see a foreigner instructed in their sciences. But *Kublai*'s knowledge was not confined to speculation; for he carried it farther than any prince, not even excepting the khalifs of *Baghdad*, for the good of his subjects; which renders the civil part of his reign one of those few delightful spots upon which history delights to dwell. The learned men he collected, were not confined to colleges, but nominated to preside, as magistrates and governors, over the people. *Kublai* appointed colleges and seminaries, nobly endowed, to be erected at *Peking*, for the study of the mathematics, and the abstruser sciences that might be of use to society. He gave and manufactures. particular attention to the cultivation of silk, the most material article of the *Chinese* manufactures. He filled his empire with canals, and communications, both by land and water, of so bold a construction, for the convenience of commerce, that they strike travellers with amazement; and, compared to them, every thing of that kind in *Europe* appears little.

But the circumstance that, perhaps, will interest the curious reader, is the attention he gave to printing; an art printing which took its rise in *Europe* about one hundred and fifty in *China*, years after the times we now treat of; and of which several, not only men but nations, have claimed the honour of the invention. There cannot be the smallest degree of doubt that the *Chinese*, for above one thousand years before, had this art; and it is more than probable, that the *Europeans*, about the year 1440, received from travellers the first hints of it; and, as several travellers might have received these hints at several times, each had a plausible pretext for claiming the honour of the invention. It cannot, however, be denied, that the *Europeans* rendered this art of general use to literature; whereas, amongst the *Chinese*, it was confined to their classical books, which were but a few in number, and treated in a cold manner of the moral and political duties, and their almanacks. For the *Chinese* cut their characters; and those being infinite, cannot be executed by fusil, or single types, but upon blocks of hard wood; which, being done over with ink, they impressed upon the paper with their hands, without using a press as in *Europe*. Thus every book has a set of immovable types, which can serve for no other. We shall just observe, in confirmation of our former conjecture, that the *Chinese* manner of printing was, at first, the only one practised in *Europe*; the printing by separate and fusil types being a gradual invention.

*Kublai*



and learn-  
ing,

mathema-  
tics,

ship-  
building,  
and other  
arts.

Great  
trade of  
his em-  
pire.

*Kublai* observed that the *Chinese*, as well as other people, had their imperfections ; and one of them was, that of their having a contempt for all the world besides themselves ; and for all learning, excepting their own. *Kublai* sought to correct this pride. He employed missionaries into all the accessible parts of the east, for engaging able men, of all professions, to resort to his dominions, be the expence ever so great. He gave the same orders with regard to mechanics of all kinds ; officers who knew sea or land service ; and even for persons who were skilled in languages. He employed skilful geographers and astronomers to settle the latitudes of the chief cities in his own and the neighbouring kingdoms. His observatories were filled with mathematical instruments, made at his own expence. He even drew learning from the ruins of antiquity, and caused all useful old books to be bought up, and translations into the *Mogul* language to be made of whatever was found useful either in ancient or modern learning. He considered history as the mirror of past times, and as containing, not only examples of virtue, but incentives to it ; and he therefore employed historians to compose the lives of his own predecessors in the *Mogul* empire. He gave particular attention to the art of ship-building ; and even natural curiosities were bought up, by his order, and imported into his empire ; which, besides all the benefits we have mentioned, was embellished by him with noble libraries and magnificent structures. In short, the reign of *Kublai* may be termed the *Augustan* age of the *Moguls* ; and the arts and sciences, under him, were carried to such a height, as would not be credible to any one who considers the present barbarous state of *Tartary* ; had it not been that modern travellers have discovered many ocular proofs, that the *Moguls* were once a learned and ingenious people.

*Kublai* was not without his reward for those noble cares. The fame of his wisdom, and the excellency of his institutions, with his works for the benefit of commerce, drew a profitable trade into his dominions, and struck foreigners with awe and admiration. The countries of *Malaka*, *Samatra*, and all those vast tracts, from *Cape Kamori* to the *Persian Gulph*, sent ships to trade in his empire ; and history mentions no fewer than ninety foreign nations who sent their vessels thither. This was infinitely pleasing to the pride of the *Chinese*, as they considered the arrival of those vessels to trade with them, to be so many evidences, that they were tributary to their empire : a notion which was, by no means, discouraged by *Kublai*. Many of the *Indian* nations, however, are said to have thrown themselves under the protection of *Kublai*, and to have paid him tribute and homages.

Our admiration of those prodigious things done by *Kublai* for the benefit of his empire, is enhanced, when we con-  
sider



sider that they were done amidst the tumults of many dreadful, and some of them unsuccessful, wars ; which barbarous and unpleasing subject we are now obliged to resume.

Amongst the princes of the blood of *Jenghiz Khan*, one of Confederacy the most powerful among the *Tartars* was *Nayen*; and he, racy about this time, joined *Haytu*. The great general *Peyen* against then commanded for *Kublay* in *Tartary*; but found his force *Kublay*, insufficient to cope with so powerful a confederacy. The danger appears to have been the greater, as *Haytu* was thought to have had a great number of *Tartar* lords in his interest, who would declare for him upon his first success. *Kublay*, therefore, not only ordered *Peyen*, and the posterity of *Jenghiz Khan*'s intrepids, all of them inheriting the valour of their fore-fathers, into the field, but took it himself at the head of his army. It appears that *Peyen* had hitherto been able to hinder the junction of *Haytu*'s troops with those of *Neyen*'s, which *Kublay* resolved to attack in person. On this occasion a memorable circumstance is recorded; for it is said that *Lyting*, *Kublay*'s *Chinese* general, with ten of his most resolute followers, shot an hopau, or fire-pan, into *Nayen*'s camp; and, that the explosion frightened *Nayen*'s general so much, that he took to his heels, and his whole army was thrown into confusion. After this remarkable incident, is defeat- there can scarcely be any doubt, but that the *Chinese* knew ed. the use either of cannon or a kind of bombs: but, be this as it will, *Kublay* availed himself so well of their consternation, that he cut in pieces *Nayen*'s army, and, after taking him prisoner, put him to death. His arms were not so fortunate His son under his son *Towhan*, who made another irruption into the *Towhan* kingdom of *Gannan*, at first with vast success; but impru- overcome dently advancing into the country, the pestilence first, and and dis- then the enemy, destroyed such numbers of the *Mogul* troops, graced. that *Towhan*, upon his return, was degraded by his father from his government, and placed at the head of a less one, and forbidden to come to court. The king of *Gannan*, notwithstanding this, was so much afraid of *Kublay*, that he sent him a most respectful letter, apologizing for his conduct, together with a statue of gold, by way of tribute. But, to counter-balance this bad success in *Gannan*, prince *Haytu* de- *Timur*, whom *Kublay* considered as the heir-apparent to his seated. empire, with the generals under him, after several bloody engagements, by the help of his fire-artillery, which were managed by *Liting*, entirely defeated *Haytu* and his confederates in *Tartary*, to the great joy of his grandfather, and received the submission of all the tribes there.

The unfortunate *Kongtsong*, whom we have seen the em- The Song peror of the *Song*, was still prisoner at *Peking*: and, at this emperor time, was sent to study the doctrine of *Fo* under the great la- made a ma in *Tibet*. It is hard to say with what view *Kublay* could lama. thus degrade so great an emperor, if it was not to disqualify him



him from ever ascending again the throne of the *Song*, who had a mortal aversion to all lamas.

*Haytu*  
again re-  
bels.

*Kublai's* historians seem industriously to have sunk upon the public the motives of *Haytu's* taking arms. One, however, cannot help suspecting them to have been very interested; as, notwithstanding the many defeats he had received, he was still able to make head against the vast power of *Kublai*; and even sometimes to be victorious: for we are told, that he once surprized and surrounded a great body of the *Mogul* army, commanded by prince *Kanmala*, *Kublai's* eldest grandson, who narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Every day added new tribes of *Tartars* to *Haytu's* party, notwithstanding all the valour and vigilance of *Peyen*, who still commanded against him, and who was generally victorious. In short, *Kublai*, aged as he now was, found himself obliged again to take the field against that rebel, as he is called; but *Haytu* declined a general engagement, though *Hatan*, one of his chief confederates, was defeated.

Learning  
farther en-  
couraged.

No prince that ever reigned had, perhaps, better excuses than *Kublai* had for burthening his subjects with taxes. He filled his colleges at *Peking*, which were distinguished by the title of imperial, not only with the sons of his greatest princes and mandarins, but with the princes of his own blood, to all whom he gave most magnificent appointments; and he issued orders for new fleets to be equipped for making foreign discoveries and conquests. This was, by no means, agreeable to the genius of the *Chinese*, and their obstinacy got the better of his resolution. They even prevailed with him to lay aside a new expedition he intended against the king of *Gannan*.

*Kublai*  
employs  
another  
oppressive  
minister.

As one failing in great monarchs is often linked with others, so *Kublai's* superstition ministered to his avarice. *Shijong* was succeeded, as superintendant of his finances, by *Songko*, who had no other merit to recommend him than that he was brother to the head of the lamas, who were all powerful with *Kublai*. *Songko* united in his disposition all the bad qualities of his two predecessors. *Ahama* and *Shijong*; and he was destroyed by the same means as the latter; that is, by the steady adherence of the mandarins to the principles of their constitution. *Chaumeng*, a prince of the blood, opened himself to *Cheli*, a nobleman of great worth and quality, and in high favour with the emperor; and made it a point of conscience, that *Kublai* should be made acquainted with *Songko's* oppressions and true character. *Cheli* frankly undertook to do this the first proper opportunity that presented. He was as good as his word; but *Kublai* was so very much enraged at his freedom, that he ordered him to be bastinadoed in his presence. The punishment was inflicted with such severity, that *Cheli* fell motionless to the ground all covered with blood. Being brought to himself, *Kublai* ordered him

Remon-  
strances  
by the  
*Chinese*,



him to be asked, if he persisted in his accusation; *Cheli* answered, undauntedly, he did, and that he was ready to lay down his life in supporting it: that he had only urged it from the regard he had for the honour of his prince and the good of his country. His firmness amazed *Kublai*, who was really ignorant of his financier's oppressions. He knew, from what had happened in preceding cases, that *Cheli* only spoke the sense of the other grandees and mandarins; and that every thing was to be apprehended, if he continued, arbitrarily, to protect *Sangko*. He therefore applied to *Pabu*, a nobleman of the highest rank and reputation for disinterestedness and virtue, to know his sense of the charge against his financier. *Pabu* informed his majesty, that *Cheli* was only the echo of the public voice; and, that, if he continued to protect such a monster of oppression, he had reason to be apprehensive of some fatal event. Many other mandarins and great men seconded *Pabu*; and the emperor, reproaching them for keeping him so long in the dark, as to *Sangko's* practices, the tribunal told him boldly, that it was too dangerous a task for any body of men, till then, to attempt. *Cheli*, having recovered his bastinading, became now a greater favourite with the emperor than ever; and a commission was issued to take an inventory of all *Sangko's* money, effects, and jewels; which, amounting to a prodigious sum in value, were confiscated, as was the estate of his chief confederate in iniquity. It does not, however appear, that he himself was put to death; probably the interest of his brother, the grand lama, with *Kublai* saved him.

In *Kublai's* old age his superstition increased, and there was nothing so impious or oppressive that his partiality for the lamas did not excite him to attempt. One of them, more bold and wicked than the rest in the southern provinces of *China*, by his arts and hypocrisy, obtained a following exceeding all belief, in his insolent, oppressive practices. He counterfeited the imperial mandates and licences; he took money for great places at court; and, at last, he even ventured to rifle the monuments where the bodies of the *Song* emperors lay, of the jewels and treasures that had been buried along with them; and erected a kind of a pyramid with their bones. The mandarins of the province imprisoned and condemned to death this wicked lama; but the interest of his brethren with the emperor, and the ladies at court, was so great, that he was pardoned, and great part of his effects was restored to him. The *Chinese*, though they passionately loved *Kublai*, were grieved at his infatuation for the lamas, as they were at his predominant passion for foreign conquests, particularly certain islands in the *Indian* seas, and *Gannan*. The remonstrances of the mandarins, however, were so strong against all such expeditions, that he laid them aside. But the war still went on in *Tartary* against *Haytu*, whom *Peyen* often defeated, but never could subdue;



subdue ; and the emperor kept both the *Moguls* and *Chinese* firm in their duty, by punishing with death several mandarins who had been the abettors of *Sangko's* oppressions.

*Kublai's*

passion for  
curiosities.

Expedi-  
tion  
against  
*Queva*,

unsuccess-  
ful.

One of the passions of the successors of *Jenghiz Khan* in *China* and *Tartary*, was a great curiosity for rarities of all kinds ; and *Kublai* possessed it strongly. He employed agents in the most remote part of the *Indies* to buy up every thing that was curious. Some of the *Indian* princes, who found this trade extremely gainful, caressed *Kublai's* agents ; but the king of a country called *Queva*, by which the island of *Bornco* is supposed to be meant, ordered a mandarin, whom *Kublai* had sent to his court, to be ignominiously branded, and sent back to *China*. This insult upon the person of a mandarin, got the better of the aversion of the *Chinese* to a foreign war, and they unanimously petitioned the emperor to revenge the indignity that had been inflicted on their countryman. The emperor giving way to their request, none of the delays happened that always had disappointed the expeditions of his own projecting. A noble fleet was instantly equipped, and thirty thousand troops put on board under the command of *Kanghing* ; but the acting generals were *Shepa* and *Yehemish*, who were acquainted with the *Indies*. This fleet arrived and disembarked in *Queva* ; but the emperor who inflicted the indignity being dead, his successor had the address to divert the storm from himself upon *Kolang*, a neighbouring kingdom, and very rich ; and he offered to attend the *Moguls* in the expedition. The kingdom of *Kolang* was accordingly attacked ; an army of one hundred thousand men was defeated ; the capital reduced ; and the king, with his wife and children, after surrendering themselves, were put to death.

After this success, which enriched the *Moguls*, the *Queva* emperor was, by *Shepa* and *Yehemish*, suffered to return to his own dominions, where he raised an army against the *Moguls*, and it was with difficulty that they preserved a communication with their ships, in which they returned home. *Kublai*, understanding how his two generals had been deceived, punished them with the loss of some part of their estates ; but soon after pardoned them. This expedition encreased the high idea which the *Chinese* had always entertained of their own importance ; because it proved that it was in their power to be revenged upon the most distant prince who should insult them : for we are told, that the distance between *Yweve* and the *Chinese* port, where the army landed on their return, took up sixty-eight days sail. About this time, cabals began to be formed against *Peyen*, as if he might render himself independent in *Tartary*, where he still continued to defeat *Haytu's* troops. The emperor seeming to give way to some complaints upon that head, ordered his heir-apparent *Timur*, to take the command from *Peyen* and *Yusi* to serve under him, and *Peyen* to return to his court. *Timur* and *Yusi*, sensible of the

the



the great disadvantages they were under in succeeding so great a man as *Peyen*, were somewhat backward in delivering the emperor's orders; and, after they had done it, they behaved with the utmost submission and respect towards that great general. When he took leave of them, *Timur*, with *Peyen's* re-tears in his eyes, embracing him, begged for some directions markable from him as to his future conduct; upon which *Peyen* made saying. him this memorable reply: "Prince," said he, "abstain  
"from wine and women, and you will always be success- *Kublai*  
"ful." When *Peyen*, after this, arrived at court, the em- honours  
peror, instead of disgracing him, as his enemies hoped he *Peyen*.  
would, gave him, in public, the highest testimonies of his  
esteem; and declared him, not only generalissimo of his  
troops in *China*, and captain of his guards, but likewise his  
first minister of state.

This was amongst the last acts of *Kublai's* glorious reign. Religion  
Though the *Chinese* are deists, or materialists, in their reli- of the  
gion, yet, in their worship they pretend to pray to Heaven; *Chinese*.  
their antient philosopher, *Confucius* particularly, admitting  
into their doctrine as much of the belief of the influence of the  
heavenly bodies, as might prove an awe upon their empe-  
rors. Eclipses and comets, they pretended, were interposi-  
tions of divinity, to warn princes and keep them in their du-  
ty. This doctrine was extremely suitable to the superstiti-  
ous notions of *Kublai*, who carried this kind of belief to ex-  
travagance. A comet happening to appear some time before  
his death, threw him into a fit of devotion, and he made his  
ministers discant upon it. Soon after, in *January*, 1294, he Death of  
died, in the eightieth year of his age, leaving behind him *Kublai*.  
ten sons.

Though the conquests of *Kublai* were not so extensive or His cha-  
dazzling as those of *Jenghiz Khan*, yet he was the father of racter.  
his people. The proofs of this, which we have produced in  
his history, need not to be repeated; but it must be owned  
he had his failings as a man. The *Mogul* emperors went  
from one extreme to another; they started, all at once, from  
the disbelief of a revealed religion into every weakness of su-  
perstition and idolatry: and the reader will see, in the course  
of this history, that the ruin of their dynasty was owing to  
the detestable lamas. Though *Kublai* could not conform  
himself to the failings of the *Chinese*, yet it is wonderful to  
see with what patience he suffered his most favourite appe-  
tites to be controuled by their remonstrances. His discern-  
ment of mankind, his gratitude, and his generosity, are  
evident from the choice he made of *Peyen* and his other mi-  
nisters and generals, whom he protected against their ene-  
mies. The perpetual wars he was engaged in, were disa-  
greeable to the milder manners of the *Chinese*, mandarins,  
and literati, who were fond of the arts of peace; but, after  
*Peyen* came to command his armies, we meet with few, or  
none, of those horrid instances of causeless butcheries, and  
devastations,



devastations, that stained the reigns of the best of his predecessors. The blood, however, that was shed in his wars, has rendered some of the *Chinese* historians not quite so favourable to his memory as the glory of his actions seem to require. In this, perhaps, they may have been influenced by their hatred for his lamas. They likewise blame him for being too much attached to women, and through them to superstition.

*Kublai* wisely divided his time between *Tartary* and *China*. His capitals in both were near their frontiers; and he resided one part of the year in the one, and another in the other. But, such was the excellency of the *Chinese* government and manners, that the *Mogul* emperors there became, in a manner, *Chinese*; and, after *Kublai's* death, they are, in fact, reckoned as such by the historians of that empire. *Kublai* left behind him ten sons,

### *History of Jenghiz Khan's successors in Tartary and China, from 1294 to 1368.*

He is succeeded by  
*Timur*.

Death of  
*Peyen*.

AFTER the death of *Kublai*, a general diet of the *Moguls* was held; but *Peyen*, who was first minister, drawing his sword, declared that he was determined to maintain the late nomination of the emperor that called *Timur* to the throne. This being agreeable to many other great *Moguls*, though not to the whole of the assembly, *Timur* was acknowledged emperor, and his son *Tamuz* was the first who did him homage. In the *December* following died *Peyen*, the greatest, the wisest, the most virtuous, and the most amiable character of that age.

The reign of *Timur* tended to make his subjects rather happy than great. His great care of them was seen in his choice of magistrates to govern under him; and he manifested his charity by distributing corn, at his own expence, to the people in a time of general famine. He is likewise celebrated for having been the first *Twen* emperor who forbade the sale of civil employments, and for taking from the princesses of his blood the power of inflicting death upon their dependents, by publishing a general law, forbidding all subjects from putting any one to death without the emperor's warrant or consent. He had the same deference as *Kublai* had for the *Chinese* mandarins; and, upon their remonstrances, his mother desisted from a progress she intended to have made to a temple she had erected to *Fo*; she seeing that it would likewise be disagreeable to the emperor, though he had too much regard for her openly to contradict her will.

*Timur*,



*Timur*, though pacifically disposed, effected what his *Haytu* grandfather, the great *Kublai*, could not; for, after his generals had, with various success, engaged *Haytu*, his nephew *Hayshan*, under whom served *Choangur*, a prince of his blood, and one of the greatest captains in the empire, entirely defeated and killed *Haytu*, who had, for thirty years, made uninterrupted war upon the *Mogul* emperors, whom he looked upon as the usurpers of his birth-right. *Haytu's* brother, *Fowa*, for some time, endeavoured to continue the war; but, finding that his friends were tired of it, and inclined to submit to *Timur's* mild government, he led them the way, and obtained his own, his family's, and his party's pardon from that emperor, under whom all *Tartary*, and the bordering countries, were now united.

*Timur* even outdid his grandfather in the virtues of peace. He sent commissioners all over his vast empire, with powers, not only to inspect, but to relieve, the wants of his subjects of all denominations, particularly the officers and soldiers, who were worn out in the public service, and their families. He likewise furnished the peasants of his dominions with the means of cultivating their lands; and publicly declared his aversion to foreign wars, especially against *Japan*. But, in two instances, he was over-persuaded to break that resolution. The first was in favour of the prince of *Pegu*, who implored *Timur's* assistance against the rebels who had dethroned, imprisoned, and murdered his father. *Timur* granted the assistance; but his generals were corrupted by the leaders of the rebels, and were beaten; for which one of them was put to death at his return, and the estate of the other was confiscated. The other instance proceeded from the ambition of one of his generals, called *Lieu*, who complained of the barbarous people of the kingdom of *Papesifu*, a country lying near *Bengal* in *India*, who refused to receive the *Chinese* calendar, which he represented as an indignity done to his majesty's authority; and certain haughty *Chinese* ministers counselled him to suffer *Lieu* to subdue the country. *Alasan*, one of the wisest of *Timur's* ministers, opposed this unjust proposal; but *Lieu* prevailed, and obtained the command of twenty thousand men against *Papesifu*. This country was indeed reduced, but not till after an expence of blood and treasure that was of far greater value than the conquest; and *Timur* gave way to *Lieu* being put to death for having given him a pernicious advice.

Such are all the material passages that happened in the reign of this emperor, who does not seem to have been so devoted, as his predecessor was, to the idolatry of the lamas and the bonzas. The *Chinese*, however, knew that he had received such prepossessions from his education, that somewhat similar in their own worship must supply the place in his. They therefore gave way to his fixing the stated times



Erects a temple to Confucius. for the worship of Heaven, according to the practice of the antient *Moguls*; which, before the introduction of lamas, did not materially differ from the *Chinese*. He, on his part, to oblige the *Chinese*, ordered a most magnificent temple to be erected in *Peking*, to the memory of their philosopher *Confucius*; and inflicted gentle punishments upon the members of the tribunal of mathematics, for having neglected to calculate an eclipse of the sun that had happened. But this was not the only instance in which this tribunal discovered its ignorance during *Timur's* reign; for they once calculated an eclipse that did not happen at all; and apologized for their mistake, by telling the emperor, that the course of the heavens were altered in favour of his majesty. *Timur*, without punishing either their ignorance or their flattery, in a facetious manner desired them to take care that they brought the stars into regularity again.

Flattery paid him.  
  
*Hayshan* succeeds him.

*Timur* died without leaving any children who could succeed him, his son, whom he had designed for his heir, having died before himself; and the great men, both of *China* and *Tartary*, threw their eyes upon prince *Hayshan*, the eldest grandson to *Chengkin*, the excellent son of *Kublai*; though *Kanmala*, the eldest son of that prince, had left sons. *Hayshan* was then absent from the court, but his succession was opposed by *Timur's* widow, who pretended to the right of acting as regent during the interregnum; and sent into banishment the mother and brother of *Hayshan*; which last is called *Ayuli*, or *Ayuli Palipata*. *Autay* was first minister to this empress-regent; and they declared *Hoanta*, another grandson of *Kublai*, but thought to lie under the bar of illegitimacy, emperor, notwithstanding the opposition of some grandees. *Alasum*, who acted for *Hayshan* on this occasion, and had been first minister to *Timur*, remained firm in his master's service, and dispatched expresses to *Hayshan*, who was at a great distance from the capital, and to his brother *Ayuli*, who was at the place of his exile, but, with his mother, instantly set out for *Peking*; and, in concert with *Alasum*, and the general of the army, seized and put in chains *Autay* and the heads of *Hoanta's* party. But, as the vacancy of the throne was dangerous to the public peace, *Ayuli* was desired to mount it. He remained faithful to his elder brother, and, at last, *Hayshan*, at the head of his army, was proclaimed emperor, and entered *Peking* in triumph. After giving due honour to his mother and his brother, he ordered the heads of *Hoanta's* party to be put to death, as were the late empress-regent and *Hoanta* himself.

His superstition.

Though *Hayshan* had such a veneration for *Confucius*, that he ordered his works to be translated for the use of his *Mogul* lords, yet, like his predecessors, he was such a slave to the lamas, that he published an edict, ordering the hand to be cut off, and the tongue to be pulled out, that should strike



or slander a lama. This rendered that order so insolent, Abuses of that they beat with sticks a judge upon the tribunal, and a his go-princess on the road because her servants did not give them vernment. the way. Those abuses, perhaps, were forwarded by the removal of *Alasum*, who was one of the wisest men of the empire, from court to the government of *Karakoram*, upon a charge produced against him by *Tula*, a prince of the blood, that he had consented to the inauguration of *Hoanta*. *Alasum* introduced new manners amongst the *Moguls* of his government, by punishing with death theft and rapin, even in the persons of the greatest lords, and by introducing among the people the *Chinese* arts, manufactures, and agriculture. In short; from being barbarians, this great minister, who was an *Alan* and a *Christian*, civilized the *Tartars*, so that plenty, conveniency, and hospitality, appeared even on their public roads; and the district of *Karakoram* was soon in a condition to furnish provisions for all the emperor's army. This agreeably surprized the emperor, who soon discovered the malice of *Tula*. He was a barbarous prince, who chiefly valued himself upon his bodily strength; and the emperor, on pretence that he had been wanting in respect to him, ordered him, at last, to be put to death.

*Hayshan*, towards the end of his reign, seems to have been somewhat cooled in his affection for the lamas and the bonzas, by discovering some plots, in which they had the chief hand, in favour of two other princes of the blood. Upon He puts discovery of this plot, the two princes were banished, and the lamas four and twenty lamas put to death. The lands of the bon- to death. zas were likewise rendered liable to be taxed.

*Hayshan*, who died in the thirty-first year of his age, left *Ayuli* suc- two sons by two of his queens; but, in gratitude to his bro- ceeds ther, *Ayuli Palipata*, he declared him his heir and successor. him. *Hayshan*'s death seems to have been hastened by his excessive love of wine and women. On this occasion, we have another remarkable instance of the intrepidity of the *Chinese* government in the discharge of their duty. One of their great mandarins, *Ashapuwba*, seeing the excesses into which the emperor ran, upon his knees begged him to remember how precious his life was to his faithful subjects. *Hayshan*, instead of minding this advice, obliged the mandarin, who gave it, to partake of the bottle he was drinking; but, a few days after, the whole body of the mandarins threw themselves before the emperor's throne, to congratulate him upon having so faithful a subject as *Ashapuwba*. *Hayshan* answered this noble and polite mark of their regard for him, by giving *Ashapuwba*, who was of the royal blood, the title of the count of the khan.

*Ayuli Palipata*, the next emperor, amongst his other good His vir- qualities, had that of the love of history and antiquity; and tues and he applied both towards relieving the distressed of his people, love of and strengthening the constitution of his empire. The intem- learning.



Public calamities in his time.

perance of the late emperor had suffered many abuses in his empire to take place, and vast excesses had been committed in the government. *Ayuli*, when he came to the throne, severely punished the authors of all those abuses, and even the princes of the blood felt his justice. But this emperor's equity and learning did not exempt him from his family failings, that of too great an attachment to lamas and bonzas. During his reign, eclipses and comets appeared; pestilence, famine, and inundations, with other calamities, had afflicted his subjects. He beheld all with sorrow, and assembled the diet of his great men to consult upon the means of relieving his people. The severe *Chinese* declared that the public calamities were judgments sent for the encouragement given to the worship of *Fo* in the empire. But the emperor could not be prevailed upon to condemn that worship, though he published a manifesto, declaring that those judgments had fallen upon his people for the errors he had been guilty of.

He redresses the grievances of his people.

*Ayuli* had all the excellent political virtues of his predecessors. He was indefatigable in finding out, and employing, however obscure their situation was, men of learning and merit; and was equally severe upon the ignorant and insolent. He even invented new honours and dignities for the former, and presided in person at their examinations and exercises. But the *Chinese* now forgot they were a conquered people. The mandarins, and governors of the provinces, were guilty of vast oppressions; and, in many places, rebellions broke out, and cabals were formed against the government. The great prudence of *Ayuli* went far in remedying those evils. He was at vast pains in enquiring into the grievances of his subjects; and, when he was informed of them, he never failed to relieve them: by which means he prevented a civil-war from breaking out in his dominions. Though he had, like his brother, a strong inclination to drink, yet he subdued it by the force of his philosophy, and upon the remonstrances of his ministers. His eldest son, *Shotepala*, was so much his favourite, that he wanted, in his own lifetime, to resign the empire to him; but, though he was passionately bent upon that measure, he laid it aside when he found it was disagreeable to his grandees.

His death.

*Ayuli* died in the beginning of the year 1320. He had some wars which are very confusedly related; and he was successful in them. They seem chiefly to have been occasioned through the pretensions formed upon the succession by the other princes of the blood.

He is succeeded by

The beginning of the reign of *Shotepala*, who succeeded his father *Ayuli*, was unfortunate, through the partiality which his mother and he had for his minister *Tymeutyel*, a worthless insolent man, and guilty of great extortions and oppressions. The emperor's eyes were opened, however, by the indifference and patience with which a philosopher, *Lymeng*, to whom the reigning family lay under vast obligations, bore the



the wrongs and indignities he offered him. The emperor, His po- being convinced that none but a bad man could be an enemy pular con- to such virtue, transferred his authority to *Pacha*, the son duct. of *Gantong*, a young nobleman of great worth. By his advice, the emperor showed himself on public days to his people, which strongly engaged their affection; and a general pardon was published, extending to all the empire.

*Tyemutyel*, though removed from being first minister, had, Conspira- by the favour of the empress-mother, still a considerable in- cies fluence at court: but *Shotepala* gave orders, that he should against not be admitted as formerly; which being signified to him him. by the centinels at the gates, gave him so much vexation, that he fell sick and died. Some conspiracies were formed against this emperor, but they were discovered, and the authors of them, by *Pacha's* advice, were punished with death. Great abuses had likewise crept into the empire from the vast numbers of *Mahometans* who were settled in *Tartary*. They had even erected a mosque, and were possessed of some of the chief dignities, both of the state and the army. But *Shotepala*, His ido- who was as much addicted as any of his predecessors to the latry, idolatry of *Fo*, ordered their mosques to be demolished, and that they should be prohibited from trading with the *Chinese*, in *Tartar* youths of both sexes, whom they bought and sold for slaves.

*Shotepala*, who was not twenty years of age when he came and pas- to the empire, was extremely fond of hunting, and wanted sion for to erect hunting-seats and conveniencies through different hunting. parts of his dominions: but *Pacha* had influence enough with checked. him to divert him from that design, by representing to him that the severity of the *Chinese* would consider such buildings as so many monuments of expensive luxury. All the ascend- ancy, however, which this minister had over his master, could not get the better of his superstition, which drove him into cruelty. He had given orders for a most magnificent temple to be erected, at a little distance from *Peking*, in honour of *Fo*. The censors of the empire had the courage to appear before him in a body, with remonstrances against his proceeding in the building; but the emperor, wedded to his favourite worship, ordered the most illustrious of the body to be punished, some of them with banishment, and others with death; and they have ever since been considered by the *Chinese* as so many martyrs for the religion of their country: the emperor, however, we are told, afterwards repented of his imprudence and cruelty, and restored the memory of the censors to their due honours.

Upon the death of *Tyemutyel* a great reformation succeeded He is through all the empire. The memory of that minister was de- murdered, graded; his monuments were defaced, and his estate confiscated; all kinds of luxury and vice were abolished at court, and vast charities were every where bestowed upon the poor: all which is attributed to *Pacha's* councils. Notwithstanding the



the disgrace *Tymutyel's* memory had suffered, his son *Tyshe* held a considerable post in the emperor's guards, and was one of the chief patrons of the lamas, to whom *Pacha* was a declared enemy. Resenting his father's disgrace, he formed a conspiracy with some discontented lords, while the emperor was at *Shengtú*; and, entering the palace with a party, he first murdered *Pacha* and then the emperor, who was but twenty-one years of age, and left no sons.

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Though the emperor received this memorial very graci- *Yesun* sup- ously, and though he was not so devoted as his predecessors presses the had been to the idolatry of *Fo*, yet it was so deeply rooted in insolence *Tartary*, that he dared not to abolish it, neither would he of the la- consent to the death of the prince *Gantipurwha*. He gave or- mas. ders, however, for suppressing the insolence of the lamas; the edict in their favour we have taken notice of was recalled; and they were deprived of the liberty they enjoyed, of obliging the subjects to furnish them horses and provisions for their equipages, and for riding post, they being the only couriers in the empire. In short, he ordered that they should live conformable to their profession. In consequence of the memorial, *Yesun* likewise ordered, that the trade of the *Mahometan* merchants, who were the importers of precious stones and jewels into his kingdom, should be inspected; and a considerable sum was exacted of them, as having been extorted from people more than the worth of their commodities. But *Upetula* and *Taulusha*, the favourite ministers of the emperor, were their friends, so that this resumption came to nothing. As to all the other parts of the memorial, the His justice. emperor did not at all appear averse to their being carried in- to execution.

Notwithstanding all this, the *Chinese* historians have accused *Yesun* with insincerity, and of having been defective in the duties of his station; and they attribute all the natural calamities



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The reader may remember that *Ayuli* succeeded *Hesham*, though the latter left two sons. This happened in virtue of a family contract made between the two brothers, who tenderly loved one another, and agreed that the heirs of their families should alternately mount the *Mogul* throne. *Ayuli's* affection for his son *Shotepala* prevailed with him to break into this settlement; and *Shotepala*, notwithstanding all his virtues, held the sons of *Hesham* in a kind of exile; in which they continued during *Yesun's* short reign. Notwithstanding this, most of the grandees, both *Chinese* and *Moguls*, considered the empire as legally belonging to *Hoshila*, the eldest son of *Hesham*. *Yentemur*, a prince of the blood, descended from *Tusshi*, was then governor of *Peking*. He had been raised by *Hesham*, and was in the highest esteem as a general; and his gratitude obliged him to declare against the empress-regent and her son, in favour of his benefactor's sons. Nothing but the vast abilities and resolution of *Yentemur* could have made this undertaking succeed. The empress-regent, the ministers, most of the princes of the blood, and governors and generals in distant provinces, were in the interest of *Asukipa*; and, above all, he had been recognized, in his father's life-time, as heir to his empire. Notwithstanding all this, *Yentemur*, having made himself master of *Peking*, which he filled with his troops, and having secured to his party some lords and officers whom he could depend upon, ordered a general diet to be held in the palace at *Peking*. The members being met, at the head of seventeen of his officers, he

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After this, a civil-war broke out in the empire; but it ended in the defeat of *Asupika*'s party, by the valour of *Yentumer*, who conquered the numerous troops and princes that had joined *Asupika*; and, at last, defeated himself in a general engagement, in which *Asupika* lost the greatest part of his chief army. At last, he himself was killed, though it was not known in what manner; and then all the great princes and lords, who had taken arms for him, submitted to *Tutemur*; who immediately sent advice of his success, and invited his brother to come and take possession of the empire. But before *Hoshila* could arrive, *Tutemur* ordered into banishment the late empress-regent, and put to death *Taulasba*, and other great princes, who had joined *Asupika*. He was proceeding to other murders, for so they are considered by the *Chinese* history, till he was stopped by a mandarin, who represented to him the bad consequences of such barbarity.

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*Hoshila*.

Though the suspicion of having murdered his brother fell heavy upon *Tutemur*, yet he met with no opposition in resuming the dignity of sole emperor. The beginning of his reign was stained with the blood of *Papusha*, the widow of *Hoshila*, whom his empress, *Putasili*, out of hatred to her, procured



procured to be put to death by an eunuch. A rebellion likewise broke out in *Yunnan*, where prince *Tukyen* assumed the title of king. But this rebellion, after many bloody battles, was suppressed by *Tutemur*'s generals; as was another conspiracy formed by the lamas of *Igur*, in favour of a son of prince *Hoanta*. The reign of *Tutemur*, as sole emperor, lasted but three years; and it is distinguished by his ordering a general history of the *Moguls* to be composed, and by another regulation he introduced; that of giving the title of empress to only one of the emperor's wives. It does not appear that he was much addicted to the lamas, for, on the contrary, he was the first *Mogul* monarch who ever performed, in person, the *Chinese* worship in the temple of Heaven. He was, at the time of his death, which happened in 1332, twenty-nine years of age; and, tho' he left a son, he nominated one of the two sons of his brother *Hoshila* to be proclaimed emperor.

His death.

Cruelty  
and insolence of  
*Yentemur*.

*Yentemur* was considered as a bloody, impetuous man; and, at this time, master of the empire. Being deeply in love with one of the emperor *Yesun*'s wives, he married her, to the great scandal of the public, who considered it as a piece of unparalleled insolence. His friendship for *Tutemur* was so great, that it was thought *Hoshila* died by his hand; and it descended to his posterity: for, upon *Tutemur*'s death, he applied to his widow, the empress-regent, to set aside his will; and to declare her own son, *Yentyekutse*, emperor. But that princess, stung with remorse, perhaps, declared that she would stand by her husband's will; and ordered *Hoshila*'s second son, whose mother she had put to death, to be proclaimed emperor, though he was but seven years of age. That prince dying a few weeks after his inauguration, the empress, after again rejecting *Yentemur*'s proposal in favour of her own son, declared *Towhan Timur*, the eldest son of *Hoshila*, emperor; though it was strongly suspected that he was the real son of *Malyati*, *Hoshila*'s wife, by her first husband, the lama emperor of the *Song*, who lived in the same province to which *Hoshila* had been banished, by which a great intimacy was contracted between them.

*Towhan*  
declared  
emperor.

His aversion to  
*Yentemur*.

Upon *Towhan*'s approach to *Peking*, *Yentemur*, as general of the army, and the first subject in the empire, attended him at the head of the troops. His presence daunted the young emperor, who had heard he was his father's murderer; nor could *Yentemur* bring him to enter into conversation with him during all the journey. *Yentemur* guessed the cause of this shyness, and, had he lived, he would have declared *Tutemur*'s son emperor; but he died soon after the marriage of his daughter *Peyaw*, whom *Towhan*, who was but about fourteen years of age, had espoused, to keep her father upon his side. By his death, the throne of *Towhan Ti-*

*mur*



*mur* was established; and to keep the great family of *Yentemur* in his interest, he declared *Peyaw* his empress. After this, *Towhan* gave himself entirely up to his pleasures, and committed the affairs of government to *Satun* and *Peyen*, his chief ministers and generals; the former of them brother to *Yentemur*, and the latter a man of very bad principles. He likewise gave a great share of the government to *Tutemur's* widow, though he is said secretly to have hated her. Nothing remarkable seems to have happened during the first two or three years of *Towhan's* reign, excepting earthquakes, storms, and inundations; all which are ridiculously imputed, by the *Chinese* historians, to *Towhan's* bad government; In 1335, *Satun* died, and all his great posts were given to his colleague *Peyen*.

This partiality exasperated the princes of *Yentemur's* house, and they formed a conspiracy for placing upon the throne *Wangho*, the son of a rebel prince, who had been put to death by *Kublai*. But the conspiracy was discovered and defeated by *Peyen*, who seized and executed the heads of the conspirators, amongst whom was *Tangishi* and *Targay*. The former was instantly put to death by *Peyen*, and the latter took refuge in the chamber of his sister the empress; but he was pursued thither by *Peyen*, and, though the empress interposed to save him, he was killed in her presence by *Peyen's* own hand. After this, *Peyen* went to the emperor, and informed him of what had been done; and *Towhan*, who had married his empress from motives of fear and interest, not only approved of what he had done, but attended *Peyen* to the apartment of the empress; where, in hatred to her father and family, he gave her up to the sword of that monster. In vain did the unfortunate princess implore the protection of her husband: he reproached her with the conspiracy formed against him by her family, and told her she must not live. Upon this *Peyen* carried her to a neighbouring village, and, with his own hands, was her executioner. After this, the remains of the conspiracy were easily suppressed; *Talianti*, *Yentemur's* brother, was slain, and *Wangho* killed himself.

Cruelty of  
*Towhan*.

This conspiracy, which took its rise in *China*, proving unsuccessful, was attended with very bad consequences to the *Chinese*, who were thereupon ordered not to make use of arms, and debarred from the honour of instructing the *Moguls*. But the insolence of *Peyen* becoming now insupportable, all the empire, and the emperor himself, began to suspect that he had an eye upon the empire, either for himself or for some of his friends. *Toto*, son to *Machartay*, brother to *Peyen*, and a general officer in *Towhan's* service, was a man of great virtue and abilities, and was one of those who suspected his uncle *Peyen* of bad designs. He fell at *Towhan's* feet, and told him that he renounced his family for his majesty's service. *Towhan* understood, but was unwilling to trust, him. Upon enquiry he was satisfied of his fidelity by *Sikray* and *Aiu*.

The *Chinese* punished.



Death of  
*Peyen*.

*Alu*, the only persons about court whom he could trust, the rest being, all of them, creatures of *Peyen*. *Towhan* then imparted, with tears, his apprehensions of *Peyen*, and committed his interests entirely into the hands of *Sikyay* and *Toto*. Those two, supported by the emperor's authority, took their measures so well, that *Peyen* was first reduced to a private station and then sent into banishment, but he died on the road.

Revolu-  
tion of the  
govern-  
ment.

The death of *Peyen* made some alteration in the government. *Toto* and his father were too moderate to disturb the peace of the empire, and enjoyed but a very small degree of addition to their former honours. All the mandarins were continued in their employments; but the emperor thought proper to publish a manifesto, setting forth the persecutions he and his family had suffered from the emperor *Tutemur*, reciting the murder of his mother by the empress *Putasheli*, whom he deprived of the title of empress and banished; and the arts they had used to impose upon the public, by endeavouring to make him pass for the emperor of the *Song*'s son. At the same time, prince *Yentyekotse*, who had always behaved dutifully to *Towhan*, was put to death on his road to a place to which he was banished (the greatest reproach the government underwent in the whole transaction) and all the friends of *Tutemur* were degraded from their places, and the tablet of honour to his memory was removed out of the temple of his ancestors. About the same time, *Towhan* re-established the examination of the literati, which had of late been discontinued. But, in the year 1342, the famine in his dominions was so great, that the people lived upon human flesh.

*Toto* turns  
projector.

*Toto* was, at this time, considered as the principal person under the emperor, and, had he confined himself to the talents in which he excelled, he would have been a valuable minister: but he turned projector, and persuaded the emperor to open a canal near *Peking*, which had been shut up for fear of endangering that capital. But his advice proving pernicious, the canal was again shut up. *Toto*, however, shone in the province of learning, particularly in the study of history, and was one of the authors of the great history of the *Song*, which does honour to *Chinese* literature. At last, his vast power made him somewhat forgetful of his father's moderate maxims; for, in the year 1344, he suffered himself to be, by the emperor, created a regulo. This raised up enemies to his family, and his father was banished and died in exile. This punishment, inflicted on a nobleman who had deserved so very much of *Towhan*, rendered that emperor, who was ingrateful and inconstant, very despicable in the eyes of his subjects. He broke through all the *Chinese* maxims of government, and raised a lady he loved, one *Ki*, to be his second empress. An universal corruption and degeneracy prevailed at court; and very few were found bold enough to tell the emperor, that this alteration of morals and government prognosticated some fatal revolution to be at hand.

Degene-  
racy of the  
court.



hand. When any of the mandarins presented remonstrances on those heads; he rejected them; and *Toto*, involved in his father's fate, had attended him to the place of his exile, where he still remained; but was, at last, recalled, at the pressing instances of the first minister, *Tayping*, a person of such great worth and disinterestedness, that *Toto*, ignorant of the obligations he was under to him, joined with his enemies and helped to ruin him.

*Toto*, upon his return from exile, was made governor to and the the imperial prince; but his pupil's advancement in the *Chi- nese* learning did him no honour; while the emperor himself was in the hands of two brothers, *Ama* and *Siweifu*, men of abandoned characters. They had interest enough to crush all their enemies, and, by adapting themselves to the emperor's and the empress *Ki*'s love of pleasure, they grew, *Ama* particularly, to the highest pitch of insolence. Another project, was set on foot, or encouraged, by *Toto*, for turning the course of the great river *Wangho*. But this project, after putting the public to a prodigious expence, likewise miscarried. The people's discontent at this was greatly augmented by famine, which raged, at this time, to such a degree, that nine hundred thousand people are said to have perished by it in two provinces; while the emperor, and his court, lived in all kind of sensuality.

It was now plain, to all the thinking *Chinese*, that a revo- The em- lution was at hand. The *Mogul* emperors had been able to pire filled erect and maintain their government, amongst them, only with re- by the vast attention they paid to their constitution, laws, bellions, and learning. This attention, under *Towhan*, was entirely dropped; the order of succession was neglected; and a system of government, directly the reverse of that of the *Chinese*, had taken place. The mandarins had, in vain, opposed all those abuses; and, at last, an almost total dissolution of government took place. Two rebels, *Hangshongton* and *Lyewfutong*, filled the provinces of *Shangtung*, *Honan*, and *Kian*, with blood and confusion; and a pirate, one *Fangquechen*, plundered all the sea-coasts, intercepted all the provisions designed for the court and the capital, and defeated several of the imperial generals who were sent against him. It was plain, from the success this free-booter met with, that he was favoured by all the people upon the sea-coasts, and by the sailors in general; while the mandarins either kept the court entirely in the dark, as to his progress, or amused it with false accounts. But the most dangerous rebel of all was *Tsuchewwhey*, who declared himself emperor. In 1352, he took *Hanyang* and *Vuchang*; and, equipping a fleet, laid siege to *Kyewkyangfu*, which he took, notwithstanding an obstinate defence made by a *Chinese* mandarin. It is upon this occasion remarkable, that the emperor had a *Mogul* army in those parts who made no manner of head against the rebels, but fled every where at their approach; nay, in some places, they



which are they seem to have been confederate d with them. One *Li-fu* was successful in *Kyangnan*, where he defeated *Yejyem*, the brother of *Toto*. *Yejyem*, upon this occasion, being accused of cowardice and mismanagement, by the mandarins, the indolent emperor made his brother *Toto* his judge; who not only acquitted him with a bare-faced partiality, but procured the most forward of the prosecutors, amongst whom were men of the highest quality and merit, to be disgraced and banished. Soon after this, the army of *Tsuchewwhy*, which had been corrupted by the luxuries of the places he had conquered, received several checks from the imperial forces; and *Toto* himself took *Tsuchew* from *Lyewfutong*, as a kind of an attonement for his brother's failure. In other places, however, the rebels were generally victorious, and pretenders to the empire started up in almost every province of *China*.

*Ama*, a wicked minister, seduces the emperor.

Those calamities were far from uniting the imperial court: *Ama*, every day, invented new pleasures to lull the emperor and empress; and he gained such an ascendancy, that *Toto*, whom he quarelled with, was banished and put to death. At last, some *Tartar* generals gave *Lyewfutong* several defeats; but the *Chinese*, in general, were so discontented with the imperial court, that he always found means to recruit his armies and to keep the field. The emperor *Towhan* was now prevailed upon to summon a great council of his generals and officers, to deliberate upon the state of the war. But, after several proposals had been made, and debated, a mandarin had the boldness to tell the emperor, that all those precautions would be fruitless, unless he began a reformation in his own court and government. This discourse was highly applauded, but the advice was neglected.

Rise of the great *Chu*.

While matters were in this melancholy situation over all *China*, a man arose, whose history is as singular as that of any this work contains, or, perhaps, that of any man of antiquity. His name was *Chu*, born and bred in the meanest station; for, before he commenced a soldier, he was a scullion under the cook of a convent of bonzas. His adventures after he entered into the army are immaterial, and, indeed, uncertain. All we know, is, that, besides that great courage which men in the lowest state are often born with, he joined an elevation of thought, and a politeness of manners, that would have adorned the highest birth; and his qualifications, both as a general and a politician, were second to none of the age.

His character,

and progress.

*Chu* set out with the character of the deliverer of his country. His courage, probity, and other virtues, had acquired him friends. He disdained the ruffian means, by which other pretenders to empire aspired. He refused to associate with any but men who, like himself, had no other view but the deliverance of their country, from the usurpation of the *Moguls* and the oppressions of a stupid, wicked, degenerate court.



court. His first appearance as a general was at *Hau*, a city in *Kyangnan*, where he formed his party, and named his officers. After this, he took *Tuchew* and *Hochew*; and, in all his proceedings, he gave the most convincing demonstrations of his being sincere in the professions he set out with. The true *Chinese*, who were attached to their antient constitution and religion, now thought that Heaven had sent them the man whom they had so long desired, and flocked to him with such zeal, and in such numbers, that he passed the great river *Kyang* with one thousand vessels, and reduced *Nyew-chuki* and *Tayping*. At last, he made himself master of the great city *Nankin*, which he entered in triumph.

The successes of *Chu* were greatly owing to the distractions to what that prevailed in the other part of the empire. *Wheygangfu* owing. suffered a siege of five years, but was, at last, taken by the rebels; and *Tsuchewwhey* made himself master of almost all *Sechwen*, and took the important city of *Ganking*. But that rebel, in all his progress, behaved like a public robber, by plundering the places he reduced. *Chu*, on the other hand, appeared as the guardian, and the deliverer of the people wherever his arms prevailed. In *Kyangnan* he took the cities of *Changchefu* and *Yangchewfu*, and many others; and, in a general council of war, public orders were given out against all killing and plundering. About the same time, the *Song* took up arms, and made a formidable progress against the imperial party, penetrating even to the neighbourhood of *Peking*. It is true they received many checks from the *Tartar* generals; but still the emperor's party was weakened in proportion; and the losses of all served the ends of *Chu*, who still continued to act as the deliverer of his country.

The nearer the danger approached to the imperial court, Distractions en- the distractions were increased. Since the death of *Toto*, tions en- *Ama* became more powerful than ever; but the progress of crease at *Chu*, and the rebels, filled him with apprehensions of the *Towhan's* most melancholy kind. The imperial prince, whose name court, was *Ayyew Shilitata*, though he was uncorrupted by the vices of his father's companions, was, by his mother's interest, a friend to *Ama*. The latter, seeing himself in danger, every moment, of being torn to pieces by the people, who considered him as the author of all their calamities; and perceiving the emperor unfit for the government, either of the state or the army, he formed a project for placing the prince upon the throne, and imparted it to his father; telling him, at the same time, that the emperor was quite a changling, and unfit to govern longer. A companion of the emperor in his debauches, by means of his wife, the sister of *Ama*, who had overheard the conversation, informed the emperor of it; and he, chiefly in resentment of the contemptible manner in which *Ama* had spoken of his parts, gave way to *Ama* and his brother, who was in the conspiracy, being prosecuted and put to death.



and prove  
fatal to his  
govern-  
ment.

Nothing, however, could awaken *Towhan* to a sense of his danger: he had millions to fight for him, but they were badly commanded; and he had many brave loyal officers, but they were divided; so that there was no unanimity, either in the cabinet or the field. But the divisions amongst the *Song* gave the imperial court some respite. They had approached so near to *Peking*, that they had plundered *Shantung*, and some of the emperor's ministers had advised him to retire with the court into *Tartary*. This shameful measure was opposed by *Tayping*, who then acted as first minister; and, calling in the army for the defence of the capital, the *Song* received a severe repulse. But *Tayping* could not pursue this advantage, because the *Tartar* generals refused to obey him, for which one of them was put to death. After this defeat, the divisions amongst the *Song* increased so greatly, that their best general, *Manquey*, in the year 1339, was assassinated at *Shongquen*; and, there being amongst the rest no principle but plunder to unite them, their armies, by degrees, dispersed and came to nothing. In other parts of *China*, the imperial arms were, for some time, successful against all but *Chu*; and *Tsuchewwey*, who had declared himself emperor of the *Song*, after one of his generals had taken *Nanchangfu*, the capital of *Shyansu*, was, by that very general, made prisoner and stripped of his authority. All those successes, with the spirited conduct of *Tayping*, for some time, suspended the fate of the *Mogul* empire in *China*; and some of *Towhan's* generals gave wonderful proofs of their courage and fidelity in his defence.

*Chu* pre-  
vails.

The other  
rebels are  
suppressed

The truth is, that the proceedings of the *Song*, and all the other rebels, excepting *Chu*, were so rapacious and cruel, that the *Chinese* rather chose to attach themselves to the court than to come under such masters; and *Tayping's* virtues gave them hopes of a general reformation in the manners and constitution of the empire. All the *Chinese* and *Moguls*, who were most respectable for their rank and virtues, supported that minister. But *Ayyew*, the hereditary prince, and his mother, could not bear that a subject should have so much power; and, not being able to prevail with him to join them in persuading the emperor to resign his crown, they formed cabals for destroying him; and succeeded so far, that some of his best friends were proscribed, and put to death, upon groundless accusations. *Tayping*, however, stood his ground, and his character appeared with fresh lustre every day, till the death of *Nyerwtikay*, who descended from prince *Porchu*. He was the most powerful subject in all *Tartary*, and the firm friend of *Tayping*, who, upon his death, finding he could no longer maintain his authority, retired to a private life, and left the government in the hands of miscreants. After this, *Towhan's* affairs daily declined. His great officers, instead of fighting the rebels, fought one another; and, at last, a pretender to the empire, descended from *Oktoy*, claimed the *Mogul*

*Towhan's*  
affairs de-  
cline daily.



gul crown; and advanced towards *Peking* at the head of an army. But this pretender, after having had some success at first, was seized by his own soldiers, whom he had raised under pretence of serving *Towhan*, and put to death.

The prudent *Chu* did not slip the least of the many advantages which those distractions gave him. He declared equally and policy against the rebels as against the *Moguls*. *Yew Lyang*, the general who had seized *Tsuchewwhey*, likewise put him to death; and other pretenders every day started up. This divided the force of the rebels, and *Chu* took, from *Yew Lyang*, *Kyewkyangfu* and *Nanchangfu*, two of the greatest cities in all *China*; while the great general *Lyewfutong* was killed in *Kyangan*; and the divisions and bloodshed, amongst *Towhan's* generals and troops, every day increased. Of all the pretenders to the empire, next to *Chu*, *Yew Lyang* was now the most formidable, on account of his valour, his riches, and his numerous armies; and *Chu*, before he proceeded farther, resolved to destroy him. *Lyang* had laid siege to *Nanchangfu*; but, hearing that *Chu* was advancing in person, with a numerous fleet and two hundred thousand soldiers on board, to relieve the place, he raised the siege, and prepared for a general engagement, which continued, for several days, very bloody both by sea and land; but ended in the defeat and death of *Yew Lyang*; upon which his generals and troops submitted to *Chu*.

That general was now without a competitor in the field. who accepted of the divisions that were still increasing among *Towhan's* troops, were daily paving his way to the empire. At the title last, in the beginning of the year 1364, *Chu's* chief officers of king, proposed that he should take upon him the dignity of an emperor. *Chu* did not think that his affairs were yet ripe enough for so high a title; but at last he consented to accept of that of king of *U*. In this quality, being unanimously recognized by his followers, he appointed his grand officers of state; and, in a general assembly of them, he confirmed all his former professions for the good of his country; the only motive, he said, which had prevailed upon him to accept of his dignity. Soon after this, *Chu* conquered the provinces of *Kyenfi* and *Huquang*, and his conduct shewed him to deserve his success. The *Chinese*, without minding the meanness of his birth, submitted to the greatness of his genius, and the pre-eminence of his virtues: while the court of *Towhan* were themselves, in effect, promoting his future dignity.

*Ayyew Shilitata*, the hereditary prince there, had formed such factions amongst the great men of his father's empire, formed by that they stood upon their guard against one another, rather the prince, than their common enemy. *Towhan*, weak as he was, foresaw the consequences of those divisions, and endeavoured to prevent them, by making one *Polo Temur*, who was the de-



clared enemy of the prince, his first minister and general. The beginning of his administration promised fair; for he put to death, or banished, the companions of the emperor's debauches, and the lamas of his religion. But *Polo* soon flagged in this course. He sought to set aside the prince from the succession, and he used violence to his mother the empress; who was obliged to purchase her peace and freedom, by supplying him with the most excessive means of debauchery, to which *Polo* was extremely addicted. At last, the prince took the field, and *Polo Temur*, being looked upon as keeping his master and the empress in thralldom, was deserted by the army and the great men, and, at last, killed by the emperor's orders; and the prince regained the possession of the imperial palace.

Admini-  
stration of  
*Koko Te-  
mur*.

*Polo* was succeeded in the prime administration, by another great lord, called *Koko Temur*. But this, far from healing the public dissensions, increased them; while *Chu*, heaping victory upon victory, besides other places, took the finest cities and provinces of the empire. The imperial prince, who was, at once, ambitious and factious to the greatest degree, assisted by his mother, incessantly pressed *Towhan* to resign the empire to him; and, at last, procured the disgrace of *Koko*, though he could not get himself declared emperor. *Chu* improved all these disorders and disturbances to his own advantage. He saw the weakness of the *Iwen*, or *Mogul*, government, and wherein it consisted. He had immense armies devoted to his service, and he published manifestoes over all *China*, promising to restore the morality, religion, and virtues of the *Chinese*; all which, he said, had been grossly violated by barbarians. To make those professions good, though he was without education, he applied himself so closely to the study of the *Chinese* government and literature, that he soon re-established them in all their former purity; and no arts were spared to remind the *Chinese*, that the *Iwen* were no better than barbarians. At last, his progress was such, that, bearing down all opposition, he was solemnly inaugurated emperor of *China*, in *Nankin*; and he settled the succession upon his son: while the *Iwen* were busied in cutting one another's throats.

*Chu* inau-  
gurated  
emperor.

*Towhan*  
abandons  
*Peking*  
and *Chi-  
na*.

The year 1368 is accounted the first of *Chu*'s reign; and, from that time, he performed all the acts of imperial dignity, both civil and religious: but *Towhan* was still in possession of *Peking* and of all *Tartary*; and it was necessary for *Chu* to drive him out of *China*. With this view, he made himself master directly of all the important posts and passes leading to the capital; and overthrew all the bravest of *Towhan*'s generals and armies who opposed his progress. *Towhan*, on the other hand, thinking his fate inevitable, notwithstanding all the tears and remonstrances of his most faithful subjects, took the resolution of retiring into *Tartary*; which



which he did, and thereby left *Chu* in possession of the empire of *China*; where he reigned under the name of *Hongwu*, and became the founder of a new dynasty; of which we have no materials to give any tolerable history.

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*The history of the empire of Tartary, from the year 1368 to the latest accounts.*

THE successors of *Jenghiz Khan* had established their empire in *China* by their uncommon virtues, and the regard they had for the *Chinese* arts; but they lost it, in a great measure, by their attachment to superstition; through which *Towhan* became a prey, to priests, women, and favourites. The history of the *Mogul* emperors in *Tartary*, after this, consists of little more than the names of some of them, and a few of the most remarkable events. *Towhan* was succeeded by his son *Ayyew Shilitata*, who removed his imperial residence to *Karakoram*; but we know of few, or no, particulars of his reign, or those of his successors, for many years; but that they were continually at war with *Hongwu* and the *Chinese* emperors, though they never could re-establish a footing in *China*. We learn, however, that, in the year 1449, *Tartary* was invaded by *Jugtsong*, the *Chinese* emperor, who, passing the great wall, was entirely defeated by the *Moguls*, and himself taken prisoner. He lay long in captivity, but was, at last, relieved by a vast ransom paid to the *Mogul* emperor.

Lameness  
of history.

We know nothing farther, with certainty, of the *Tartar* court, till the year 1509; when a new war broke out between the two empires, which terminated to the advantage of the *Moguls*. But the latter, in the year 1550, were entirely defeated, in attempting to make themselves masters of *Peking*. After this a peace followed, and the *Tartars* obtained leave from *Shitsong*, the emperor of *China*, to carry on a traffic in horses in his dominions: but that permission was soon recalled through the inconveniencies it occasioned. Soon after, the *Mogul* troops were again defeated, by the *Chinese*, with great slaughter. After this, *Tartary* was split into many separate governments amongst the descendants of *Jenghiz Khan*. All of them, however, seem to acknowledge a kind of a superiority in the person of a khan, or emperor, of the house of *Kublay*. But the *Manchews*, or the *Eastern Tartars*, under a prince called *Tyenming*, after several fruitless attempts, made a vast progress in *China*. He is said to have been a bloody prince, but was succeeded by his son *Tyentsong*, who subdued the *Mogul* princes, and, at the time of his death, had almost made himself master of all *China*. Under his son, the reigning dynasty of the *Chinese* emperors was finished by

Revolu-  
tions in  
*Tartary*.



**Cata-** a rebellion under one *Li*; who, making himself master of the  
**strophe of** imperial city and palace, obliged the unhappy emperor to  
**an empe-** murder himself and his family. Upon this, one of his gene-  
**ror.** rals, rather than submit to a rebel, called in the *Manchew*  
*Tartars*, with their young prince, *Sunchi*, at their head, and  
dispossessed *Li* of *Peking*, and all his conquests. The cru-  
elty of that rebel made the *Chinese* welcome the *Manchews* as  
their deliverers; and, in the year 1644, *Sunchi* was declared  
emperor of *China*, and became the founder of a new dy-  
nasty there.

**Account** Before this time, the chief of the descendants of *Jenghiz*  
**of the** *Khan* in *Tartary*, was obliged, by the *Manchews*, to resign  
**Manchews** his dignity, and to be contented with the title of vang, or  
king. This prince, or one of his descendants, afterwards  
attempted to throw off the *Manchew* yoke; yet he was de-  
feated with great slaughter, and the *Manchew* dynasty still  
reigns in *China*. All their power, however, could not pre-  
vent a great many provinces in *Tartary* from recognizing, as  
their heads, the descendants of *Towhan*, the last *Mogul* em-  
peror of *China*; and establishing, amongst themselves, in the  
remoter provinces of *Tartary*, a kind of independency.  
These people are ranked under three denominations; the  
*Moguls*, the *Kalkas* (who were composed of the *Tartars* driven  
out of *China*) and the *Eluths*, or whom we call the *Kalmuk*  
*Tartars*. Each of those tribes had their respective khans;  
but they had very little power farther than their precedency  
in their general diets; the chief authority being usurped by  
the taphis, or the great lords under them. In spiritual mat-  
ters, all of them were implicitly subject to the great lama of  
*Tibet*. The power of this pontif is incredible, as is the stu-  
pidity of the people, were not the relations confirmed by  
many indisputable evidences. He pretended to be God in  
person, and he sat with all the solemn state of a living divi-  
nity, and had the same adoration paid him. In process of  
time, other lamas assumed the same character, and were  
treated with the same devotion; and were so implicitly fol-  
lowed by the people, that they acquired a temporal, as well  
as a spiritual, authority over the greatest khans; and, to  
this day, the same idolatry exists in an incredible number of  
places in *Tartary*, where those hosos, or living gods, are to  
be seen. A taki, called *Lopzang*, attacked *Shassaktu*, the  
chief khan of the *Kalkas*, took him prisoner, and put him  
to death. The other khans, uniting in their turns, defeated  
and took *Lopzang*; but, not daring to put him to death,  
they sent him to be punished as the great lamas should think  
proper.

**History** It happened that one of the hosos had an elder brother,  
**and ad-** called *Tushetu*, who was a considerable khan, and at the  
**ventures** head of the conspiracy against *Lopzang*. After that rebel was  
**of a pre-** defeated, *Shassaktu*'s son, who had the same name as his fa-  
**tended** ther, was re-instated in his dominions; but the lama we  
**god.** have



have mentioned persuaded his brother to reserve all his flocks, and a great part of his subjects, for his own use. *Shaffaktu* complained of this treatment to the great lama, but receiving only evasive answers, he carried his complaints to the *Manchew* emperor of *China*, to whom the *Kalkas* paid a small tribute of a dromedary and nine white horses, for the liberty of trade in that empire. The emperor, by virtue of his superiority, interposed in the affair, and procured a meeting of the states of the *Kalkas*; but a dispute between the lama, who was *Shaffaktu*'s brother, and the great lama's deputy, arose about precedence. The latter pretended to it in right of his master, the great lama; and the other in his own right, as being an original living god. This important question was, at last, determined, by putting them both on an equality; and, by the mediation of the members present and the *Chinese* ambassador, *Shaffaktu* was promised restitution by the lama, or, as he was commonly called, the kutuktu. Upon the breaking up of the assembly, however, *Shaffaktu*, meeting with nothing but delays, applied to his friend *Kaldan*, the khan of the *Kalmuks*; who sent an ambassador, complaining of their trifling towards *Shaffaktu*; and to complain of the affront offered to the great lama, by the kutuktu's disputing the precedence with his deputy.

The kutuktu, whom the khan, his brother, paid the same adoration to, as did the meanest of the people, resented this letter so much, that he put the ambassador to death; and, raising a greater army, with his brother, they not only surprised *Shaffaktu*, whom they took prisoner and drowned, but marched against the *Elutbs*, whose troops they likewise defeated, and cut off the head of *Kaldan*'s brother. This happened in the year 1687. His cruelty.

*Kanghi* was then the *Manchew* emperor of *China*. He was the prince who is so much celebrated by the jesuits, and other writers, for his attention to the affairs of government, his zeal for all polite and useful literature, and for every other virtue that can enter into the composition of a man or a monarch. But, on this occasion, it appeared he was far from being void of ambition. Being apprehensive of *Kalkan*'s power, and a general confederacy of the princes descended from *Kublai* against him, he had secretly encouraged the kutuktu, and his brother, to invade the *Eluth* territories. They, on the other hand, pretended that they had undoubted intelligence, that *Shaffaktu* and *Kaldan* had formed a design for subjecting, to themselves, all the *Kalkas*; and invited in all the princes of that nation to oppose *Kaldan*; who, in the year 1688, invaded *Tushetu*'s territories. But, the latter being joined by a great number of other princes, the army was vastly superior to that of *Kaldan*, who wisely took up a strong camp, without advancing farther. This had the effect he had foreseen; the *Kalkas* split into factions, and, by degrees, aban- Policy of Kanghi, the famous emperor of China.



abandoned *Tushitu* and the *kutuktu* : so that *Kaldan* defeated their army ; drove them beyond the walls of *China* ; made himself master of their camp, and all the rich spoil ; and put to death all their friends and followers, wherever they were found. In short, he filled their whole country with desolation.

who protects the  
kutuktu.

The *kutuktu*, and his brother, upon this, applied to *Kanghi* ; and not only became his vassals themselves, but brought over many of the *Kalka* princes to follow their example ; which made *Kaldan* declare war against the *Kalkas* in general.

*Kaldan*  
massacres  
the *Kalkas*.

*Kanghi*, at first, affected great moderation. He sent an ambassador to demand of *Kaldan* the reasons of his cruel proceedings. His answer was, that he was resolved to revenge his brother's death ; that the *kutuktu* was such a monster in every kind of wickedness, that it was scandalous in any prince to give him a retreat : and he referred the emperor to the breach of his oath, he had solemnly sworn, in the *Tartar* diet, before his ambassador, and had so perfidiously broken : adding, that he could not lay down his arms till the *kutuktu* was given up. *Kanghi* declined this, under pretence that he could not abandon a prince in distress and under his protection. Upon which, about the year 1690, *Kaldan* advanced to a province which *Kanghi* had assigned him, and put all the *Kalkas* to the sword that fell into his hands.

He forms  
a confederacy  
against  
*Kanghi*,

But the army of *Kaldan*, though very well disciplined, was not so formidable a consideration to *Kanghi* as was the power of the lama of *Tibet*, whose quarrel *Kaldan* was in a manner fighting, and who was then forming intrigues for uniting all the *Tartar* princes of his party, *Moguls* in particular, for recovering the empire of *China* from the *Manchew* usurpation, as they call it. The apprehensions of such a confederacy, with *Kaldan* at its head, was alarming ; and, tho' the *Chinese* mandarins considered the *Eluths* as being no other than despicable barbarians, yet the emperor ordered a body of *Mogul* and *Manchew* troops, his own subjects, to march against *Kaldan*, who utterly defeated them, and obliged their remains, with their general, to fly to the mountains.

but is unsuccessful.

The news of this disgrace reaching *Peking*, a much greater army was raised ; and, at first, *Kanghi* intended to have commanded it in person : but he was by his council advised to give that command to his brother, and he ordered his own eldest son to attend him to the field. By this time, the missionary jesuits had got footing in *China* and had taught *Kanghi*, and his subjects, the use of founderies for making cannon, and the *European* methods of managing artillery. *Kaldan* was then about two hundred and forty miles from *Peking*, and destitute of artillery ; but he knew so well how to choose his ground, that he gave the *Chinese* several defeats, and, at last, hazarded a general engagement, in which both parties



parties claimed the victory: but *Kaldan* was sensible that the match was unequal; and, that his small army, if he continued to hold out, must, at last, be sacrificed. A treaty, therefore, was set on foot the next day after the battle; by which *Kaldan* swore never to return again into the emperor's dominions, or those of his allies, provided he was suffered to return to his own dominion., which he found in the utmost distress, though the causes are variously related.

According to the best accounts, he had left a favourite nephew, whose name was *Raptan*, regent of his dominions. This prince had been contracted to a lady, whom *Kaldan* himself had fallen in love with; and *Kaldan* had likewise procured the death of *Raptan's* elder brother, whom he hated. Upon those, and some other, provocations, *Raptan* withdrew secretly from court, and was attended in his retreat by such numbers of the *Eluth* families, that *Kaldan*, upon his return from the war, found his dominions greatly depopulated; nor could he ever persuade *Raptan* to return. *Kaldan*, notwithstanding all his distresses, still persevered in his animosity against the *Kalkas*; and, after his return, omitted no means of renewing the war against them.

The court of *Peking*, on the other hand, was exasperated against the generals who had conducted the expedition against *Kaldan*; even the emperor's brother was fined and censured, and the other generals degraded; and some would have been put to death, had not the emperor himself screened them. Soon after *Kanghi* marched into *Tartary* and there received the homages of all the *Kalka* princes. This served to hasten the preparations *Kaldan* was making for renewing the war. He was so successful that he soon after took the field, and put to death all the *Kalkas* wherever he met with them. He was not so successful in forming the *Mogul* confederacy, which he had so much at heart. About the year 1694, he published his proposals for uniting them against the *Manchews*, and threatened to treat every *Mogul* as an enemy who did not join the confederacy. Having sent those proposals to the king of *Korchin*, that prince transmitted them to *Kanghi*, who immediately resolved to make his utmost efforts against the *Eluths*. The *Chinese*, by this time, had been brought into excellent discipline by the indefatigable cares of *Kanghi*, whose army consisted of three hundred thousand men, with three hundred pieces of cannon, which he divided into three bodies; and, at the same time, sent them all, though by separate quarters, into *Kaldan's* dominions, which they filled with desolation; the race of the *Eluths* being almost exterminated by them, and no more than ten or twelve thousand of their families left alive.

As to *Kaldan* himself, what we know of him is chiefly from the representation of the Jesuits and the *Chinese*, who were his mortal enemies; but, even according to their relations, their idol, *Kanghi*, behaved very unsuitably to the character

Adventures of his nephew *Raptan*.

Censure of the *Chinese* generals.

Injustice done to *Kaldan*.



character they gave him, in giving refuge to such monsters of barbarity and perjury as the kutuktu and his brother, and taking up their quarrel, and pursuing it with such barbarity as he did ; for he put to death even the beloved wife of *Kaldan*, by ordering her head to be cut off to adorn his triumph. *Kaldan*, notwithstanding all his distresses, retreated, some say, with his followers to the mountains, where hunger soon compelled them to kill all their horses. After this, he sent his own son to the great lama, to let him know his condition : but the young prince and his retinue were intercepted on the road by a treacherous governor, and sent in chains to *Kanghi*, who meanly put him to death. When *Kaldan* received this melancholy news, he could support his spirits no longer ; but, desiring his few followers to provide for their own safety in the best manner they could, he took poison.

who poi-  
sons him-  
self.

Succeeded  
by *Rap-  
tan*.

The fate of *Kaldan* did not discourage his nephew *Raptan* from discovering himself to the remaining *Kalmucks*, or to the people of *Little Bukharia*, which had been subject to *Kaldan* ; but he demanded his uncle's succession. He was accordingly recognized by them ; and, having great humanity as well as abilities, he soon became so powerful a prince that he reduced *Tibet* and several other rich provinces : but he at last drew upon himself the arms of *Kanghi*, who took from him the provinces of *Kamil* and *Turfan*. Their quarrel is said to have been occasioned by a gold mine, which was claimed by both parties, as lying on the frontiers of both their dominions. The kontaish, or grand-monarch (for so *Raptan* was called by his subjects) for some time maintained his ground ; but the *Chinese*, by their artillery, and building strong fortifications, at last gained their point. This obliged the kontaish, so late as the year 1720, to apply to the czar *Peter the Great* of *Muscovy*, for protection and the assistance of ten thousand men, with a train of artillery ; offering, on that condition, to pay him tribute, and to clear his dominions of the *Chinese*. But *Peter* was then engaged in so many projects of far greater consequence, that he declined the offer. Notwithstanding this, the kontaish certainly regained the possessions he had lost, because we find him, in the year 1726, in his dominions. Since that time, we have no materials from that country for history.

His nego-  
ciation  
with the  
czar *Pe-  
ter*.



*The successors of Jenghiz Khan in Persia, from the year 1264. to the year 1335.*

**HULACU**, the same descendant of *Jenghiz Khan* who, as we have seen, conquered *Baghdad*, and put a period to the khalifat, died possessed of immense dominions, comprehending *Korasan*; the two *Persias*, with their capitals, *Ispahan* and *Shiraz*; all *Assyria*, *Media*, *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Asia Minor*. Some of those countries he had received, in trust, from the *Mogul Chinese* emperors; and, notwithstanding the immensity of his power, he still acknowledged them as his superiors. Empire of Hulaku.

He was, in the year 1264, succeeded by his son *Abaka* in his dominions. *Abaka's* first care was, to secure the passes into his territories from the incursions of his neighbours, who, all of them, like himself, were the descendants of *Jenghiz Khan*. Notwithstanding that, *Baka*, the khan, or kin, of *Great Bukharia*, invaded his dominions with three hundred thousand men; but happened to die on the eve of a general engagement: upon which his troops returned to *Tartary*. *Abaka*, after this, in the year 1269, defeated an army of *Tartars* under *Borak*, a descendant from *Jagatay*, *Jenghiz Khan's* son. By all accounts, *Abaka* was a wise and a virtuous prince; but it is extremely hard to ascertain the nature of the sovereignty he had over great part of his dominions: for, under him, *Bundoktar*, sultan of *Egypt*, conquered *Armenia*, and took prisoner the king's son, whose name was *Hatem*. But, though *Hatem* was substitute to *Abaka*, we know of no concern the latter took in the war; only we are told that he gave to *Hatem* a favourite slave, for which *Bundoktar* exchanged *Hatem's* son. We are likewise told, that *Abaka* had a governor in *Anatolia*, to whom *Hatem* applied for assistance, but in vain; and, that *Abaka*, upon *Hatem's* earnest request, gave him leave to resign his kingdom of *Armenia* to his son. He is succeeded by Abaka.

After this, *Bundoktar* invaded the country of *Anatolia*, where he defeated the *Mogul* forces; and, having over-run that province, he retired towards *Syria*; while *Abaka* put his governor of *Anatolia* to death for negligence. The rest of *Abaka's* life was spent in his wars with the *Egyptians*; in some of which he was successful, in others not: but the accounts given of them by authors, are so uncertain and contradictory, and, at the same time, so uninteresting, that we shall not trouble our readers with the particulars. Amongst the other glories of his reign, it was not the least considerable, that he endeavoured to restore *Baghdad* to its antient lustre; and that, if he was not a *Christian*, though it is probable he was, he certainly attended the service of the *Christian* church; for, only three days before his death, he celebrated *Bundoktar* invades *Armenia*.



*Abaka*, a Christian, celebrated the feast of *Easter*, with the *Christians*, at the church of *Hamadan*. His death, which happened in 1282, was thought to have been hastened by poison administered to him by his prime-minister.

Revolu-  
tions in  
*Persia*.

He was succeeded by *Ahmed*, whose *Mogul* name was *Nikudar*. The conduct of this prince make it evident, that the *Moguls*, in *Syria* and *Persia*, had, at this time, no settled religion, but took up with that which was most according to their fancy or interest. This prince, in the beginning of his reign, was a friend to the *Christians*; and, perhaps, would have continued so, had it not been for political reasons; for he had mounted the throne in prejudice to *Argun*, son to *Abaka*. The latter, having a great party on his side among the *Moguls*, disputed the succession with his uncle, who declared himself a *Mahometan*; probably, to gain the *Mahometan* princes, particularly *Kelown*, to his interest. He could not, however, have done any thing more unpopular amongst his subjects, who had an invincible aversion to that religion. But *Argun* having taken the field, was defeated and made prisoner, and condemned by *Ahmed* to die. This barbarous order shocked the *Moguls*; they set *Argun* free; and *Ahmed*, in his turn, was made prisoner, and put to death. We are told that *Argun* refused to shed his blood, but that he delivered him up into the hands of his mother-in-law, whose husband and sons he had put to death.

*Argun*  
made em-  
peror.

One *Bogar*, a nobleman, who had the chief hand in the late revolution, that had placed *Argun* upon the throne, was that prince's prime-minister; and the first thing he did was, to put to death *Shamsoddin*, the vizir, who was suspected of having poisoned his father. After this, *Bogar* rebelled, and lost his life in the attempt; and the *Mahometans* became the detestation of the court and people after the death of *Shamsoddin*, who was of that religion. *Argun's* hatred to them proceeded so far, that he made a *Jew* physician his first minister; but, at the same time, the *Christians* were so much in his favour, that he gave orders for converting even the holy temple of *Mecca* into a mosque. This proved fatal to both the emperor and his minister; for, before it could be executed, the emperor fell sick, it was thought by poison; the *Jew* was murdered; and his death was followed by a massacre of great numbers of his religion.

His death.

Succeeded  
by *Ganja-*  
*tu*,

The next sultan, or khan, of *Persia*, was *Ganjatu*. This prince was celebrated for justice and liberality; but, making too free with some ladies of quality, their fathers formed a conspiracy against him; and, having put him to death, in 1294, he was succeeded by his uncle *Baydu*, governor of *Baghdad*.

A conspiracy, headed by one *Gazan*, the son of *Argun* and governor of *Korasan*, was formed against the sultan; and, the conspirators taking the field, demanded justice upon the murderers of *Ganjatu*. It appears that *Gazan* declared him-  
self



self a *Mahometan*, and was joined by all of that religion, which gained head every day in *Persia*, by means of the vast number of *Turks* who poured into it. *Gazan* having taken the field, defeated the sultan's troops, and obliged him to comply with all he demanded. *Baydu*, however, having no intention to perform his promises, *Gazan* employed *Newruz*, at once an artful minister and a great general, to form a party against *Baydu*, in his own court; which he did with so much success, that he was defeated, and the sultan put to death.

*Gazan* next mounted the throne of *Persia*, and his general *Newruz*, to whose valour and conduct he entirely owed it, quelled all the rebellions that disturbed the early part of his reign; but being sent governor to *Korasan*, he was there most ingratelously put to death, upon a slight suspicion, by order of his master, who, after his accession, assumed the *Mahometan* name of *Mahmud*. *Gazan*, however, is celebrated for his eminent justice; but we cannot say with what propriety: for, in 1299, he ordered his chief minister to be put to death, merely because that he might seize the great riches he had amassed. After that, he invaded *Syria*, where he defeated the *Egyptians*; and his general *Kutluk* took *Damascus*, and reduced great part of *Syria*; but *Mahmud* re-passing the *Euphrates*, the garrisons he left in that country were cut in pieces by the *Syrians*; who, being supported by the *Egyptians*, defeated *Mahmud's* general in a bloody engagement: soon after which *Mahmud* himself died.

*Mahmud* was succeeded by his brother *Aljaytu*; who, being likewise a *Mahometan*, took the name of *Gayathoddin*. He had been, during his brother's life-time, governor of *Korasan*. This prince's reign was a series of wars with the *Syrians* and *Turks*. *Gayathoddin* invaded the former, and the latter invaded him. At first he resided at *Tauris*, but afterwards lived at *Sultania*, which he built. This reign is distinguished by no remarkable events or conquests, and he likewise is celebrated for his justice; the name which the historians of that country seem to have given to cruelty. At the time of his death, which happened in 1316, he was thirty-six years of age; and he is remarked for having been the patron of the sect of *Ali*, which still prevails over all *Persia*; and of having been the author of that barbarous institution of forcing *Jews* and *Christians* to part with their children, that they may be educated *Mahometans* and slaves.

*Abusaid* succeeded his father the last sultan. The general *Abusaid* of his troops was *Juban*, a man of approved fidelity to his family, and eminent for his services to it; but of too severe a disposition: for, having repressed an invasion of the *Tartars*, who threatened *Sultania* itself, he ordered some officers, who, he thought had failed in their duty, to receive the *Mogul* discipline of the whip; which is, perhaps, the same with the *Muscovite* knout. The delinquents were powerful enough to form such a party against him, that they defeated his army;



my; and it was with the utmost difficulty he escaped to *Sultania*, where the sultan gave him his sister in marriage. The truth is, this *Juban* seems to have been a very extraordinary person. Having procured his son the government of *Anatolia*, the young man rebelled against his sovereign, but was, by the father, brought prisoner to *Abusaid*, who farther rewarded the father's services, by not only pardoning the son, but replacing him in his government.

He falls in  
love with  
*Juban's*  
daughter.

Love, however, soon put a stop to this harmony. The daughter of *Juban* was reported to be the finest woman in all *Asia*; and she had been married to the son of *Hussgyu*, another great general. It had been, immemorially, the prerogative of the *Mogul* khans, to oblige any man to part with his wife, if his majesty had a mind to make her his. *Abusaid*, upon seeing the daughter of *Juban*, was so violently smitten with her charms, that he made use of this part of his prerogative, by demanding her of her father in marriage. Though, from what appeared afterwards, neither the lady nor her husband had any objections to this proposal; yet *Juban* had other notions; and not only flatly refused his consent, but carried the unwilling prince to *Baghdad*, and ordered his daughter and son-in-law to reside in a different part of the empire. This separation served only to inflame *Abusaid's* passion the more; but, as his love for the daughter increased, his regard for the father diminished, till it was confirmed into hatred by the suggestions of *Sayn* the vizir; *Damask*, the son of *Juban*, having a great post about the sultan's person, discovered that a formidable conspiracy had been formed against his father, and put him upon his guard. *Juban's* conduct, upon this, is pretty unaccountable; for he retired to *Korasan*, and took the vizir *Sayn* along with him, leaving his son in possession of his power at court. The emperor, who was young, and whom *Juban* had always treated as his pupil, relented this treatment; and *Damask*, having exceeded the bounds of his duty, both by his promotions and his amours, was put to death by *Abusaid's* orders.

*Juban's*  
virtue.

This execution was no sooner performed, than *Abusaid*, thinking he had now regained his authority, sent orders to imprison *Juban*, and to put to death all his relations and followers. Those orders, instead of being executed, were communicated to *Juban* himself, who immediately raised seventy thousand horse, and took the field against the sultan; who was likewise at the head of an army. But, while *Juban* was upon his march, some scruples arose within him with regard to the legality of his enterprize. He therefore paid a visit to a sheyk, or nobleman, named *Roknoddin*, to consult him; and it was agreed, that the sheyk should, in *Juban's* name, repair to *Abusaid's* camp, and offer to treat of peace, provided the murderers of his son were given up. But *Abusaid*, who received the sheyk with great honours, had made an inveterate enemy of *Juban*, his first minister, and refused



refused either to treat or give up the parties. This answer He is de-exasperated *Juban*; but it soon appeared, that it proceeded from a party he had formed in *Juban's* army, thirty thousand his army. of whom went over to *Abusaid*.

This desertion, which was owing, perhaps, to *Juban's* too great severity of discipline, entirely disconcerted and daunted *Juban*, who immediately prepared to return, with the troops that still continued with him, to *Khorasan*. It is more than probable that this distress touched his daughter, who now was married to *Abusaid*, and her husband was advanced to one of the greatest posts in the empire. This revolution in *Juban's* family was entirely unknown to him. After marching, for some time, thro' almost impassable deserts, he found that the desertion amongst his troops had brought them almost to a handful; and formed a resolution of retiring towards the *Turks* in *Turkestan*, the declared enemies of *Abusaid*: but, bethinking himself of a general named *Malec Kurt*, His re- who lay under the greatest obligations to him, he repaired to markable his army, where he was murdered by *Malec Kurt's* orders. death. Before his death, he requested, amongst other things, that he should be buried at *Medina*; and, that the son whom he had by the sultan's sister, should be sent to his court, together with his own little finger, which was crooked at the end, to be presented to *Abusaid*: all which requests were promised him.

*Malec Kurt* having received orders from *Abusaid* for what A traitor he had done, with very great promises in case of perform- disapp-  
ance, immediately set out for court to claim his reward; pointed  
but, to his great disappointment, upon the road he under- of his re-  
stood that the new empress governed the empire; and, that ward.  
her husband was in possession of the very post which he him-  
self had a mind to demand. This news exasperated him so  
highly, that he sent back orders to put *Juban's* young son to  
death; his death having likewise been contained in the em-  
peror's warrant. This inhuman action being performed, he  
went to the emperor's court, which was then at *Karabagh*;  
where he met with nothing but disdain and contempt, and,  
at last, had permission to return to his own country. The  
sultan gave forty thousand dinars to the *Mecca* pilgrims, to  
be laid out in burying the bodies of *Juban* and his son, ac-  
cording as the former had requested.

We have been the more particular upon the above rela- History of  
tion, as it contains a lesson to princes, not to push the pro- the sultana-  
vocations of their subjects beyond the bounds of human suf- *Baghdad*.  
ferance; and, because it is full of events, that are as instruc-  
tive as they are curious. As to *Baghdad*, for so the new sul-  
tana was named, her character is very questionable. It is  
agreed, on all hands, that her husband, who loved a studious  
life, put the whole management of affairs into her hands;  
and, that her administration was wise and moderate. On  
the other hand, she was accused of having still a secret corre-  
spondence



spondence with her former husband *Hassan* ; and some persons, who were envious of *Hassan's* great power, filled the sultan's head with those superstitions ; and they made such an impression upon him, that both *Baghdad* and *Hassan* were sent to prison , but, having cleared their innocence, they were set free, and restored to greater favour than ever : for *Hassan* was made governor of *Anatolia*. The sultan *Abusaid* did not survive this event above four or five years ; for, in 1335, as he was marching to oppose an irruption of the *Aufbeg Tartars*, whose monarch disputed the crown with him, he fell ill and died. This prince, in his person, is said to have been handsome ; but it is plain that his passions, together with his love of study, hurted him greatly. He was, at the time of his death, no more than thirty-two years of age ; and he was only twelve when his father made him governor of *Korasan*. It was strongly suspected that he was poisoned by his beloved *Baghdad*.

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*The History of Timur Bek, commonly called Tamerlan.*

Preliminary history.

**B**EFORE we proceed to the direct history of this great monarch, it is proper to give the reader a general idea of the state of *Asia* when *Tamerlan* entered upon the stage of life, that he may thereby comprehend the various advantages he had from the dissensions and dispositions of the *Asiatic* powers. This is the more necessary, as all other historians have represented him, as a monarch possessed of almost supernatural powers, and as owing the vast progress he made entirely to the force of his own valour and genius.

Revolutions in Great and Little Bukharia.

Our readers may easily understand, that the conquests made by a barbarous nation, at a vast distance from their original country, could not be permanent. Nothing but the veneration which the *Moguls* had for the memory of the great *Jenghiz Khan*, could have preserved their *Asiatic* conquests in his race. But after the death of *Abusaid*, there was no object of allegiance ; and the vast multiplication of *Jenghiz Khan's* descendants, rendered it almost impossible to determine who had the right of succession ; a circumstance which generally determined the *Moguls* in their allegiance. *Hassan*, the husband of the famous *Baghdad*, when *Abusaid* died, was, as we have already seen, governor of *Anatolia* ; and, being thereby possessed of great interest, he invented for himself a descent from *Jenghiz Khan* ; from which he instituted a claim to the throne of *Persia*. But the tribe of *Suldu*, the head of which was *Jupan*, declared *Arpa* the sultan of *Persia*, because he was descended from *Tuli*, the son of *Jenghiz Khan*. It appears as if this *Arpa* had held the government



vernment for some time, because we are told that he put to death the sultana *Baghdad*, for having poisoned *Abusaid*, and for being in concert with his enemies. His dominion, however, was but short lived ; for he was defeated and killed by *Mussa*, who was descended from *Hulaku*. *Mussa*, upon this, was declared sultan in *Baghdad* ; and *Hassan*, for political reasons, proclaimed *Mohammed* sultan of *Persia*, because he was descended from *Hulaku* by a prior branch. This *Mohammed* was defeated and killed by *Mussa*. Other pretenders afterwards started up, but they were routed by *Hassan*, and *Mussa* was killed in one of the engagements. After this, another *Hassan*, surnamed *Kujuk*, who was of *Jupan*'s family, defeated and killed *Mohammed* ; and the other *Hassan*, who was called *Buzruk*, was taken prisoner. *Buzruk*, however, *Buzruk* who had been the husband of the empress *Baghdad*, after various adventures, possessed himself of the supreme authority, emperor, and was succeeded by his son *Avis*.

This prince made *Baghdad* the city of his residence, and is reckoned amongst the wise and just princes, only, perhaps because he was not a monster of barbarity. His son *Hussayu* succeeded him, and he was killed by his brother *Ahmed*, whose successful rebellion placed him upon the throne of *Persia*. *Ahmed*'s fratricide lost him the affections of the army, but he regained the empire, and reigned till the time of *Tamerlan*. Succeeded by *Avis*.

In this confused state, when the hand of every barbarian was lifted up against his brother, or his neighbour, were the affairs of *Asia*, when the great *Timur Bek* appeared in the world. He found, at his entrance upon action, the vast empire of *Jenghiz Khan* split and shattered to pieces ; and it would be equally useless, as it would be disgusting, to point out the actions, defeats, and successes of the various pretenders in different parts. *Tamerlan* appears.

Some historians, prejudiced against *Tamerlan* (for so, in His original compliance with *European* reading, we shall call that great conqueror, though his real name was *Timur Bek*) pretend that he was originally no better than the son of a shepherd : but this original of him is strongly, and with great reason, contradicted by other authors, who are better informed. According to them, he was the descendant of one of those governors who, after the death of *Jagatay*, the emperor of *Bukharia*, erected themselves into a kind of independent sovereigns ; but were always obliged to submit, for a time, to superior power. Upon the invasion of his principality by one *Togluk*, who, it seems, had the longest sword, (for, at that time, and in that age, no other title was regarded) *Tamerlan* submitted to him, as being the great khan of that country ; and did it in so graceful a manner, that he was not only confirmed in his principality of *Kash*, but was made commander over ten thousand men. As the whole of *Great Bukharia* was, at that time, carving out by the sword, sub-jection



jection or dependency was no more than accident. Two governors, *Hussayn* and *Beyen*, being at war, *Timur* joined the former, together with another prince called *Yeusyri*, who was his friend; and *Hussayn* remained victorious. *Tamerlan*, however, happened to have an uncle, who was a kind of an associate with him in the government; and, upon the irruption of *Togluk* and his generals into *Great Bukharia*, had retired to *Khorasan*, where he embraced an interest different from that of *Tamerlan* and *Yeusyri*. It is very possible, and indeed probable, that *Tamerlan* was no better than an intruder upon his uncle's right, if, in that country, there was any such thing as right; for, when his uncle, *Haji Berlas*, returned to take possession of his principality of *Berlasb*, he and *Yeusyri* met and defeated him in a bloody battle. As the quarrel, however, lay between *Yeusyri* and *Haji Berlas*, *Tamerlan* did not think himself obliged farther to support the other, or to join the pursuit of his uncle, who had taken refuge at *Samarkant*. His management, on this occasion, is dark. All we learn is, that *Tamerlan's* troops deserted from him, and that *Yeusyri* considered this as a secret contrivance of *Tamerlan*; upon which the latter made up matters with his uncle, and their troops in conjunction defeated *Yeusyri*, and placed *Bayezid*, who had given refuge to *Haji Berlas*, upon the thrones of *Samarkant* and *Kojend*. After this, *Tamerlan* had some disagreement with his uncle, but soon after joined him, and served him with great success in defeating his enemies.

*Bukharia* *Togluk*, the great khan, dissatisfied with the state of affairs, again invaded *Great Bukharia*, and put to death *Bayezid*, the patron of *Haji Berlas*, who soon after was murdered by robbers. It appears that *Tamerlan* found means, all this while, still to have the strongest party; for, on the death of his uncle, *Togluk* confirmed him in his principality, and gave him the command of his uncle's, *Toman*, ten thousand men. Soon after, *Togluk*, in effect, became emperor of all *Great Bukharia*; and *Tamerlan* was one of his most favoured generals and ministers. One *Bikijek*, who was first minister to *Togluk*, having, by his conduct, given umbrage to *Tamerlan*, the latter joined his old friend *Hussayn*; and both of them, with no more than sixty horses in their retinue, applied themselves to the neighbouring governor of *Kivak*, called *Tekil*. But that robber, for so all those governors were, expecting a large reward, endeavoured to make them prisoners. They escaped, and he pursued them with ten thousand horse; and, according to history, they killed nine hundred and fifty of their pursuers, while they themselves were reduced to no more than seven. The death of *Tekil*, who fell by *Tamerlan's* hand, put an end to the dispute. Though the particulars are not mentioned in history, yet it is certain that *Tamerlan*, after this, was reduced to a most abject condition; that he was several times prisoner in the hands of the *Turks*; and,

Great va-  
lour of  
*Tamerlan*.



and, that both he and his friend *Hussayy*, whose sister *Tamerlan* had married, were, at last, reduced so much, that all their property was a lean horse, and an old camel:

But distress was no disgrace in a country where every man might make his fortune by his sword. *Timur*, *Tamerlan's* father, procured him followers wherever he came; and he soon was at the head of about one thousand horse, by the friendship of the prince of *Scjestan*. His enemies, however, He re- still endeavoured to harass him; and, in a flying skirmish, ceives a he received a wound which rendered him lame, on one side, wound. for ever after.

The *Getes*, who, in fact, were no other than the *Goths*, His suc- and a nation of *Tartars*, at that time, had poured into *Great* cesses *Bukharia*, and sought to crush both *Hussayy* and *Tamerlan*: against the but, by the valour of the latter, though he had no more un- *Getes*. der him than two thousand men, they were entirely defeated; and he once more received his principality of *Kash*. After His en- this vast success, *Tamerlan* found it necessary to have a touch thusiasm. of enthusiasm; and he resolved to attack *Elias Kaja*, the son of the great khan *Togluk*. As this resolution might have been thought romantic, *Tamerlan* gave it the sanction of revelation, and he declared to his followers, that, in his sleep, he heard a voice assuring him of victory from God, and commanding him to fear nothing. Upon this, he marched against *Elias*, who, it seems, was emperor of *Getes* likewise; and, being seconded by his friend *Hussayy*, he defeated them in a bloody engagement, and took *Elias* prisoner, but he afterwards escaped.

It was no uncommon effort of policy in *Tamerlan*, after He unites this, to procure a kind of an union amongst all the disjointed *Great Bu-* states of *Great Bukharia*, and its vast adjoining dominions. He *khar*ia; and *Hussayy* managed so well, that, in a general assembly of the states, one *Kabul* was chosen great khan at *Samarkant*, and inaugurated accordingly: but it was not long before his authority was endangered by a fresh invasion of *Getes* under *Elias*. They were opposed by an army under the command of *Tamerlan* and *Hussayy*. A battle ensued, in which *Ta-* is defeat- *merlan* did wonders, and several times restored the fortune of ed, the day; but *Hussayy*, either through jealousy or caprice, neglecting to improve it, the scale of victory, at last, turned against *Tamerlan*; and the *Getes* besieged *Samarkant* itself: but, by a mortality among them and their horses, they were obliged to abandon their enterprize.

*Tamerlan*, by his defeat, rose in his reputation; while but reco- *Hussayy*, his confederate, sunk in his through his extreme vers him- avarice. *Tamerlan*, on the other hand, brave and generous, self. even to excess, endeared himself so much to the chiefs of the army, that they determined to make him their sole commander: but, being afraid that *Tamerlan's* sentiments of friendship would not suffer him to accept of that honour,



His distresses and dangers from *Hussayn*.

barbarians like, they gave *Hussayn* an intimation, that *Tamerlan* was determined to destroy him as well as the great khan. This device was so awkwardly managed by those perfidious barbarians, that it had almost proved fatal to *Tamerlan*, who was again reduced to the greatest straits, and several times in danger of being put to death by *Hussayn's* stratagems and intrigues. His genius, however, proved superior to all attempts against him; and, though at the head of no more than two hundred men, he made himself master of *Karlin*, a city of vast importance, and even defended himself against an army of ten thousand men, whom he put to flight. In the pursuit, *Tamerlan* took prisoner a lady who was big with a daughter, whom he afterwards married. *Hussayn*, however, who was both an able general and politician, renewed his attacks upon *Tamerlan*; but the latter, notwithstanding all the disadvantages against him, was still victorious, or, at least, kept his ground. It appears, by this time, that *Tamerlan*, in hatred, perhaps, to *Hussayn*, had taken a body of *Getes* into his service; whom he disciplined so well, that he remained victorious over all *Hussayn's* great forces: and, after various encounters, a peace was made between *Hussayn* and *Tamerlan* by the intervention of the molaks, or clergy, who could not bear the introduction of the *Getes* into their country, because they were idolaters. *Tamerlan* seems to have made this peace with a very good grace; for his enemies asked him pardon for all that had happened, and he himself declared that he had a command from Heaven to restore tranquility to his country.

His dissimulation.

He again defeats the *Getes*.

This peace put *Tamerlan* again in possession of his principality of *Kash*; and he then joined *Hussayn* in repelling a fresh invasion of the *Getes*. Upon this occasion, *Tamerlan*, with no more than thirteen soldiers, maintained a pass against two hundred and fifty of the *Getes*; but he must, at last, have been destroyed, had not one of his friends informed them, that he was the great *Tamerlan*; upon which, the barbarians prostrated themselves on the ground, and asked him pardon.

Character of the *Bukharian* princes.

'Tho' the eastern historians, and the translators after them, have given the titles of emperors, kings, khans, princes, and governors, to *Tamerlan*, his associates and enemies, yet it is extremely plain, that they were no better than a herd of lawless banditti; and that too, of the worst kind; disregarding of all gratitude, virtue, or honour; and of all connections, even amongst themselves. *Tamerlan's* superiority over his countrymen, consisted in his being less a barbarian in his sentiments, and consequently more of a rational being in his conduct, than the others. It was not long before he and *Hussayn* again came to a rupture; and it was then that *Tamerlan* seriously entered upon the great schemes which he afterwards executed. Even the barbarians were sensible of the superiority



superiority of his virtues and abilities ; and *Tamerlan* dissimulated so exquisitely well, that the seyde *Bereke*, a *Mahometan*, and a descendant from the prophet, put into his hands a drum and a standard, with them, the emblems of imperial authority ; and chanted a hymn predictive of his future grandeur : nor was *Tamerlan* backward in repaying these compliments to the holy man.

The reader, who has read the preceding part of this history, will easily conceive what vast influence this must have had upon a people equally ignorant and superstitious. *Tamerlan*, soon after, found himself at the head of a force with which he passed the *Jihun*, and he besieged *Balk*, then in possession of *Hussayu*. The latter easily saw that it was in vain for him to resist the torrent of *Tamerlan's* success ; he came and threw himself at his feet, submitting his life, and resigning his dignity, to the conqueror, only requesting that he might be permitted to make a pilgrimage to *Mecca*. *Tamerlan* complied with this request ; but *Hussayu*, thinking others were as perfidious as himself, departed in the night time ; and losing his way, he returned to *Balk*, and took refuge in the steeple of a mosque. A soldier, who had lost his horse, happened to mount the same steeple, discovered, knew him, and carried him before *Tamerlan* ; who generously gave him his life, and implored, even with tears, the general officers under him to spare him : but all was in vain ; *Hussayu* had been a tyrant over them and their relations, and his blood atoned for his cruelty. His death was followed by the destruction of his family, the taking of *Balk*, and the death of *Kabul*, the great khan, who had been made so by *Hussayu*.

The throne of *Jagatay*, or the *Bukharias*, by the death of *Kabul*, was now vacant ; and was, by the unanimous consent of all the grandees of that country, mounted by *Tamerlan* in the year 1369. His inauguration was extremely solemn : he was decorated with a crown of gold, and he himself girded on his sword, while his noblemen acknowledged his sovereignty by showers of pearls and diamonds which they poured upon his head. After he had severely chastised the inhabitants of *Balk*, he returned to his principality of *Kash*, and from thence to *Samarkant*, which he declared to be his capital. Here he had leisure to prepare for the execution of his mighty enterprizes. He generously pardoned the numerous plots which those perfidious barbarians, many of whom had been raised by himself, formed against him ; and, at length, crossed the river *Sir*, and received the submission of several nations of *Gctes*, while he conquered others. turning from thence to *Samarkant*, he suppressed many plots and insurrections that were formed against him, and behaved with the greatest lenity and generosity towards those who were concerned in them ; seldom putting any of them to death, and pardoning others after repeated offences.



invades  
*Korasan,*

But *Tamerlan*'s ambition now began to look round, and he sent a summons to *Hussayu*, the sultan, or king, of *Korasan*, demanding restitution of certain provinces, which, he said, belonged to him. *Hussayu* haughtily answered, That, if *Tamerlan* wanted those provinces, he must conquer them, as he had done, by the sword. Upon this, *Tamerlan* besieged and took *Cat*; and ordered a general officer, who had been guilty of cowardice, to be bastinadoed and led to *Samarkant* at the tail of an ass. After this, *Tamerlan*'s progress in *Korasan* was so rapid, that *Hussayu* died of grief, and other princes of that country submitted to the conqueror; and *Tamerlan* gave them peace upon the condition of *Hussayu*'s brother giving to his, *Tamerlan*'s, son, *Jehan Gbir*, his daughter in marriage, she being reckoned the most compleat beauty then alive, with the genius of an angel. It was not, however, without some difficulty that this match was compleated. *Isuf*, the lady's father, wanted to evade it; but the terror of *Tamerlan*'s arms soon brought him to compliance, and the marriage was celebrated with the utmost magnificence.

*Kashgar,*

*Tamerlan*'s next expedition was against *Kamroddin*, who had usurped the kingdom of *Kashgar*. In this expedition, his son *Jehan* acquired great honour; and *Tamerlan* married *Dilshag Agar*, the daughter of his enemy. But, before he returned to *Samarkant*, he narrowly escaped some conspiracies, and afterwards punished the conspirators. Those punishments were followed by several revolts and rebellions, in the suppressing of which prince *Jehan* gave great proofs of his courage and conduct. *Kamroddin*, though much superior in numbers, was every where defeated; but *Tamerlan* had the affliction to lose his dear son *Jehan*, whom he found dead upon his return to *Samarkant*. The rest of the year, 1375, was spent in subduing and punishing the rebellious emirs, or lords, who still held out in *Little and Great Bukharia*; and, at last, *Tamerlan* defeated *Urus Khan*, and placed his friend *Toktannish* upon the throne of *Kipjak*. *Tamerlan*'s next war was with *Isuf*, the prince of *Khorassan*, who challenged him to single combat. *Tamerlan* armed himself, and gallantly accepted of the challenge; but *Isuf* declined it, and most unpolitely threw into the ditch of his capital some melons which *Tamerlan* had presented him in a golden basin. It was not long before *Tamerlan* was revenged upon him; for he besieged and took his capital, which was one of the most delicious places in the east. By some it is called *Karazm*, by others *Uryengh*; and was so famous for literature, that it was called the mansion of the virtues and the sciences.

and is  
every-  
where suc-  
cessful.

*Tamerlan*, though a great prince, was most miserably superstitious, or had the appearance of being so; for that appearance might have been the effect of his policy. His people were governed by their belief in his supernatural powers, and he even pretended to a spirit of prophecy. He affected



to foretel the fate of his rival *Isuf*, who, during the siege of He con- his capital, died of grief; and, when it was taken, he put quers *Kho-* vast numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, and transported *rajan*. all the ornaments of learning he found in it to his own prin- cipality of *Kash*. He was so fond of the situation and beauty of *Korazm*, that he declared it the second city in his empire, and his summer residence. At the same time he repaired and beautified it.

*Tamerlan*'s ambition grew with his success, and, at last, He aspires he could not even conceal that he had formed a scheme for to univer- universal monarchy. Notwithstanding this, he pretended to sal mo- vast moderation, and to proceed by law. For this purpose, narchy. he had moulded his vast empire into a form of government, which gave him great strength, and, at the same time, car- ried with it an appearance of dignity and freedom. The *Tartars*, who bordered upon *Bukharia* and *Kipjak*, were very powerful and likewise very free. They had submitted to his government, and they were the best troops he had. He Constitu- wisely suffered them to retain the forms of their constitution tion of in the fullest extent. He gave them power to be their own *Tartary*. judges; and all crimes of treason, or rebellion, were ad- judged, and punished, in a meeting, or parliament, consist- ing of their chiefs of tribes, or hords, provinces, cities, and other dependencies upon his empire. In the year 1369, the prince of *Herat* became obnoxious to *Tamerlan*; but, far from punishing him in an arbitrary manner, he summoned him to appear before the assembly of the states. *Pir Ali* (for so that prince was called, trifled with the summons till he fortified his capital. This did not daunt *Tamerlan*, he aspired to universal empire; and being resolved to grasp it, he in- vaded *Korazm*, as a prelude to the conquest of all *Persia*. Either the weakness, or the policy, of this great conqueror is beyond belief. Upon his entering *Korazm*, he heard of one *Sanku*, who was esteemed a saint and an idiot, for idiots are an order of saints amongst the *Mahometans*, and were, therefore, in high esteem all over the east. Upon *Tamerlan*'s Remarka- approaching this idiot, he threw a breast of mutton at his able in- face; which the great conqueror interpreted as an infallible stance of augury of his conquering *Korazm*; which, in the eastern supersti- style, was, it seems, called the 'breast of the world. Ad- tion in *Ta-* vancing into the country, he summoned one of his confede- merlan, rates, called *Ali Bey*, to join him with his troops; and, tho' he was not obeyed, yet, under vast disadvantages, he took *Fushenj*, and at last laid siege to *Herat*; which was defended by *Koyazoddin*, one of the upstart maleks, or princes, of those times. It is remarkable that *Tamerlan*, in all his pro- gress, acted with the greatest coolness and regularity. He visited learned and holy men, if any were in the neighbour- hood, wherever he came: and he seems to have had one par- ticular good quality, of infinite importance to success; that he never was provoked by resentment into acts of cruelty or barbarity.



who conquers *Herat*,

and loses his beloved daughter.

He conquers *Korazm*.

His vast ambition.

He subdues *Sejestan*.

General view of his history.

barbarity. *Kayazoddin*, who defended *Herat*, was obliged to submit to the superior courage of *Tamerlan*, and he kissed the foot-cloth of the conqueror. *Tamerlan* dismantled the fortifications of that great city, and carried off the wealth he found in it, which was immense.

After this, *Tamerlan* had leisure to march against *Ali Bey*, who soon submitted to his power, as did many other princes of that country, and none felt the effects of his severity but public robbers; he even preserved *Kayazoddin*, and other princes and emirs, in their several governments. While he was in the height of his glory, after having conquered all *Korazm*, his daughter *Akia*, married to *Mehemed*, died. She was his darling, and one of the most celebrated beauties in the east. Her death struck him with a stupefaction that fell little short of indifference as to all worldly pursuits. This, probably, encouraged *Ali Bey* to revolt; and *Tamerlan*, stung by the reproaches of his sister, *Kotluk Turkkan*, was, at last, roused from his melancholly, assembled his army, and besieged *Ali Bey* in *Kelat*, a city that, by its situation on the brow of a mountain, was deemed impregnable; as were several other fortresses held by *Ali Bey* in the neighbourhood. But nothing could withstand the fortune of *Tamerlan*; *Ali Bey*, again and again, pretended to make the most profound submissions to his power; and as often endeavoured to cut him off by stratagems: but *Tamerlan* escaped them all, and, at last, made himself master of all *Korazm*, by the mere dint of his valour and clemency. He took care, however, to put to death *Ali Bey*, and some other rebel lords, who, after repeated submissions and pardons, had abused his clemency.

The superstition of *Tamerlan*, and his devotions, though they apparently seem to be very violent, had yet an uncommon cast. One of his maxims was, that God Almighty cannot be better served than by works of justice and mercy towards his creatures; and *Tamerlan*, in all his actions and discourses, declared himself to be the substitute of God upon earth. In the year 1383, his wife, and his sister *Kotluk Turkkan*, died. *Tamerlan*, for some time, appeared inconsolable; but excusing himself by the above maxim, he again pursued his schemes of ambition, and he subdued all *Sejestan*, a rich province adjoining to *Korazm*. The prince of the country, called *Kothboddin*, and his nobility, surrendered themselves, and were sent prisoners to *Samarkant*. After this, he took a vast number of cities and fortresses, known only by their names, for their situations are not only uncertain, but unknown. In short, the great conquests of *Tamerlan* in the east, seem to have been obtained over gangs of unconnected, unprotected banditti, who had seized governments, fortresses, and cities, after the house of *Jenghiz Khan* was split in pieces. In *Tamerlan's* history, which, in the original, is tediously minute, we are introduced to the names of persons and places that occur no where else. We see



see a city, or a fortress, in his possession to day, and to-morrow he is besieging it, without any deduction of causes or effects. It is certain, however, that he cast his eyes upon *Persia*; and *Jalaloddin*, the sultan of that country, sought to avert the storm by presents and submissions: but *Tamerlan* was not to be retarded in the course of his ambition, which was as irresistible as lawless. His general, *Jehan*, took *Kandahar*, and put to death all the *Awgans*, the same who are now called *Afgans*, who defended it. In the course of his victories over those barbarians, who were as lawless as himself, he sometimes was obliged to depart from his usual moderation. When he made executions, they were terrible; His cruelty. he would pound two or three thousand people into a jelly in mortars; sometimes he cut off their heads, and piled them in pyramids (a custom which he seems to have introduced to *Persia*, where it still remains); and sometimes he would order thousands of people to be, as it were, baked together with clay and mortar, and there left to expire, in amazing heaps, as monuments of his vengeance, or, as he termed it, justice.

Notwithstanding this horrid relation, *Tamerlan* is not to be He in-  
numbered amongst the cruel destroyers of mankind. The vades  
nature of the people demanded such examples of severity, *Persia*,  
nor did he inflict more than was absolutely necessary for his  
own safety and success. *Samarkant* was his favourite residence after the fatigues of a campaign; and, in the year 1384, marching from thence, he afresh invaded *Persia* at the head of one hundred thousand men. His chief enemy, in this expedition, was an emir called *Veli*, one of those obscure tyrants we so often meet with in history, but a man of great valour. *Tamerlan* took from him *Astarabad*, and from thence he marched against *Ray*, from whence he drove the sultan *Ahmed* to *Tauris*; and, at last, having reduced all *Persia* to the east of *Soltaniya*, came back to *Samarkant*. About the and takes  
year 1386, he entered the field, and, proceeding with his *Tauris*.  
usual rapidity and success, at last made himself master of *Tauris*; by which he reduced all the great kingdom of *Azerbejan*.

*Tamerlan* then meditated an invasion against *Georgia*; the principal inhabitants of which being *Christians*, rendered the attempt highly meritorious in the eyes of *Tamerlan*. *Teflis*, the capital of *Georgia*, was soon reduced by his troops, and its governor was made prisoner. Here *Tamerlan* pretended to be a kind of a missionary for the *Mahometan* religion. The name of one of the princes of *Georgia* was *Ipo-krates*, and he was, by *Tamerlan*, converted to the *Mahometan* faith, and dismissed with great honours. His example encouraged many other princes of the same country to turn *Mahometans*. After this, *Tamerlan* marched against *Shirwan*, which is considered as the garden of *Persia*. Here he was agreeably



*Ibrahim's* agreeably surprized by an uncommon submission from *Ibrahim*, the prince of that country. The eastern people, in general, have a veneration for the number nine; and all their presents correspond with it. *Ibrahim* made *Tamerlan* a present of eight slaves; and, that he might not be deficient in politeness, he offered himself as the ninth: a piece of gallantry which so highly pleased *Tamerlan*, that he permitted him to retain his kingdom with additional possessions.

**Cause of his great success.** We cannot, however, avoid repeating to our reader, that, in all the countries we have mentioned to have been conquered by *Tamerlan*, there was scarcely such a thing as government or order. *Tamerlan's* success was owing to his being recognized in form as a lawful sovereign; and he had found the means to inspire the people under him with a veneration for his person and authority. On the other hand, the places he attacked, being possessed only by robbers and ruffians, whose dominion was merely personal and brutal, his conquests were cheap and easy. *Toktamish*, whom he had made khan, or prince, of *Kipjak*, in the year 1387, revolted from him; but he was soon reduced by *Tamerlan's* generals; and, after that, he destroyed *Alenjik*. About this time, the *Turkmans*, like the other free-booters of those days, infested the roads, and even plundered the *Mahometans* who had set out to visit *Mecca*. *Tamerlan*, with some difficulty, suppressed them, and then marched against the *Upper* and *Lower Armenia*, where he found but little resistance. The truth is, that, though his country abounds with numbers and names of places he took and subdued, yet the names of those places are unworthy of being transmitted to posterity. They generally were the receptacles of robbers, and built upon rocks and mountains, so as to be proof against flying parties of the same denomination, but were easily reduced by a regular army. The vast numbers, however, of those conquests, formed, in the whole, a considerable empire; and *Tamerlan*, by degrees, subdued all *Persia*, to the very gates of *Ispahan*, which likewise submitted to his force: but the inhabitants, in the night-time, took arms, and put to death a number of *Turks* who were in the army of *Tamerlan*. This gave him a handle for proceeding with great cruelty against those people; and he even taxed his soldiers with the inhuman employment of bringing in to his camp a certain number of heads; which, upon the whole, are said to have amounted to seventy thousand. After this, all *Persia* and *Kerman* submitted to *Tamerlan*, and he took possession of them as their lawful sovereign, by ordering himself to be prayed for in the mosques and places of public worship. *Tamerlan's* next expedition was against *Toktamish*, a rebellious khan of *Kipjak*, whom he subdued, as he did the *Getes*, who committed vast ravages in *Great Bukharia*. One of his generals, however, lost a battle at a place called *Jutlik*; and

*Tamerlan*

He conquers *Armenia*

and *Ispahan*.

Subdues *Kipjak* and the *Getes*.



*Tamerlan* ordered a kind of a court-martial to be held upon the principal officers. The commander in chief was acquitted honourably; but one *Berat Kojá*, who commanded under him, was disgraced and punished, by having his beard shaved, and being obliged, dressed like a woman, to run through the principal streets of the city; while other officers, who had behaved bravely, were rewarded in proportion.

Soon after, that is, about the year 1388, a rebellion broke out in *Karazm*. *Tamerlan* suppressed it, and, ordering the inhabitants to remove to *Samarkant*, he destroyed *Korazm*, and sowed the spot it stood upon with barley. This did not prevent other revolts, particularly a rebellion under his own son-in-law, called *Mireke*; whom he likewise defeated and put to death. *Tamerlan* was equally fortunate against other rebels of the same kind. The name of his chief general in those wars was *Omar*; and the khan *Taktamish* was his chief antagonist; but the wars carried on between them were void of all incidents, but dead narratives of *Tamerlan*'s being perpetually successful, and his antagonists either defeated or put to death. The *Kipjaks*, however, were always rebellious; and *Tamerlan* as often defeated them as he did the *Getes*, and the other barbarians in *Tartary* and upon the borders of *Bukharia*.

After those successes, he returned to *Samarkant*, and most magnificently rewarded, both with wealth and honours, those officers who had served him well. Those rewards, however, and the plunder they had made, rendered *Tamerlan* not a little apprehensive, that they might aspire to an independency. He therefore assembled the diet of his empire, which we have already taken notice of; and, by an uncommon effort of genius, he procured such regulations to be enacted as increased the necessary expences of his general officers, so as to keep them dependant upon his bounty. At the same time, *Tamerlan*, for the same purposes, promoted luxury amongst his great men, by exhibiting magnificent feasts and entertainments; in which, by imitating him, they became necessitous. *Tamerlan* found the good effects of this policy; for he perceived, that, in a fresh expedition he made against *Kipjak*, some of the greatest khans in the east served him in quality of general officers.

His great enemies continued to be *Kamroddin* and *Toktamish*; the former fled, and the latter offered his submission by sending to *Tamerlan* a present of nine fine horses and a shonkar. The latter is a bird in vast request all over *Tartary*, *Bukharia* and *China*. It is beautiful, of the stork kind, and always presented, trimmed with diamonds and jewels, to the emperor from his vassals, in token of their submission. Such was the bird presented, by the ambassadors of *Toktamish*, to *Tamerlan*. The latter received the present; and, though he expressed a distrust of *Toktamish*, yet he treated his ambassadors



His expedition  
against  
him in the  
wilds of  
*Kipjak*:

dors magnificently, and ordered them to attend him. He then led his army into the vast deserts of *Kipjak*, where he suffered inexpressible hardships; and all of them would have perished, had they not hunted for their food. According to the descriptions given of this expedition, by *Tamerlan's* historians, he marched through countries that seemed never before to have been pressed by human foot; for, during his march of six or seven months, they met with no inhabitants. He had the precaution, however, to commemorate his expedition, by erecting an obelisk, on which his name was inscribed, with dates of time and place. Notwithstanding all the hardships which *Tamerlan* and his army underwent in this march, he never relaxed in point of discipline, which he considered as the soul of success. He not only reviewed his army, but received from his great officers, at the head of their several corps, in a kind of an adoration upon their knees, a speech pronounced in his praise. That of a khan, called *Mahmud*, we are told, upon this occasion, was particularly agreeable to *Tamerlan*; and he answered it, by commending this general for the fine appearance and discipline of his regiment. The reader is not to forget that those kind of compliments were always attended with magnificent presents made by the officers to the emperor.

A general  
engage-  
ment

Notwithstanding *Tamerlan's* dreary march through those deserts, yet he knew where his enemies lay. They consisted of the *Kipjaks*, headed by *Toktamish*; and *Tamerlan's* grandson, sultan *Mehemek*, at his own earnest request, obtained from his grand-father the command of the vanguard. The army, however, did not resume its march, after the general review, till the astrologers had fixed the lucky hour for the commencement of their operations. After inexpressible fatigues, and crossing vast numbers of rivers, partly by rafts, and partly by swimming, *Tamerlan's* vanguard came up with the scouts of the enemy, with whom they skirmished with various success; but, at last, both the main armies, on the fifth of *July*, 1391, came within sight of one another, and prepared for a general engagement. That of *Tamerlan* was drawn up in seven divisions. The first was commanded by *Mahmud*, the second by prince *Mehemed*, the third by himself, and the other four by general officers. The army of *Toktamish*, though more numerous, was divided only into three bodies. Before the battle, *Tamerlan*, at the head of his army, implored the divine assistance; and the signal for the onset was given by the tremendous sound of the trumpet kerrenay, which was heard at some miles distance.

gained by  
*Tamerlan*.

The battle was long and fierce, and for some time doubtful; but, at last, *Tamerlan* found the benefit of having divided his army into seven lines; for, every commander endeavouring to outdo the other, the troops of *Toktamish* were at last totally overthrown, and few of them escaped the sword. Though the order of this battle, with many immaterial



terial circumstances attending it, has been particularly described by historians, yet we are in the dark as to the grounds of the quarrel ; which, in fact, seem to have arisen entirely from *Tamerlan's* insatiable ambition. *Toktamish*, we are told, was at the head of the princes descended from the famous *Tusht* ; and, that the few who survived this defeat, retired into the desert. One of those princes, called *Konje Aglen*, submitted to *Tamerlan* ; the victory he had obtained was compleat, and he did not fail to render public thanks for it to Heaven. But the fatigues his troops had undergone, His feasts had been so great, that he thought proper to give them a and magrespice ; and, for that purpose, he instituted a most magnificent feasting in the plains of *Urtupa*. Those plains are said to form a kind of a terrestrial paradise, and the feasting was introduced by a magnificent piece of music, composed by *Tamerlan's* order, and intitled, *The Triumph of Kipjak*. It is not, perhaps, easy for a modern *European* to have a proper idea of the manner in which *Toktamish*, and the princes of *Jenghiz Khan's* blood, lived in those sequestered but delicious plains. Though abounding with all the conveniencies of life, yet they dwelt in tents, which were movable at pleasure ; and their camps took up a space equal to the extent of the greatest cities. The *Moguls*, for such the *Kipjaks* were, had, after their defeat, been hemmed in by the river *Volga* ; and *Tamerlan's* troops, having no strong places to attack, found themselves possessed of an immense number of slaves and cattle of all kinds, besides other riches. In short, *Tamerlan*, like *Jenghiz Khan*, enjoyed his triumph upon those plains in more magnificence than he could have done in the proudest cities ; and, having left a proper force behind him, he returned to *Samarkant*, from whence he had been absent for eleven months. *Tamerlan*, besides other vast dominions, was now master of all sultan *Mahmud's* empire, which reached from *Gazna* to *Indostan*, and the heart of *India* ; and he gave the command of it to his grandson *Mebed*, the son of *Jehan*.

But *Tamerlan*, notwithstanding all his vast successes, was Encour- sensible that he reigned over barbarians. He sought to huma- rages manize, if not to civilize, them, by giving them a taste of a less trimony. savage mode of life. He encouraged matrimony, in his family and court, after his return to *Samarkant* ; and, at the weddings of his great emirs, he presided, on a throne of gold, at the vast entertainments made on those occasions ; the tables being ranged in a kind of battle array, the bridegrooms on one side and the brides on the other. But nothing could divert, or stop, the career of *Tamerlan's* ambition. His conquests, though great and extensive, were unsettled and precarious ; and the princes of *Persia*, who had, out of fear, submitted to his arms, had many of them thrown off his yoke.

*Tamerlan.*



Resumes  
his expe-  
dition  
against  
*Persia*,

and de-  
troys the  
*Assassins*.

Subdues  
*Khuzestan*

and *Kalaa*  
*Sefid*.

*Tamerlan*, therefore, after giving a loose to pleasure and magnificence at *Samarkant*, again prepared for war, and signified to his great men that they must assemble their quotas of troops, and prepare themselves for an expedition that would last five years. Being recovered from an indisposition which had afflicted him about a fortnight, he passed the river *Jehun*; and, being joined by all his forces, after performing public prayers, in his own person, he advanced towards the *Caspian Sea*; near which some of the revolting princes had raised strong forts, from whence they bade him defiance. He besieged and took *Mahanazar*, a city in *Mazanderan*; and there he found immense riches; but he ordered the place to be demolished. In this country, some of the *Ishmalites*, or *Assassins*, so often mentioned in the preceding part of this history, had taken refuge, and escaped the general massacre of their countrymen, set on foot by *Hulaku*. They were the most abandoned of all wretches, and had such an antipathy to learning, that they held it as meritorious to murder any man who could read or write. *Tamerlan* ordered all those monsters, without distinction, to be put to the sword; and, having completely conquered *Mazanderan*, he invaded *Irak*, or *Persia*, properly so called. His arms were there attended with their usual success; and one of his chief generals, called *Ali*, was ordered to reduce the people of *Kurdestan*, who, it seems, lived by rapine. They were governed by a prince, one *Ibrahim*, who made his submissions to *Ali*; upon which the latter desisted from attacking him: but thereby disappointing one of his guides of the reward he expected, he was murdered, and the assassin was cut in pieces. *Tamerlan* then proceeded against *Khuzestan*, and the terror of his arms subdued every place that either he or his generals attempted. *Tamerlan*, however, notwithstanding the vast encomiums bestowed by historians upon his arms, had neither great honour nor advantage from those conquests, there being no fewer than ten pretenders to the crown of *Persia*, each of whom thought to strengthen his interest by submitting to *Tamerlan*.

Amongst his other conquests, that which did him the greatest credit, was that of a place called *Kalaa Sefid*. This place, or rather country, was accessible only by a narrow path-way that led to a fortress, which commanded a plain of twelve miles in circumference, consisting of arable lands, fine groves, fountains, and every accommodation of life. Therefore, as the garrison could not be starved by a siege; and as the path-way was so streight that three men could defend it against sixty thousand, it was deemed to be impregnable, and, as such, had never been besieged. Notwithstanding this situation, the indefatigable *Tamerlan*, by widening the path-way, which gave access to the fortress, reduced it; and threw all the garrison down the precipice. A subal-

tern



tern officer, called *Akbuga*, was the first who mounted the steep, and was therefore nobly rewarded by *Tamerlan*.

The most formidable opponent this great conqueror had on this occasion, was a prince called *Mansur*, who had been the most successful claimant to the crown of *Persia*; but had stained himself, by many acts of cruelty and bloodshed. *Mansur* had, for his body-guard, about four thousand horse; which, as well as the riders, were sheathed in compleat armour; and, by their valour and dexterity, were thought to be invincible. *Tamerlan*, after the conquest of *Kala Sefid*, advanced to *Shiraz*, in quest of *Mansur*; and trusted chiefly to a body of thirty thousand veteran *Tartars*, led by himself. When *Tamerlan* approached *Shiraz*, he found himself opposed by this formidable body of cavalry; which, with *Mansur* at their head, broke through his army, and, at first, defeated *Tamerlan's* phalanx, which he imagined to be impenthrable. Though this dreadful impetuosity, and the manner of fighting, was new to *Tamerlan*, yet it did not daunt him. He met with *Mansur* in single combat, and gave him several blows with his scymeter which his helmet resisted, and was so well seconded, that *Mansur*, terrible as he was, abandoned the attack upon his person, which he meant to be decisive, and fell upon the infantry. At first, he bore down all opposition; but *Mehemed Sultan* and *Pir Mehemed* rallied the sultan's troops; while *Rukh*, who was no more than seventeen years of age, after performing prodigies of valour by his father's side, encountered *Mansur* hand to hand; killed him, cut off his head, and threw it at his father's feet. While *Tamerlan*, after this victory, was dividing himself in embracing his sons, returning thanks to Heaven, and receiving from his great men the usual oblation in a cup of gold, he was attacked by a fresh body of troops, who were defeated with ease.

*Tamerlan* availed himself of his vast successes; he entered *Shiraz* in triumph, and, at the same time, took possession of *Ispahan*. The princes who were then contending for the crown of *Persia*, were of the family of *Muzaffer*, but all of them very unpopular. *Tamerlan*, who never was at a loss for specious pretences to cover his conduct, at first received their submissions and presents; but soon after, he managed so well, that the chief noblemen, doctors, and imans of the country, presented petitions against them, setting forth the disorders and cruelties committed by them; and entreating him to take the government into his own hands. *Tamerlan* readily complied with this request: the princes were first thrown into irons, and then all of them put to death excepting two, who had lost their eyes through the cruelty of their competitors, and were sent prisoners to *Samarkand*.

Though the great men of *Persia*, as well as *Tamerlan*, were *Mahometans* at this time, yet all the *Persians* were not of that faith. The inhabitants of a place called *Akuban*, were against *Tamerlan's* severity.



held to be atheists, and had fortified their passes against *Tamerlan's* army. His soldiers, as if disdainful to stain their swords with infidel blood, made a large collection of waters amongst those vast mountains of which *Persia* is so full; and, breaking down the mounds that confined them, the waters found their way into the fortifications of those atheists, as they are called, and drowned them.

*Tamerlan* next formed expeditions against other kinds of enemies, and killed vast numbers of robbers, who were headed by *Serek Mehemed*. After that, his zeal prompted him to march against the *Jubers*. These were the remains of the antient *Persians*; and, like their fore-fathers, they were worshipers of fire, and kept themselves unmixed with any other people but those of their own religion: but *Tamerlan* marched into their country, and put them all to the sword. In the summer of the year 1393, he renewed his feasting and diversions in the plains of *Hamadan*, for his successes in *Persia*; and invested his son *Miran* with great part of the sovereignty of *Hulaku*, to whose empire *Tamerlan* laid claim.

*Baghdad*  
offers to  
submit to  
him.

The city of *Baghdad* was part of this inheritance, and it had, in some measure, recovered its former lustre, being governed by a prince called sultan *Abmed*. But *Tamerlan* considered him in no other light than that of being his substitute. *Abmed*, far from disputing the point, sent his great mufti, a man renowned for his learning, with presents to *Tamerlan* and offers of his submission. *Tamerlan* received the mufti with great respect, but paid no regard to the sultan's offers, because the same honours were not done to him at *Baghdad*, as had been paid to the ancient khalifs; namely, those of praying for him publicly in the mosques, and coining money in his name. He therefore marched with his army against *Baghdad*; and, conquering all opposition, he drove the sultan *Abmed* over the *Tygris*, and pursued him for ten leagues, but without effect. *Tamerlan* then returned to *Baghdad*, which he took possession of, and he performed his devotions at the famous tomb of *Hussien*, the son of *Ali*. Some of *Abmed's* royal family falling into his hands, he sent them, with the learned men of *Baghdad*, as usual, to his city of *Samarkand*.

He defeats  
the *Kurds*,

All *Assyria*, and the countries of the east, as we have already mentioned, being now occupied by scarcely any other than robbers and rebels, *Tamerlan* had a plausible handle for his ambition. He defeated the *Kurds*, and took *Takrit*, in which there was a nest of desperate robbers, whom he put to death. This place was so advantageously situated upon a mountain, that *Tamerlan* undermined it, with infinite labour; but he ordered part of the walls to stand, as an evidence to posterity of his stupendous attempt. After that, he appointed a general rendezvous of all his troops, under pretence of returning home, but he suddenly proceeded to *Di-yarbeker*.

Having



Having an army both more numerous and better disciplined and other than any that could be brought to the field against him, he had no great difficulty in subduing, or reducing, all the petty princes, or emirs, as they called themselves, who had erected independent sovereignties, and lived by rapine. In the country, however, through which *Tamerlan* was obliged to pass, his army was more than once in danger of being lost, by torrents rushing from the mountains. But we understand that *Tamerlan*, at proper intervals, gave rest to his troops; and, particularly at *Roka*, or *Edeffa*, he exhibited magnificent entertainments and feasts for nineteen days. Such exhibitions had their desired effects upon the emirs. They saw that *Tamerlan* was able to protect them from one another, provided they submitted to his power, which they now did in great numbers; *Tamerlan* seldom punished any but the most flagitious amongst them, but obliged all of them to give the best security that was in their power for their good behaviour. This career of good fortune was rendered the more welcome by the birth of a grandson to *Tamerlan* called *Oluk Beg*, and who afterwards succeeded him, being a son of the mirza *Shah Ruk*, whom *Tamerlan* had declared the heir of his empire.

*Tamerlan* then proceeded to *Amid*, or *Diyarbeker*, a city so strong, by its walls and situation, that, it was said, it was never taken by force. *Tamerlan*, however, in the beginning of *May*, 1394, took it in three days time, with a vast slaughter of the garrison. He then besieged and took *Alenjik*; made himself master of *Aklat*, the capital of the *Lower Armenia*; courteously received all the princes who submitted to him, and punished those who resisted with death, or the loss of their dominions. The greatest resistance he met with was at *Ave-Messer nik*, which was obstinately defended by a prince, one *Mieffer*. *Tamerlan* offered him his life and pardon if he would surrender; and sent his son, who had fallen into his hands, a child of six years of age, after presenting him with a vest and a collar of gold, to prevail with *Mieffer* to quit the place; but he remained inexorable: and, tho' *Tamerlan* was prevailed upon by *Mieffer's* mother to renew his offers to the son, yet he could not be prevailed upon to yield till he found himself deserted by all his followers; and then he surrendered himself and was sent prisoner to *Samarkand*; but his treasures were distributed amongst *Tamerlan's* officers and soldiers.

Notwithstanding *Tamerlan's* vast successes, his person was often endangered, not only in the field, but by conspiracies. One of his greatest officers, *Yaik Sufi*, being detected in a conspiracy against him, was thrown into irons. During his progress, the young princes and princesses of his own blood, residing at *Sultania*, paid him a visit; and *Tamerlan*, after reducing *Aydin*, marched into *Georgia*, to subdue that country to the faith of *Mahomet*. While he was upon this expedition, news was brought him of another son being born



His successes in Georgia.

His magnificent appearance.

to *Shah Ruk*. *Tamerlan* loved magnificence, and, like *Jenghiz Khan*, he found the effects of it, both amongst his friends and enemies. His court, or rather camp, was, at this time, extremely splendid. It contained, not only the princes and princesses of his own blood, but ladies of the highest quality and beauty from all quarters, as far as *Greece* on the one hand, and *India* on the other; whose husbands had submitted to *Tamerlan*, and who had brought them to admire his magnificence. *Tamerlan*, after the welcome news he had received, and hearing that great part of *Georgia* had been reduced by his generals, resolved to make a most elegant display of his grandeur. For this purpose, he pitched, as *Jenghiz Khan* had done, upon a spacious delightful plain, of which two miles were taken up by the tents of the company he was to entertain. He himself appeared with a crown of gold on his head, and his sceptre in his hand, sitting on a throne, erected under a canopy so grand, that it was supported by forty pillars. Every thing was conducted with the utmost taste as well as magnificence; large bands of music, both vocal and instrumental, were prepared; a sumptuous banquet, and the finest wines of the east, were served in with the greatest decorum, and in such a manner, as proved that *Tamerlan* had perfectly refined himself from his *Tartar* education.

He then renewed his operations against the *Christians* of *Georgia*, whom he proceeded against with equal cruelty and injustice; and, at last, took *Teflis*, the capital of a vast country. He was obliged, however, to leave the management of that war to his generals, on receiving the news that his old enemy, *Toktamish*, the sultan of *Kipjak*, had taken the field against him, and was making incursions into his dominions. At first, *Tamerlan* endeavoured, by letters, to persuade him to desist; but *Toktamish*, being over-persuaded by his great men to send him a rude answer, he assembled his army, the most numerous of any that had been seen since the days of *Jenghiz Khan*, at the foot of the mount *Alburz*, the antient *Caucasus*, where he reviewed them. He then advanced to *Terki*, the capital of *Degestan*, and lying on the *Caspian Sea*, about one hundred miles to the north of *Derbend*; while *Toktamish* was encamped near the river *Tark*; from whence he moved, the more to harass *Tamerlan's* army, to *Kura*; and, having found a proper ground, he drew up in order of battle. Upon this, *Tamerlan* wheeled round and did the same, forming his troops in seven lines. His son, the mirza *Mehemed*, commanded the main body, as he himself did the body of reserve; the command of the other divisions being given to the generals whom *Tamerlan* had distinguished by the name of *Bahadah*, or the courageous. The infantry, covered with their bucklars, stood before the cavalry.

The battle was excessively bloody. The *Kipjaks* penetrated as far as *Tamerlan's* own post; and would have killed, or taken him prisoner, had it not been for the wonderful efforts



forts made by his emirs and his son mirza *Mehemed*, which delivered him from his danger. The battle, however, continued very bloody, and sometimes to the disadvantage of *Tamerlan*; but, at last, his generals made such desperate efforts, that he gained the victory. Some say, that it was greatly owing to the cowardice of *Toktamish*. *Tamerlan* looked upon this victory to be so glorious and important, that he performed his devotions of thanks, upon his knees, in the face of the army; and, after most liberally rewarding those who had served him best, he set out in pursuit of *Toktamish*, who, at last, fled into the inaccessible forrests of *Bulgaria*. Before he pursued farther conquests, he made *Aglen*, one of his officers, and the son of *Eurus Kan*, his tributary khan of *Kipjak*; and sent him to suppress the remains of the rebellion.

Mean while, *Tamerlan*, in person, led his army to the marches banks of the *Wolga*, making an immense booty all the way towards he marched. After this, he reduced a vast number of *Tartar* tribes; and, all on a sudden, struck into *Muscovy*, and subdued and plundered that whole country, not excepting and into *Moscow*, its capital. He then proceeded to *Palus Meotis*, and took *Asoph*, where he ordered the inhabitants to be put to the sword, and some *Mahometan* captives they had made to be set at liberty. He next marched to *Kuban*, the capital of *Chircassia*; which country, his troops, under sultan *Mehemed*, and *Scran Shah*, likewise conquered. *Tamerlan* had his motives for his expedition into *Muscovy*; though, at this time, they are very unaccountable, if that country was the same barbarous uncultivated spot that it was during the last century, or that it is now. It is likewise difficult to know how such vast armies as *Tamerlan* carried with him, could, in such countries, find subsistence for themselves and their horses. Many of the latter, indeed, we are told, died through want; but the wonder is, that any of them were left alive, if the countries through which he marched were such as they are represented to be by travellers at this very time. Nothing, however, is incredible with regard to the patience and abstinence of *Tamerlan's* troops upon this and all other occasions.

*Tamerlan* next turned his arms against the *Georgians*, and He ruined all their fortresses, some of which were deemed to be vades impregnable, upon *Mount Caucasus*; in all his progress surmounting inexpressible difficulties. All this happened in the years 1394 and 1395; at the end of which he compleated the conquest of *Kipjak* and *Koser*, and found himself master of an immense empire. After this, about the beginning of the year 1396, he renewed his war against the *Georgians*, whom he treated with his usual severity; but pardoned such of them as were *Mahometans*, even though they had appeared in arms against him. He then returned to *Iran*, took *Sirjan*, and suppressed all the rebels there which had taken arms



in his absence. *Tamerlan*, after this, returned to *Sultania*, where he suppressed many rebellions and robbers, and subdued all *Persia* as far as the *Gulph of Ormus*. He then set out, by very quick marches, for *Samarkand*; where he built a noble palace, adorned with the finest pavilions and paintings in the east. At the same time, he made another noble entertainment for his principal officers; divided among them the rich spoils he had taken; and made his son, *Shah Rukh*, sovereign of *Korassan*, *Sistan*, and *Mazanderan*.

His farther conquests.

His magnificence.

*Tamerlan* then resumed his operations on the side of *Ormus*; the sultan of which, *Mehemed*, submitted to pay an annual tribute of six hundred thousand dinars to mirza *Mehemed*, *Tamerlan*'s son; who, after escaping being assassinated, returned to *Samarkand*. There *Tamerlan* still resided, and built another most magnificent palace; which, by the description of it, seems to have been somewhat in the *European* taste; for *Tamerlan*, by this time, had entertained several ambassadors from the chief courts of *Europe*. In this place he solemnly married another bride, daughter to a foreign prince, the king of *Geta*. His fame was now so great, that even the emperor of *China* courted his alliance, and sent ambassadors with very valuable presents to his court.

He undertakes the conquest of *India*,

Though *Tamerlan* was thus living in the utmost pomp and magnificence, yet he still had his ambitious projects in view; and, under pretext of destroying idolatry, which was the prevailing worship in *India*, he undertook the conquest of that vast country. But, to leave every thing quiet behind him, he reduced *Sirjan*, which had suffered a siege of three years; during which time all its garrison were killed, excepting the governor and six private men. He likewise reduced a rebellion which broke out at *Naharwend*, in *Persia*; and, as his ambition never was without the most plausible pretext, he laid hold of one to invade *India*. A descendant of the *Gazna* family reigned in that country, and he dying, his two generals, *Melu* and *Sarenk*, governed every thing under the colour of *Mahumud*, the late emperor's grandson's authority.

*Tamerlan* laid hold of those favourable circumstances, and ordered his grandson, the mirza *Pir Mehemed*, whom he made governor of that part of *Persia* lying nearest to *India* to invade that empire; and, to pave the way for himself invading it in person, and carrying his arms even into *China*. *Pir Mehemed* obeyed his grandfather's orders, and laid siege to *Multan*, one of the most considerable cities in *India*. *Tamerlan*'s forces having thus a footing in this country, he immediately put himself at the head of his army, and marched to *Anderab*. As there were in *India* a vast number of *Mahometans*, *Tamerlan* easily formed a party there. The *Mahometans* complained of the *Siapusbes*, possibly the same called by modern *Europeans* *Seapeys*. They are, according to *Tamerlan*'s history, a gigantic



gantic race of men, and all of them idolators. They lived, like the other barbarians of those times, in castles built upon mountains extremely difficult of access. But *Tamerlan*, acquainted with the nature of all the enterprizes he undertook, had always in his army a great many regiments of mountaineers, or markits, who were extremely alert in taking such places, however inaccessible they appeared. The fortresses of the *Siapushes* were taken, and every man amongst them who fell into the hands of the conqueror, were put to death.

In one of those enterprizes, *Burkan Aglen*, a great commander under *Tamerlan*, discovered himself to be a rank coward; for which that emperor, who seldom went to extremes in the punishments of his own subjects, banished him from court and marked him with infamy; while he nobly rewarded those officers who behaved bravely. *Tamerlan's* success in *India* spread abroad his fame, and ambassadors from all quarters came to pay him the submissions of their masters. He received them with vast politeness, and mingled acts of benevolence with those of justice; being as ready to reward the good as to punish the bad. As a proof of the high veneration he was held in at this time, we need only mention his having been offered the dignity of the khalif of *Baghdad*, by a deputation from the cities of *Mecca* and *Medina*; and a powerful prince of *India*, the moment he passed the river *Indus*, acknowledged him to be his master.

The history of *Tamerlan* is, however, different from that of many other great conquerors. His wars were generally, as we have already observed, carried on against those petty princes who were, indeed, no better than robbers, but had erected themselves into sovereigns. When he passed the river *Indus*, and entered into *India*, he defeated, or reduced, a great number of those subaltern potentates, the chief of whom was one *Shahaboddin*, who, after drowning his wife and children, sheltered himself in inaccessible woods. *Nuroddin* was the general whom *Tamerlan* principally employed in this expedition. He had saved his life in his great battle with *Toktamish*; and, as gratitude was, perhaps, the most distinguished virtue of *Tamerlan*, *Nuroddin* was very highly advanced in his army.

During his progress in *India* he built a most amazing bridge at the confluence of the rivers *Jamed* and *Jeneve*; and then he marched to *Multan*, which he besieged and took. The chief resistance he met with was at *Batnur*, a fortress which, being built in a vast desert, was thought to be inaccessible. But *Tamerlan* delighted in difficulties, and conquered them, though not without giving great proofs of his native ferocity, by ordering vast numbers of the *Indians* to be put to the sword, because they were guebers, or idolaters. He next advanced to *Delhi*, the chief city in that part of *India*. Besides the vast numbers he had butchered, he had one hundred thousand prisoners. He was afraid of pinching his own army



His vast  
sagacity.

my should he maintain them. He pretended that they had entered into a conspiracy against him, and he put them all to death. Such was the barbarity of this conqueror, so celebrated by *European* historians for his virtue and clemency. When he conquered *Delhi*, he found himself opposed by a vast army of *Indians*; and here he gave a remarkable proof of his firmness and sagacity. In order to possess his troops and subjects with a vast opinion of his sanctity, he always had pretended to be devoted to astrology; and held the professors of it in such veneration, that they consulted the position of the stars before he entered upon any enterprize. When he was about to engage the *Indian* army before *Delhi*, the astrologers declared, that the stars were unfavourable to him: but he knew his own circumstances were otherwise, and that the time for fighting the enemy was favourable. In a heat, he told his astrologers, that it was not the stars, but the god of the stars, who was to direct him; and, pretending to meet with a favourable omen from the *Koran*, he ordered his army to advance against the *Indians*.

His men  
afraid of  
elephants,

who, with  
the *Indians*  
are de-  
feated.

The troops of *Tamerlan*, in this expedition, were mostly *Tartars*, or *Bukharians*, who, in his history, are termed *Jagatays*. They never had seen an elephant, and, being excessively ignorant and superstitious, they entertained the most dreadful ideas of those creatures, even to the thinking them invulnerable, that they could tear up the largest trees by their trunks, and overthrow the strongest buildings by their strength. *Tamerlan* saw this panic prevalent amongst his troops. He always expressed himself so highly in favour of the *Mahometan* clergy, that he carried great numbers along with him in all his expeditions. Before the battle began he asked them, Where they would chuse their situation to be. Their answer was, Amongst the ladies, if his majesty pleased. *Tamerlan* easily comprehended what they meant; and, fearing the effects of their panic upon his troops, he applied himself to destroy it; in a manner which evinces, that he was not totally ignorant of *Greek* and *Roman* learning. He ordered a vast number of buffalos, or wild oxen, to be tied together, and bushes to be planted between their horns ready to be fired. At the same time, in the front of his army, he caused deep pits to be dug, and covered smoothly with turf, under which he lodged sharp pointed stakes to receive the elephants. Those stratagems had the desired effect. The elephants either fell into the pits, or, terrified by the blazes between the buffalos horns, recoiled upon their own army and put them into disorder. All this time, the emperor was at prayers, upon the top of a high mountain, in sight of the armies; but his devotions did not interfere with his duty as a general. Having a full view of the battle, he gave such excellent orders, that the *Indians*, with their sultan *Mahmud* at their head, were driven into *Delhi*. By this time, the *Jagatays*, under the mirza *Pir Mehemed*, the sheik *Nuroddin*, and



and other excellent commanders, had lost all their dread of the elephants, whom they found to be not only vulnerable, but serviceable to themselves, by throwing their owners into confusion. One of *Tamerlan's* grandsons, the mirza *Kabil*, though but fifteen years of age, encountered singly an armed elephant; whom, after cutting and stabbing it with his sword, he brought, bound with ropes, into his grand-father's presence, who, upon that occasion, shed tears of joy.

When we reflect upon the prodigious odds of numbers Character against which the *English*, and other nations, lately prevailed of the *Indians* over the same enemy, we have no great room for launching, with *Tamerlan's* historians, into his praises upon the above victory. Those *Indians*, then as now, were sunk in luxury and barbarity. They trusted to their elephants, and those being defeated, their resistance was less than that of women. *Mahmud*, and his general *Mellu*, instead of defending *Delhi*, which was immensely rich and populous, abandoned it, and fled into the deserts; upon which *Tamerlan's* generals, without resistance, took possession of that capital. But here he and his officers tarnished all their glories by a cruelty which was equally sordid as inhuman. The dress of the inhabitants of *Delhi*, even amongst the meaner sort, was covered with gold and jewels; which attracting the eyes of the *Jagatays*, they formed the barbarous resolution of plundering the city, making slaves of the inhabitants, and of massacring all who should resist. This resolution was the more cruel, as *Tamerlan* had met with a ready submission from the inhabitants. He had appeared in the utmost state upon the grand throne of the *Indian* emperors, and had received the most humble submissions from all the nobility and chiefs of the empire. Even their elephants and their rhinoceroses were taught to do him homage, and to implore his mercy, as they had been used to do to their own emperors; but yet it is certain that Massacre the *Jagatays* butchered and made slaves of all the inhabitants. of them, Some of their common men had to their shares one hundred and fifty slaves apiece; and even some boys had twenty; which they could scarcely march under the plunder of gold and precious stones that they had made.

We have not sufficient grounds for saying that *Tamerlan* authorised these detestable proceedings. On the contrary, it is pretended that some of his great generals did all they could to repress them; and nothing is more probable than, that the hopes of plunder had induced many of the emirs, as well as the common men, to follow *Tamerlan* in this and his other expeditions; nay, perhaps, he made them some such promise: but, if he did, it was a barbarous condition; nor do we hear that any, either of the ring-leaders or soldiers, concerned in this mutiny, for such it is represented to be, were punished. This is a circumstance that, considering *Tamerlan's* strict discipline, makes it highly improbable that he, in his heart, disapproved of the enormous cruelties of his army.



and of the army. The insolence of the *Jagatays* had rendered some of the *Guebres*, the *Indians*, the *Guebres* particularly, desperate; and, such was *Tamerlan's* impious zeal, that he ordered no quarter should be given them; and he even shared in the spoils of the unhappy city, by ordering that all the architects and masons, who were found in it, should be reserved for himself, to be employed in erecting a magnificent mosque at *Samarkand*. In short, *Delhi*, the richest, and one of the most populous cities then in the world, was completely destroyed, and towers were erected with the heads of the unhappy inhabitants who had been massacred.

*Delhi ruined.*

*Tamerlan conquers India.*

After this, *Tamerlan* received the submission of several powerful *Indian* princes, and marched against *Mirtha*, a city in possession of the *Guebres*. But even despair did not avail those unhappy people. Amazed at the attacks of *Tamerlan*, they abandoned themselves to a listless inactivity; insomuch that one of the boys of the *Jagatay* army was the first to mount their walls; and, being followed by the rest of the army, the usual carnage ensued; but, with the barbarous aggravation that the male *Guebres*, grown to be men, were flayed alive, and their wives and children carried into slavery. After completing this inhuman conquest, his rage against the *Guebres* seemed to encrease. As they saw themselves doomed to destruction, they retired to the mountains, and to other passes and fortresses by sea and land. But *Tamerlan's* soldiers were greatly their superiors in defile-fighting. He sent an army of fifty thousand horse against them; and, as the *Tartars*, to this day, are more bold and enterprising than any people in passing rivers on horseback, and in mounting precipices, the *Guebres* were everywhere cut in pieces. But *Tamerlan's* perpetual success betrayed him, at last, into a security which had almost proved his ruin; for he was obliged, three times in one day, to engage them with vast odds of numbers against him; and, a brave *Guebre* attacking him, hand to hand, when *Tamerlan* had no more than one hundred horse about his own person, he was in imminent danger: he, however, killed the *Guebre*, and remained master of the field.

*In great danger.*

*His farther conquests.*

One great cause of *Tamerlan's* vast success in *India*, lay in the divisions that prevailed amongst the people: they were not only of different religions, but of different interests; so that his historians tell us, he fought twenty battles in thirty days, was always victorious, and that seven of the most important cities in *India* submitted to him. The principal defiles in which those victories were gained by *Tamerlan*, who past the *Ganges*, were that of *Kupcle*, which, by some, is said to lie about fifteen miles from the head of that great river, together with the immense mountains of *Swalek* and *Kuke*. At last, *Tamerlan*, having carried his arms to the eastern borders of *India*, repassed the *Ganges*, continuing, wherever he marched, to put the *Guebres* to the sword.

On



On the twelfth of *March*, 1399, *Tamerlan* took *Bayla*, a town of the district of *Chamu*, which was likewise the name of a river and of the capital of the province. He took this place by stratagem, and most inhumanly put to death all who fell into his hands, excepting the king and fifty of his great men, who were made prisoners. The king being wounded, great tenderness was expressed for his recovery, in hopes of his discovering his treasures : but this prince, pretending to be convinced of the truth of *Mahometanism*, embraced that religion ; upon which *Tamerlan* took him under his protection. *Tamerlan*, after that, reduced *Labor*, a city and province of great importance and renown ; and, after crossing the rivers *Jennaw* and *Daudana*, he settled his rout homewards, and regulated the different governments of *India*, which he had now, in a manner, wholly subdued. In his return home, he passed through the province of *Kashmir*, which is celebrated for its vast populousness, and for being so surrounded by mountains, that the inhabitants require no other defence. On the twenty-eighth of *March*, he crossed the *Indus*, and, after making many painful, and sometimes dangerous, marches, he arrived at his capital of *Samarkand*, and upon the sixteenth of *May*, 1399.

Such is the detail of this mighty monarch's conquest of *India* ; and, as we have given it as represented by his historian *Shariffoddin Ali*, a *Persian* fond of his virtues, who composed it from *Tamerlan's* own memoirs, only nineteen years after his death, at the command of his grandson *Ibrahim*, it serves to shew the ridiculous mistakes of *European* historians with regard to his motives and character ; which they have drawn, not according to the truth of history, but according to their own ideas and prepossessions. The reader will see, in the subsequent part of his history, the reason why *Christian* writers have been partial in favour of his memory ; but they knew him in no other character than in that of the defender and savor of the *Greek* empire, and the conqueror of a prince of his own religion. But we shall have a future opportunity of doing justice to his actions.

*Tamerlan*, having distributed amongst those who had best served him, the vast spoils of *India*, after a stay of four months at *Samarkand*, found himself under necessity to march into *Persia*. His son, *Miran Shah*, was there governor, or rather king, of *Azerbaijan* ; but was still understood to be subordinate to the emperor his father. But *Miran*, by an unhappy fall from his horse in hunting, had received a contusion which had disordered his brain ; and no more reason remained with him, than what served to direct him to proceed in the affairs of government with a brutal violence and cruelty : a state of mind worse than that of total insensibility. After committing many extravagances, he had attempted to besiege *Baghdad* ; and he made war upon the *Georgians*, who defeated his troops. *Tamerlan* had the chief information of his son's

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son's disorder from the latter's wife, who had been forced to fly from his brutal usage of her to *Samarkand*; where she made *Tamerlan* sensible of the necessity he was under of marching in person into *Iran*. His presence soon remedied all disorders; and *Mirzan* himself submitting, in one of his lucid intervals, to his father, he spared him, but ordered all the companions of his debauches and excesses to be hanged.

Other differences in his family.

During this expedition, *Eskander*, *Tamerlan*'s grandson by his second son, *Omar*, reduced almost all *Mogulstan* and *Jelab*, though he was then but fifteen years of age; and, what was still more extraordinary, he governed his conquests with the greatest prudence and moderation. Those amiable qualities, and his ambition to distinguish himself, rendered him obnoxious to his cousin *Mehemed*, to whose courage and abilities *Tamerlan* had been so greatly indebted. His jealousy went so far, that *Eskander* was besieged in the castle of *Andekban*; which he surrendered with his own person: and, after his principal officers, with twenty-six of his domestics, had been put to death, he was sent in irons, with his remaining servants, to *Samarkand*, where *Mehemed* then resided.

One of his grandsons arrested and bastinadoed.

This was not the only misunderstanding which, at this time, happened in *Tamerlan*'s family. *Pir Mehemed* and *Rostem*, two others of his grandsons, and elder brothers to *Eskander*, had orders to march against *Baghdad*; but *Pir Mehemed* remained at *Shiraz*, and, infatuated with astrology and superstition, he employed himself in composing poisonous philtres and fascinations. Whatever might have been in this charge, it is certain that the governor of *Schiraz* ventured to put him under an arrest; and *Tamerlan* was so much convinced of his guilt, that he not only deprived him of the government of *Pars*, or *Proper Persia*, which he gave to *Rostem*, his younger brother, but ordered him to be brought in chains to *Samarkand*, and many of his companions to be put to death. *Pir Mehemed* was accordingly brought in that disgraceful manner before *Tamerlan*, when he was upon his march; and he immediately ordered him to be tried by the laws of *Jenghiz Khan*. His judges found him guilty, and he was sentenced to receive a bastinado; after suffering which, his chains were struck off and he was set at liberty.

*Tamerlan* raises another great army.

Had *Tamerlan* atchieved no greater conquests than those we have related, he must have been considered as one of the most powerful monarchs in history; but the fame of his actions, and the particulars of them, would have been obscure to *Europeans*, had they not been illustrated by the glories he acquired after this period. By the punishment of the mirza *Miran*'s seducers, the kingdom of *Adherbijan*, and all the neighbourhood, were reduced to their duty; and having then in the field a numerous army, which had been raised for seven years, *Tamerlan* resolved to find it sufficient employment.

Marches against Georgia.

Of all the enemies *Tamerlan* ever encountered, the *Georgians* seem to have given him the greatest disquiet. They had been



been long esteemed amongst the best troops in *Asia*, and the mountainous situation of their country rendered the conquest of it extremely difficult; nor, when conquered, was it tenable, by a foreign army unused to the soil and climate, and way of living of the inhabitants. *Tamerlan* therefore, and the greatest conquerors in the east, never had been able to maintain the advantages they had sometimes obtained over the *Georgians*, and, the year after, they generally were obliged to begin afresh. *Tamerlan* was desirous, that his arms should be deemed invincible, when his officers did their duty. The *Georgians* had lately defeated the troops sent against them by *Mirau*; and *Tamerlan* ordered they should be tried and punished, which many of them were, punishes some by the bastinado, some by fining, and some by death. some of He then entered *Georgia* by the defile of *Komsha*, but the his officers roads being encumbered by woods and precipices, and covered with snow, it was with the greatest difficulty he could proceed in the works of death and devastation; for we are told, that he gave quarter to none of the inhabitants who fell into his hands, and that he destroyed all dwellings, and fruits of the ground wherever he marched. It is pretty certain, however, that this expedition was none of the most fortunate for *Tamerlan*; for being unable to advance, he returned to *Karabagh*. This disappointment served only to encrease his desire of being revenged, and in the succeeding spring he summoned a dyet of his states, where it was resolved to make a kind of a crusade, or holy war upon the infidels, (for so *Tamerlan* accounted the *Christians*) of *Georgia*. When one reads a single expedition of *Tamerlan* into this country, he reads them all. All consists in hunting the enemy from pass to pass, in giving no quarter, and destroying every thing. But it does not appear that *Tamerlan*, notwithstanding all his success, could make any permanent conquest of the country; and he took the first decent opportunity offered him by a submission tendered by some of its princes, to quit it.

1400.

The fame of *Tamerlan* now spread over all *Europe*, and the progress of the *Turks* made his friendship courted by the emperors of *Constantinople*, and many *Christian* powers. It is uncertain whether he learned the use of artillery from them, or in those parts of his *Tartar* dominions that lay most contiguous to *China*; but he certainly, about this time, knew the use of gunpowder, which was then familiar to the *Europeans*; and it appears that he made use of some kind of artillery in his late expedition against the *Georgians*. But though *Tamerlan* could not, without great uneasiness hear of *Bajazet's* growing power, yet he had many considerations to make him cautious how he proceeded. Though *Tamerlan* has by some writers, and those of note, been represented as a kind of a rationalist in religion, and as believing only in one God, and extremely moderate and indulgent towards others; yet

He makes use of gunpowder and artillery.

*Voltaire* confuted.

nothing



as to *Tamerlan's* religion.

Character of *Bajazet*, emperor of the *Ottoman Turks*.

His haughty answer to *Tamerlan*.

nothing is more certain from his history, than that he was a *Mahometan* even to an apparent enthusiasm, and that too, of the worst kind; for with all the impieties of that sect, he mingled the gross superstitions of the *Tartars*. The wars he carried on in *India* were undertaken with the professed design of exterminating the *Guebres*, a harmless, perhaps, a virtuous race, who worshipped God after the manner of their forefathers, and the dangerous wars he had with the *Georgians*, were undertaken because they were infidels, that is, *Christians*. We are far from pretending that *Tamerlan* was sincere in those professions of religion; if he was not, his wickedness was the greater. It was certain they were necessary to his views; half his subjects were *Mahometans*, and the other half idolatars; for that simplicity of religion that *Jenghiz Khan* was born under, was worn out in *Tartary*; and thus *Tamerlan* accommodated himself to both religions of his subjects, few of whom were *Christians*.

This was one of the considerations, that influenced *Tamerlan* to manage *Bajazet*, who was considered as the scourge of the *Christians*, and the support of the *Mahometan* cause in the western part of *Asia*. Another consideration occurred, *Tamerlan*, excepting the *Georgians*, had hitherto fought with no troops comparable to those of the *Ottoman Turks* under *Bajazet*. He was sensible of this, and that *Bajazet*, was possessed of a numerous artillery. He likewise knew *Bajazet's* ambition, and that one defeat in a general engagement might shake the very foundation of his empire; which in a great measure rested on the opinion his subjects had, that he was invincible. On the other hand, *Tamerlan* looked upon the interest of his allies, or rather his tributaries, to be his own concern, and *Bajazet* had stript two of them of *Sivas*, and *Malatiya*; and had made many insolent demands upon other princes, who were under his protection; particularly upon *Taharton*, his governor of *Arzengan* and *Azerum*. Had it not been for the considerations we have already mentioned, *Tamerlan* would not have done *Bajazet* the honour of a letter, previous to invading his dominions. But it was such a letter, as a superior writes to a vassal; for in it he called *Bajazet* a pismire of a prince, and gave him the reproachful name of a *Turkman*. *Bajazet's* answer was full of indignation, for he told *Tamerlan*, that he might advance when he pleased, that he had long wanted to go to war with him, that if he tarried longer, he, *Bajazet*, would seek him out, and drive him beyond *Tawris*. This irritated *Tamerlan*, and marching to *Suivas*, or *Sebasti*, he took it, and his conquest was attended with his usual cruelties; the city was demolished, four thousand *Armenian* cavalry of the garison were buried in pits, and the earth flung upon them, and the rest of the *Christians* made slaves, while the *Mahometans* had their liberty. The sultan *Ahmed* of *Baghdad*, and *Kara Yusuf*, a neighbouring prince, famous for his rapines, had by this time revolted



volted from *Tamerlan*, and put themselves under the protection of *Bajazet*, who took *Arzenjan*, and made *Tabarten's* wife and children captives. This provoked *Tamerlan* to destroy all the frontiers of *Anatolia* and *Syria*, in such a manner, that even the haughty spirit of *Bajazet* was brought down to a submission; and upon his writing an humble letter, and releasing *Tabarten's* wife and children, *Tamerlan* countermanded the expedition against him, and suddenly turned his arms against the *Egyptian Syria*. Princes seldom want pretexts for carrying on war, when they have an appearance of success. *Tamerlan*, when he had reduced *Baghdad*, pretended, as we have already seen, to all the rights, and pre-eminences of its antient khaliffs. In this he was thwarted by *Barkok* the sultan of *Egypt*, whom *Tamerlan* accused of having abused and murdered his ambassadors. His first attempt in *Syria* was against *Behesna*, a fortress who deemed to be impregnable, according to *Tamerlan's* historians, who well knew the facts they wrote of. His troops had a very singular method of taking all cities, however strong; which was by undermining them quite round, but as they proceeded, they propt the walls with strong beams of timber. When the work was compleated, these beams were set on fire, and the walls sunk all at once. On this occasion *Tamerlan* gave a proof at once of his magnimity and prudence. For though the governor of the place offered to submit, and though he promised him and his garrison their pardon, (they being *Mahometans*) yet *Tamerlan* told him, he would first convince them, that no place was impregnable to his arms; for upon a signal given, the props were set on fire and the walls sunk. This amazing operation gave him the possession of another very strong city, called *Antap*, which surrendered upon being summoned. At this time, the troops of the *Egyptian Syria* were assembled at *Halep*, but the art of fortification there had been vastly improved since the time of the crusades; and *Tamerlan* well knew, that in many places he would find a resistance, very different from what he had found elsewhere, and such as would be proof against his mining. He durst not attack such a city as *Halep*, defended by a garrison of sixty thousand men, but he approached it with such shews of fear, that the enemy were encouraged to draw out upon the plain, and were almost every one of them cut in pieces by the *Jagatays*; who mounted the walls of the city, upon the heaps they made of *Syrian* carcases: and the city being thus taken, the castle surrendered likewise.

*Halep*  
taken.

The reader is to observe, at this period of *Tamerlan's* history, that the *Syrians* were now both undisciplined and effeminate; and *Tamerlan* was at the head of an army consisting of eight hundred thousand of the best troops in the world. But they had been upon hard duty for two years, and their generals were incessantly representing the necessity

*Tamer-*  
*lan's* vast  
army.

of



of giving them some respite. *Tamerlan* rejected all intimations of that kind, pretending his honour would not suffer him to listen to them; and with very little difficulty, he reduced *Balbek*, with the great cities of *Hamah*, and *Hems*, and proceeded towards *Damascus*, though it was then in the very depth of winter, through incessant rains, and snow.

**He is in danger of being assassinated.** It was during this march, that the famous attempt by a villain, in the habit of a dervis, was made to assassinate *Tamerlan*. His historians say, that this villain, with two others, were employed by *Faruj*, now sultan of *Egypt*, by way of deputies from him, and had access to *Tamerlan's* person. It does not, however, appear, that the attempt was actually made, for some of *Tamerlan's* courtiers, suspecting their intention, they were searched, and poisoned daggers being found in their boots, the principal was put to death, with the dagger he intended for the emperor, and the others were sent back with their ears and noses cut off to *Faruj*.

**He gains the great battle of *Damascus*, against the sultan of *Egypt*.** *Atihmish* a favourite general under *Tamerlan*, was at this time prisoner in *Egypt*, and *Tamerlan* made his liberty an indispensable condition, of his treating with *Faruj*. According to some authors (nor is the thing at all improbable) the troops of *Tamerlan* were in a most miserable condition; and his great men were so disgusted with the fatigues they had suffered, that his son *Hussayu* in a fit of drunkenness, went over to *Faruj*, and took a command under him. *Faruj's* army was now lying at *Damascus*, and when *Tamerlan* was drawing near to the place, he consented to release *Atihmish* and to order money to be coined, and prayers to be said in *Tamerlan's* name; who thereupon prepared to return: but in his retreat, his rear was attacked by the *Egyptians*, which brought on a general engagement, in which the latter were defeated, and was to fly back to *Damascus*. In this battle, a *Jagatay* officer spying the mirza *Hussayu*, made him prisoner, and carried him to his brother. *Ruk Timur*, having intelligence of this accident, ordered him to be loaded with chains; he was soon delivered through the intercession of *Ruk*. But he was tried upon *Jenghiz Khan's* laws, and bastinadoed, and as a farther mark of ignominy prohibited to come into the imperial hall. Those bastinadoings, excepting the pain attending them, gave very little concern to the greatest princes of *Tamerlan's* court. *Pir Mehemed* was, by this time, employed, by the emperor, and served him faithfully: *Eskender* was afterwards reconciled to *Me-hemed*, and had a great command under *Tamerlan*. *Miran* had so far recovered the disorder of his brain, that he likewise was employed, and we shall afterwards find this same *Hussayu* at the head of a great body of his father's troops. In short, without launching out into reflections upon the unlimited submissions paid to *Tamerlan* by his subjects of all ranks, it is certain, that his greatest conquests and victories



victories were owing to his sons, grandsons, and other princes of his own family.

After the battle of *Damascus*, *Faruj* fled to *Egypt*; upon which that city was delivered up to *Tamerlan*, who soon after took the castle likewise; but ordered the governor to be hanged for pretending to hold it out: the garrison were made slaves. Though *Damascus* had been taken by a surrender made of it by the chief men of the place, who promised to pay the conqueror a tribute, yet *Tamerlan*, seeing the incredible riches that were in the place, most impiously pretended, that the *Syrians*, by their misfortune, proved themselves to be the objects of God's wrath, for having served the *Omian* khalifs against the house of *Ali*. This hint was sufficient; the *Jagatays* broke into *Damascus*; stripped it of its immense riches, which they even wanted carriages and beasts of burthen to carry off; butchered the inhabitants by thousands, made the rest slaves, and then laid the place in ashes.

It is extremely probable, that the number of slaves which attended his army, at this time, were either dangerous or inconvenient to him, for, before he left *Syria*, he ordered all his *Mahometan* captives to be set at liberty. He then made his son, the mirza *Mehemed*, a prince of the empire of *Hululu*. After this, he made himself master of *Tadmor*, the famous *Palmyra* of the antients; which must have been better inhabited than it is now, otherwise it would not have been worth the conquering. Perhaps its present ruinous condition is, in a great measure, owing to *Tamerlan's* *Tartars*. Several other expeditions, especially one against the *Turkmans*, were all pursued at the same time, and happily executed by *Tamerlan's* generals. Amongst them, none shewed greater zeal and courage than his son *Hussayu*, who commanded a party of five thousand horse, and was now re-admitted to his father's favour. Before *Tamerlan* left *Syria*, he inhumanly ordered the cities of *Hamah* and *Halep* to be ruined.

*Tamerlan* then ordered a general rendezvous of his army to be held upon the banks of the *Euphrates*, which river his troops passed by swimming. Nothing now withstood his conquests but the sultan, or rather governor, of *Mardin*; a place so strong, that *Tamerlan* did not think fit to besiege it in form, but left one of his generals with troops sufficient to block it up. The cities of *Pir*, *Edeffa*, and *Alenjik*, submitted to him at the same time, as did *Misibin* and *Musel*; and then he made two great detachments from his army. One of those he sent towards *Georgia*, and another to reduce *Baghdad*, while he himself marched to *Tauris*.

*Baghdad* was, at that time, perhaps, as populous, though not so rich, as it had been under the khalifs. It was defended by a brave officer, who was himself a *Mogul*, in *Abmed's* name; and the garrison was composed of *Turks* and *Arabs*. When the *Jagatays*, who were commanded by *Rustem*, came



within sight, the governor made a sally, in which they lost some of their best officers; but the governor, after a most bloody dispute, was obliged to return to the city, which he refused to deliver up but to *Tamerlan* in person. This induced *Tamerlan* to change his route, and he repaired to his camp before *Baghdad*. The governor, who had no other meaning but to gain time, pretending that *Tamerlan* was not there in person, continued to hold out with so much obstinacy and skill, that all *Tamerlan's* operations by mining were ineffectual. The season, however, being excessively hot, and the garrison no longer able to stand to their duty, the place was, at last, carried by assault, upon a platform raised by the besiegers; while the brave governor, and his daughter, threw themselves into the *Tygris*.

His enormous cruelties.

The cruelties committed by *Tamerlan* and his troops, on this occasion, if possible, exceeded all their former barbarities. The number of the besiegers was eighty thousand, and, besides the vast numbers killed in the heat of the storm, or drowned in the *Tygris*, *Tamerlan* taxed every soldier with the head of a *Baghdader*, which he was to cut off in cold blood, and to bring into a general heap: an order that was most punctually performed, and the whole erected into towers. In short, none were saved from the general massacre, excepting a few learned men; and the stench from the dead bodies threatened a pestilence in the air: while the emperor ordered that all the public buildings, religious ones excepted, should be razed. All the neighbourhood of *Baghdad* was then ravaged; and *Tamerlan*, in his way to *Tauris*, subdued a great number of curds, or robbers.

Marches

into Georgia,

his quarters at Mehemet,

*Tamerlan*, departing from *Tauris*, resumed his operations against *Georgia*; which, as usual, ended in the submission of *Ghurgin*, the malek, or king, of that country; and, on the twelfth of *December*, 1401, *Tamerlan* went into winter-quarters at *Karabagh*. Here he appeared in great splendour, and received ambassadors, who brought him the submissions of their masters from all quarters; and he then solemnly invested his son *Mehemed* with a crown of gold. It is greatly to the honour of *Tamerlan*, that his conduct, with regard to his family, was irreproachable. He conquered only for them; but, when they offended, he left them to the laws. *Eskander*, at the same time *Mehemed* was crowned, was tried either for his former, or an after, misbehaviour; and, after receiving the bastinado, he was taken again into favour and employed. *Abmed*, the sultan of *Baghdad*, upon *Tamerlan's* retreat from that city, made an attempt to regain it; but in that he was disappointed by the vigilance of *Tamerlan's* officers in the neighbourhood.

quar-

Nothing now remained an object of *Tamerlan's* ambition, but *Bajazet*, Thunderer, as he was called, the emperor of the *Othmans*. It is true he had *Egypt* in his eye, and several other countries which he afterwards subdued; but he knew that



that these must fall of course, should he defeat *Bajazet*. The only obstacle he then had, was his own dissimulation, which had carried him to such lengths, that he declared his conscience would not suffer him to attack a *Mahometan* prince, who, like *Bajazet*, spent his life in carrying on wars against infidels; he found means, however, in this case, to reconcile his religion with his ambition. *Bajazet* continued still to protect *Kara Yusef*, who, it seems, had been guilty of the most enormous crimes, even that of robbing the caravans of pilgrims travelling to *Mecca*. *Tamerlan* seized upon this lucky incident; he complained of *Bajazet*'s protecting this sacrilegious robber; and *Bajazet*, notwithstanding his haughty temper, was prevailed upon, by his great officers of state, who dreaded the power of *Tamerlan*, to send him a most submissive apology.

The ambition of *Tamerlan*, as we have already hinted, from his first setting out in life, was to be monarch of the world; and it was with him a common saying, That the world ought not to brooke two masters. To do him justice, submission, and *Bajazet*'s subjection, was often all he required, together with a moderate tribute, in compensation for his protection. Even *Bajazet* was forced to temporize so far, as to promise him obedience; but *Tamerlan* knew his fiery disposition, and that his schemes of ambition were the same with his own. He received the ambassadors with great politeness and magnificence; but told them, that he could not give their master his protection, unless he would put to death *Kara Yusef*, or give him up to him, *Tamerlan*, or drive him out of his empire. He intimated that he would give *Bajazet* sufficient time for coming to a resolution. This delay was probably occasioned by his own inability to proceed immediately to action. The immense fatigues and losses his troops had sustained required time for recruiting them; and he wisely resolved, not to attack such an enemy as *Bajazet* without a certainty of subduing him. This delay was equally favourable to *Bajazet*, who made use of it for providing force sufficient to resist the storm he saw impending upon him. In short, both of them were sensible, that they must contend for the empire of *Asia*; and they made their preparations accordingly.

For two months, *Tamerlan* seemed employed only in hunting in the plain of *Aktam*, and in other matters of a pacific cast; but all the while he was collecting an army superior, perhaps, to any one we read of in history. The time prescribed by him to *Bajazet* being expired, he marched his troops, or rather his nations, towards *Anatolia*; and demanded that the fortress of *Kemak* should be put into his hands. *Bajazet* having, by this time, put himself into what he thought a proper posture of defence, sent *Tamerlan* a kind of a defiance; upon which, the latter besieged and took *Kemak*. Notwithstanding this, he still preserved some appearances

His ambition for universal monarchy

Marches into *Anatolia*.



His great  
men op-  
pose his  
expedi-  
tion,

but he  
perse-  
veres and  
marches  
against  
*Bajazet*.

Descrip-  
tion of the  
battle of  
*Ancyra*.

ances of moderation, by continuing to renew his offers of friendship to *Bajazet*, provided the *Ottoman* would give him one of his sons in hostage. He knew that *Bajazet* would despise such a condition; and his great men, foreseeing the very serious consequences that were likely to happen, began to renew their remonstrances. with this addition, that the aspect of the heavens was extremely unfavourable for any expedition against *Bajazet's* dominions. *Tamerlan* had foreseen this objection, and was prepared to answer it. He ordered the astrologers to be assembled, and that they should consult the aspect of the heavens. The report of the astrologers, in their jargon, was in favour of the expedition against *Bajazet*, who, as they predicted, would be taken prisoner.

Upon this, such was the force of superstition, a unanimous resolution was taken to march against the *Ottoman*, and *Tamerlan* ordered a general review of his troops upon the plains of *Suivas*. On this occasion he seems to have exerted the utmost of his power. His numbers, according to *Schilpiger*, who was an eye-witness, amounted to sixteen hundred thousand men; but this must be understood of the attendants upon his camp as well as fighting men; for others say, that, at the battle which followed, he had no more than eight hundred thousand men who engaged. But, on which ever side the truth lies, his numbers were so prodigious, that he must long before have been determined on the expedition. *Bajazet* was, by this time, arrived at *Tokat*, and both emperors advanced towards *Cæsaria*; but their armies met at *Ankora*, the antient *Ancyra*, a city in the north of *Anatolia*; and there one of the most memorable battles, recorded in history, was then fought. *Tamerlan* arriving first, laid siege to *Ankora*; but, *Bajazet* being within four leagues of him, he raised the siege to fight him.

According to the best accounts, *Tamerlan*, on this occasion, proved himself to be a more able general than *Bajazet*. He shewed more judgment in the choice of his ground; and, by his movements, cut the *Ottomans* off from the river: so that they had no water but a little spring, which *Tamerlan* destroyed, and thereby seven thousand *Ottomans* perished of thirst. He was likewise superior in all the other dispositions, and in those skirmishes which unavoidably precede a general action between two great armies. The numbers of *Bajazet's* army are as uncertain as those of *Tamerlan*. The author last quoted makes them three hundred thousand, while others make them but half that number. *Bajazet*, who had been victorious over the best troops of *Greece* and *Europe*, considered *Tamerlan* and his troops as barbarians, whom the discipline of his army would soon conquer; but, fatally for himself, he was mistaken. Perhaps, had the numbers been equal, the event would not have been the same; for, though *Tamerlan's* troops were intrepid, and well disciplined in the service



service of the field, yet the *Ottomans* had the superiority in point of armour, twenty thousand of *Bajazet's* cavalry being armed in complete steel.

*Tamerlan*, on that decisive day, gave the command of his army to his sons and the princes of his blood. *Mehemed* acted as general in chief. His army was drawn up in three positions, lines, and a body of reserve. His sons *Shak Ruk*, and *Kalil*, with the mirza *Hussayn*, in the van, led the left wing; and mirza *Meran* commanded the right, the van of which was led by the mirza *Abubeker*, a young prince who had performed prodigies of valour in his grandfather's, *Tamerlan's*, service. The centre, consisting of eighty battalions, was commanded by *Mehemed*, and the rear by *Tamerlan* in person, whose other sons and grandsons had all of them commands under the generals we have mentioned. In the front of his army, *Tamerlan* placed vast numbers of elephants with towers filled with armed soldiers on their backs, not so much from an opinion of the service they could do, but because they served to make a display of his *Indian* victories and intimidate the enemy. It is remarkable, that the grand badge of dignity carried before *Mehemed*, as generalissimo, was a red horse tail and the figure of an half-moon, fixed on a staff.

*Bajazet*, whose numbers, by the best accounts, as we have already seen, were in no degree equal to those of *Tamerlan*, commanded the main body of his own troops. His brother-in-law *Stephen*, who is said to have been an *European*, commanded the right wing, in which were twenty thousand cavalry armed in steel, as we have already mentioned. The left wing was commanded by *Bajazet's* son, by some called *Chelebi*, and by others *Solyman*, and was formed of *Anatolian* troops. *Kirischi*, the ablest warrior of all *Bajazet's* sons, commanded the rear. Three other sons of *Bajazet* served under him as lieutenant-generals.

Before the battle a great many skirmishes passed, in one of which the governor of *Anatolia* was taken prisoner by *Tamerlan's* troops. This great conqueror could not bear the thought that any man on earth should think himself his equal. He ordered the bashaw to be brought before him, and demanded of him the reason, why *Bajazet* was so presumptuous as to oppose him. "My master," replied the bashaw, "considers himself as the sun to the earth; and the heavens admit not of two suns." This answer nettled *Tamerlan*, who told the bashaw that he was determined to chastise his master's pride, and, upon the bashaw's signifying his sorrow that he was a prisoner, *Tamerlan* gallantly gave him his liberty, with a present of a fine horse, upon condition of his faithfully repeating to *Bajazet* what he had seen and heard, which he accordingly performed.

Many have been the fictitious accounts of the great battle which followed on the plains of *Ancyra*, as has been already mentioned; but, so little were *European* authors acquainted



with the true circumstances of it, that they were ignorant of the name of the place where it was fought; therefore, all that they have said of it, is the result of their own fancy. On the first of *July*, about ten in the forenoon, *Tamerlan's* infantry possessed themselves of the heights of *Ancyra*, from whence *Tamerlan* himself surveyed his enemies dispositions, which appeared to him admirable. The *Ottoman* infantry, or what we now call *Janisaries*, moved to the charge in one square body; and this made *Tamerlan* resolve to head the attack upon it with the choice cavalry of his troops. The armies, at this time, were at the distance of about two miles from one another; and *Tamerlan*, while the *Ottomans* were advancing, as usual, performed his devotions upon his knees in sight of his army. *Abubeker*, with his guard, began the battle on *Tamerlan's* part; and it soon appeared, that the *Jagatays*, even in point of discipline, were superior to the *Turks*, who were forced to give way. The mirza *Hussayn*, who led the van-guard of *Tamerlan's* left wing, made a terrible impression upon the enemy; but engaging himself too far, *Tamerlan* sent other troops, who supported him; so that they penetrated into the *European* squadrons, which were the flower of *Bajazet's* cavalry, and broke them. But, at this time, the fate of the day had taken an unexpected turn. Great part of *Bajazet's* army were originally *Tartars*, and, having a warm affection for their countrymen, the *Jagatays*, they either stood inactive, or went over to *Tamerlan*. This, besides the natural affection they had for their countrymen, was greatly owing to the fierce, over-bearing manners of *Bajazet*, which the *Tartar* princes could not brook. Both *Stephen* and *Bajazet* saw they were betrayed. Some say that the former was killed at the head of the *European* cavalry; and others, that he cut his way through the enemy. As to *Bajazet*, when he found himself betrayed, he retired into the centre of his faithful *Janisaries*, and took possession of an eminence, which was surrounded by a prodigious number of *Tamerlan's* troops, with himself at their head. The number of *Ottomans* in this body were no more than ten thousand, all the rest of *Bajazet's* army being, by this time, either cut in pieces or dispersed. Notwithstanding this, the *Janisaries* maintained their ground, and were almost every man of them killed on the spot where they stood. *Bajazet* still survived, and attempted to fly; but, by *Tamerlan's* express order, he was made prisoner; and, being placed upon a sorry nag, he was brought before *Tamerlan*, who, by this time, with his son *Shak Ruk*, had penetrated into the thickest ranks of the *Ottomans*, and gained a compleat victory.

He totally  
defeats  
*Bajazet*,

and takes  
him pri-  
soner.

Various are the relations of the first interview between those two mighty princes. The most authentic accounts are the most agreeable to *Tamerlan's* character. He had as great a passion to mortify the pride of *Bajazet* as to conquer his army. Well knowing that his troops had surrounded the



the *Ottomans* so completely that it was impossible for them to escape; and perceiving that his victory, in all other respects, was fully obtained; he withdrew to his tent, and engaged in a game at chess with his son *Shak Rhuk*. While he was at this diversion, the shouts of joy, upon the taking of *Bajazet*, reached him; but he affected an entire indifference; and, though he understood that the *Ottoman* was at the door of his tent, he continued his play without the least emotion. At last he gave it over, and *Bajazet* was introduced by sultan *Mahmud*, khan of *Bukharia*, to whom he had surrendered. *Tamerlan*, at first viewing him with a studied disregard, “Is this,” said he, “the man who ordered us to dismiss our wives, and to forego the names of men, if we did not meet him?” for such had been the expressions in one of *Bajazet*’s messages to *Tamerlan*. “I am that man,” replied the captive, “but it becomes not a conqueror to insult his prisoner.” This reply disarmed *Tamerlan* at once of his resentment and his apparent indifference. He ordered *Bajazet* to be instantly unbound, and to take a seat opposite to him.

According to the common account, he observed that *Bajazet* was blind of an eye, as he himself was lame of one side; and it was natural for him to say, in a fit of laughter, that God Almighty had but little regard for sublunary power, when he bestowed so great a share of it upon two maimed miscreants, pointing to *Bajazet* and himself.

His triumph over his haughty foe being thus compleat, he gently reproached him for his presumptuousness, in rejecting all the favourable proposals he had made; but assured him of his life and protection. *Bajazet*, perceiving his conqueror thus affable, requested that search might be made after his sons, *Musa* and *Mustafa*, who had been in the battle. *Tamerlan* gave orders accordingly; and *Musa*, being found alive, was suffered to repair to the tent allotted for his father. Some writers have embellished the above interview with many imaginary passages and discourses; and the general report is, that *Tamerlan* treated *Bajazet* in the same manner the latter is said to declare he would have treated him, had he been conqueror; that is, had him shut up in an iron cage. Tho’ there is no foundation, in the relations of the best cotemporary authors, for this particular fact, yet we are inclined to think, that it is not entirely destitute of foundation. For, some days after the battle, *Mehemed*, one of *Tamerlan*’s sons, contrived to make a kind of subterraneous passage under his father’s tent, by which he might escape. This contrivance was discovered by the guards; and it is, by no means, improbable, that *Tamerlan*, jealous and barbarous as he was, might give orders for securing his prisoner in a portable cage. But there is sufficient authority for believing, that this order was not given till after *Bajazet*’s attempt to escape was covered and defeated: for we are even told, that, at the first conversation, *Tamerlan* presented him with a royal robe.



*Tamerlan*  
conquers  
*Anatolia*.

We have been the more particular in the relation above, because few periods of time furnish such an example; and the relation of such an interview may be termed the history of the human mind. All that followed, was butchery and barbarity. *Tamerlan* without resistance, became master of *Anatolia*, and his army plundered it. He sent his son mirza *Mehemed* to lay hold upon *Bajazet's* treasure at *Perusa*; but *Chelebi*, *Bajazet's* son, having fled thither out of the battle, had secured it beforehand. *Mehemed* however, made *Bajazet's* wife, and his two daughters prisoners; together with the daughter of the sultan *Ahmed* of *Baghdad*, who had been betrothed to one of *Bajazet's* sons. Authors are divided as to the treatment which *Destina*, *Bajazet's* wife, met with from *Tamerlan*. Some say, he generously sent her to her husband; but this probably did not happen, till after he had publicly made her appear a slave amongst his own domestics; and some say, as a concubine.

His barbarous  
successes.

After conquering and making prisoner *Bajazet*, the reader can scarcely question, that *Tamerlan* could meet with no opposition in *Asia*. But he proceeded like a *Tartar* and a barbarian; marking his progress every where by blood and ruin. It is true, he did a few acts of justice, when they were subservient either to his interest or revenge; but none to compensate for his inhumanities. His subduing *Bajazet*, the great enemy of the *Christian* name, has recommended his memory to the *Christian* writers; but all they relate of him is mere declamation, without the least regard to those facts which even the historians of his praise have transmitted; and which prove him to have been one of the greatest monsters of cruelty, vanity, and dissimulation, that ever lived.

He demands the  
rights of  
the ancient  
khaliffs.

All *Anatolia* being now subdued, *Tamerlan's* idea of universal empire led him to send a summons, *October* 25, 1402, to the sultan of *Egypt*, demanding the rights of the ancient khaliffs, that money should be coined, and prayers said in his name; and that his minister *Atilmish* should be set at liberty. *Tamerlan*, at the same time, sent other ambassadors to the *Greek* emperor, commanding him to become his tributary; and likewise to *Chelebi*, *Bajazet's* son, demanding his submission: and all those embassies, were attended with threats of invasion, in case his commands were not complied with. As the sultan of *Egypt's* chief reliance had been upon *Bajazet's* support, he immediately agreed to *Tamerlan's* terms, as did the emperor of *Constantinople*, and prince *Chelebi*. *Tamerlan* had now scarce any passion to gratify, but his hatred to the *Christians*. Two fortresses were built upon, or near, the place where the ancient *Smyrna* stood, one of which, was garrisoned by the knights of *Rhodes*. *Bajazet* had often in vain attempted to take it; and *Tamerlan* now laid siege to it, by sea and land, with such numbers, that his soldiers, by throwing stones into the harbour, soon choked it



it up; and the knights had scarce time to betake themselves to their ships, in which they escaped. Notwithstanding this cowardly desertion, the inhabitants made so desperate a defence, that, when they were overpowered, and the place taken, they were put to the sword, and their skulls were erected into a tower. It is commonly said, that *Tamerlan* intended to have restored *Bajazet* to his dominions; and that he even gave him the investiture of *Anatolia*. It is however certain, that *Bajazet* did not live to enjoy the fruits of this generosity; for he died on the twenty-third of *March* 1403, of an apoplexy. *Tamerlan* is said to have bewailed his death with tears; but all relations of that kind, are void of probability; and some authors of great credit say, that he poisoned himself, that he might be relieved from the indignities his barbarous conqueror made him suffer. That *Tamerlan* might intend to restore him to his dominions or part of them, is likely, and agreeable to his own plan of power, if *Bajazet* consented to become his tributary.

Death of  
*Bajazet*.

Nothing can be more to the disadvantage of *Bajazet*, than the comparisons that had been drawn between him and *Tamerlan*; but at the same time nothing can be more chimerical and unjust. For though both of them appear to have been proud and cruel, yet *Tamerlan* does not appear to have possessed a single virtue; while even *Bajazet*'s enemies, allow he had many. He was in particular placable, though subject to fits of passion, while *Tamerlan* was coolly and determinately cruel. Though *Tamerlan* was now at as high a pitch of human greatness, as perhaps any man ever attained to, yet his natural thirst for blood never permitted him to be at rest. After taking *Smyrna*, he furnished the *Mahometans*, who held the other fortresses built in that place, with arms to make war against the *Christians*, and then he took a city call'd *Ulug Burlugh*, where, as usual, he put all the men to the sword, and carried all the women and children into captivity. It was about this time that he lost his grandson *Mehemed* sultan, who died of a fever.

*Tamerlan*'s inhumanities and sword, had rendered great part of his dominions desolate, and the kingdom of *Geta* in particular. A tribe of *Tartars*, under the name of *Turks*, as the *Tartars* generally were termed, after they had left their own country, had been carried by *Hulaku* into *Persia*; where they kept themselves unmixed with any other people, and, in time, declared themselves independent. *Bajazet* had employed them as mercenaries, and they had served him well, under the name of *Kara Tartars*. But this independency, was far from suiting *Tamerlan*'s schemes; and he ordered the plains where they lived to be surrounded by his vast armies. He then sent for their head leaders, and acquainted them, that his intention was, to send them to their original country, that they might repeople the kingdom of *Geta*. Most of them seemed to submit to his will, but the inhabitants

Compari-  
son be-  
tween him  
and *Ta-  
merlan*.

Regula-  
tions of  
the latter.



inhabitants of *Kaisariya* making some resistance, were all of them cut in pieces.

He buries  
his son  
*Mehemed*,

and again  
marches  
against  
*Georgia*;

his pro-  
gress there

*Mehemed* sultan, having been one of the greatest favourites with *Tamerlan* of any of the imperial family; his funeral was celebrated with vast magnificence, and it is remarked, that all the sultaneses, on this occasion, appeared in black at *Tamerlan's* court, which was then held at *Avenik*, or *Van*. Scarcely was this solemn mourning over, when *Tamerlan* resumed his operations against *Georgia*. His old enemy *Gurgin*, the king of that country, had made an occasional peace with him, but had no intention to keep it; nor had he performed the submissions he had promised. *Tamerlan* again marched into that country, and *Issa*, the prince of *Mardin*, made his obeisance to him, upon his knees, and bare headed. This flattered at once *Tamerlan's* vanity, and his avarice, for the prince made him a very rich present; which he returned, by bestowing on him a crown, a belt adorned with jewels, and a royal robe. This example encouraged other princes of the same country to make their submissions likewise; and they were all of them received and rewarded in like manner. But *Gurgin's* submission was *Tamerlan's* main object; he therefore marched directly against that prince. The latter, as usual, endeavoured to appease *Tamerlan* by submission and presents, and offered to throw himself at his feet, as other princes had done. But *Tamerlan* would not suffer him to put himself upon the same footing with those princes. He told him, he had indulged them, because they were *Mahometans*, but that he expected, if *Gurgin* did not turn *Mahometan*, he would pay him the tribute of *Karaj*; and he insisted upon his repairing directly to his court. *Gurgin* was not sincere in his professions, and gained time enough to fortify a pass in his country, which was thought impossible for human force to conquer; it being provided with a strong garrison, great reservoirs of water, with vast quantities of wine, and all provisions; and it went by the name of the fortress of *Kortene*. *Tamerlan's* principal officers thought him infatuated, when he advanced his imperial standard, with a design to attack this place; but he concerted his measures so well, that by the help of his *Merkits*, a kind of *Tartar* mountaineers, he made himself master of it in a short time, and with very little loss; and put the garrison to the sword. This pass, which was *Gurgin's* great dependence, being conquered, the *Tartars* broke like a tempest into *Georgia*, where they gave no quarter to any *Christian*; and converted all the churches and monasteries into places of *Mahometan* worship. In short, this execrable butcher of mankind, who has been so much extolled by *Christian* writers, proceeded with an inhumanity against *Christians*, that shocked even his own barbarians. *Gurgin's* chief crime was, that he had refused to be a slave, but to save his country from utter ruin, he offered all that submission and tribute,

that



that *Tamerlan* had required. He had, it is true, before been insincere in those proffers, if we are to believe *Tamerlan's* historians; but, from several evidences, there is some reason for thinking that they have omitted certain circumstances in *Gurgin's* favour. For when his ambassadors were admitted into *Tamerlan's* presence, many of his emirs and principal officers prostrated themselves at his feet, along with the ambassadors, and seconded them in their petitions. But *Tamerlan* was inexorable, and nothing but a universal massacre of the *Georgian Christians* could appease him. The emirs then had recourse to the powers of their own constitution, and demanded that the matter should be considered in an assembly of the doctors of the law.

Though *Tamerlan* was one of the most absolute, as well as the most powerful princes that ever lived; yet he well knew the extent of human nature. He never had deprived his *Tartars* of the exercise of their constitution established by *Jenghiz Khan*; and upon this occasion, he gave way to a consultation of the doctors, and mustis. Their opinion was, that as the *Georgians* had consented to pay tribute, and to commit no hostilities against the *Mahometans*, that their law prohibited *Tamerlan* from prosecuting them with fire and sword. This report being made in the presence of the emirs, *Tamerlan* confirmed it with a nod to *Ibrahim* the king of *Shirwan*; whom he valued for his integrity, and who was one of the intercessors in favour of the *Georgians*. The ambassadors of *Gurgin*, in token of their master's sincerity, then laid at *Tamerlan's* feet a thousand pieces of large gold coin, struck in his name, some valuable jewels, and rarities; and at the same time presented him with a thousand horses. After this, *Tamerlan* having made great part of *Georgia* almost a desert, marched to *Teflis*, its capital, and gave orders for rebuilding the city of *Balykan*, in that neighbourhood. This was done with vast expedition and strength, and the conqueror at the same time ordered a canal, eighteen miles in length, and fifteen cubits in breadth, to be dug for introducing the water into the new city; so that the whole of this undertaking is considered, as being the most considerable of all *Tamerlan's* civil works. The merit therefore of this *Tartar*, is vastly inferior to that of *Alexander the Great*, whom he surpassed in his conquests, and who settled colonies, and founded cities, that are great and powerful to this day. *Tamerlan*, in other respects, shewed himself a mere barbarian. He was not, like *Jenghiz Khan*, a great legislator, but governed his vast dominions entirely by his own occasional views, and expedients. At last, tired out with the practice of murder and rapine, he began to affect a different character. He held assemblies of learned men in his court, called from all parts of his empire; and he ordered the states of the different provinces, with all the grievances of his subjects, to be laid before him in writing. This done, he sent proper

*Tamer-*  
*lan's*

cruelty  
over-ruled  
by his  
mustis.

His works  
of magni-  
ficence in-  
ferior to  
those of  
*Alexander*  
*the Great.*



proper persons, in the nature of commissioners, or intendants, through his several states, with orders to remedy all abuses, and even to refund out of the public treasure, the sums that had been extorted wrongfully by his officers, and collectors. It was about this time likewise, that in a great meeting of his states, he seemed to shew some remorse for his having endeavoured always to make himself powerful, rather than his subjects happy. He ordered that they should apply personally to himself, for the redress of their grievances, and that they should freely give him their advice, for the good government of his empire. All this he delivered in a speech, which was minuted down by one present, and has been transmitted to posterity. This reformation was not merely confined to words. He ordered his grandson *Abubeker*, to rebuild the city of *Baghdad*, and to exterminate the tyrants who oppressed it. *Karmi*, a celebrated doctor, whom he had intrusted with the government of *Pars*, or *Persia*, properly so called, had, under pretence of raising a present to the emperor, extorted three hundred thousand dinars from the people. This fact coming to *Tamerlan*'s knowledge, and being fully proved, he ordered the doctor to be bound, and to be sent to *Skiras*, with a yoke, as a badge of infamy, about his neck; and the instruments of his rapine to be hanged. *Karmi*, upon his return, performed a kind of a public penance in the mosque, amidst the acclamations of the people, in praise of the emperor's justice; and was then dismissed from all his employments.

Rebellions against him. But when *Tamerlan* began to have some repose, and his subjects to taste the sweets of tranquility, several rebellions broke out. The king of *Lor Kuchek*, a province on the borders of *Bukharia*, of *Tamerlan*'s own erecting, though the boundaries are now unknown, revolted; but he was quickly suppressed and his head cut off. *Eskander*, who had been made governor of *Damawand* and *Firwykub*, likewise broke out into open rebellion, which gave *Tamerlan* some trouble to suppress. He gave the charge of it to *Rustm*, and *Soleman*, two princes of his blood, with charge, if *Eskander* laid down his arms, to accept of his submission, and to continue him in his government. But *Eskander* having fortified himself in *Firwykub*, bade them defiance; and *Tamerlan* was even obliged to march against him in person. The *Kara Tartars*, whom we have already mentioned, revolted about the same time, but were soon suppressed; and *Eskander* being driven by *Tamerlan* out of all his fortresses, perished miserably in the woods. Those revolts and rebellions, becoming now very frequent, *Tamerlan* ordered all his governors of *Syria* and *Persia* to send him, by way of hostages, each, his nearest relation; and he even, when they were dilatory, carried them off by force, to reside at *Samarkand*. All this while, *Tamerlan* enjoyed the sweets of repose, even to a surfeit. His feasts and entertainments were magnificent, and,



and, in imitation of *Jenghiz Khan*, he encouraged hunting his mag- of the wildest beasts: he refined upon that diversion, beyond nificance- any prince perhaps ever heard of. He had not only all in hunt- kinds of *European* dogs, but tygers and leopards, adorned ing. with gold collars, whom he bred up, to run down their own species; and it was capital for any one of his own train, to decline encountering with the fiercest animal, when not employed in hunting and feasting. *Tamerlan* greatly affected the company and conversation of the learned doctors of his empire; to whom he used to make presents of such curio- ties as his country afforded; and he took particular pleasure in hearing them discourse, upon the thorny parts of their law and religion.

But *Tamerlan*, though now old, had been so long accustom- He medi- ed to an active life, that peace became insipid to him, and tates the nothing could satisfy him, but the conquest of *China*; which conquest of *China*. was to render him superior to the great *Jenghiz Khan*. With this intention he marched from *Karabagh*, on the eighth of *April* 1403; but previous to the execution of his undertak- ing, he made the mirza *Omar*, his grandson, and son to his son *Miran*, king of all the countries, that had been possessed by *Hulaku*. This was done in a formal manner, and at a great feast. But the domestic state of *Tamerlan's* vast domi- nions, did not suffer him to proceed in the *Chinese* expedition. He seems to have been destitute of the sagacity of *Jenghiz Khan*, in the choice he made of his officers and governors; for he was obliged to hang many of them for oppression, injustice, and rebellion, at the time he proposed to march towards *China*. All of a sudden he returned to *Samarkand*, where he seemed to lay aside all thoughts of future con- quest, that he might enjoy those he had made. Ambas- sadors from all the known parts of the world, now appeared before him; and amongst others, one from *Henry III.* king of *Castile*, his name was *Ruy Gonzales de Claviso*, and he present- ed *Tamerlan* with some *European* tapestry, of such exquisite workmanship, that it outdid all the manufactures of *Asia*. As to the particular subject of this embassy, we are in the dark. All we know is, that, during the ambassador's resi- dence, *Tamerlan* lived in a magnificence, almost unknown even to eastern potentates. He ordered a palace to be erect- ed, vastly more capacious and sumptuous, than any he had lan's fine built before; for it was a square of fifteen hundred cubits, palace. and no cost or materials, that *Asia* could produce, in marbles, or other decorations, was spared upon it. But *Tamerlan*, though he had suspended, had not laid aside, the thoughts of the conquest of *China*. All his care now was, to leave the government of his empire upon such a footing as that no revolutions could happen during his absence. With this view, he opened a jubilee of a very extraordinary kind; magnificent beyond expression, but at the same time, bar- barous.

For



Embassies  
to him  
from *Eu-  
rope*.

His ju-  
bilee.

and mar-  
riages of  
his de-  
scendants.  
Cereмо-  
nies.

Remark-  
able pro-  
clamation.

But *Tamerlan* was now exalted to such a pitch of greatness as to be considered as master of the world : and though he had conquered no part of *Europe*, yet the *European* ambassadors, who resided in his court, were considered as delivering to him homage and tribute, from their sovereigns. *Tamerlan's* historians only mention them in that sense and call them the pismires of grandeur ; as if he had honoured them beyond expression, in inviting them to be witnesses of his greatness. The opening of his palace was the prelude to what followed ; and *Tamerlan* a second time, celebrated the matrimony of all who had descended from him ; and that too in one day. To do this with the greater magnificence, he ordered all his governors, and great officers of state, to repair to *Samarkand* ; and the jubilee he held, was celebrated upon the plain of *Kani Guel*, which signifies the mine of flowers. Nothing that a wild, and barbarous invention could devise, was wanting to embellish it. The plain was covered with tents, that formed a moving city, furnished with every luxury of life. The whole however, seems to have been void of elegance. Butchers were dressed up in the skins of those animals they had slaughtered. Women were disguised like goats, and in short no species of the brutal kind was wanting in masquerade. Even the aerial creation was imitated ; and men, and women, went about dressed like angels, fairies, and hobgoblins. Artificial gardens, producing all the fruits of the field, were raised behind the tents ; and pageants were made by the manufacturers and traders in their several ways. All this was a prelude to the marriages of six princes, his grandsons ; which were celebrated after the *Mahometan* ritual. The rejoicings upon this occasion, after the ceremony was over, were answerable to the grandeur of *Tamerlan*.

His emirs, his clergy, and all the great lords, appeared at an awful distance before the imperial throne ; and every one present, after the manner of the *Moguls*, showers heaps of precious stones, jewels, and gold upon the new married princes, and their brides. The whole plain, immense as it was, was one continued scene of eating and drinking, from which none were prohibited ; and the provisions were the most exquisite that luxury could procure, from the most delicious parts of the globe. In short, we are told by the historians of the time, that whole forests were cut down, to furnish wood for dressing the victuals. To crown the whole festivity, *Tamerlan* issued a solemn proclamation, by which he ordered, an equality of conditions to be observed while the feast lasted, and an uncontrouled liberty of rejoicing ; all complainings, and reprehensions of one towards another, of the rich towards the poor, of the strong towards the weak, were expressly forbidden. To conclude, no man was to say to another, what dost thou ? The magnificent dresses and equipages of the emperor, and the new married princes, consisting



consisting of elephants, with dazzling stones upon their backs, camels, horses, and mules, adorned with the most costly trappings and embroideries, and carrying golden bells with a most immense display, of all kind of rich moveables to crown the pomp. Those rejoicings were observed in all other parts of *Tamerlan's* vast empire, as well as at *Khani Guel*.

All this magnificence and rejoicing, which was infinitely beyond what we can describe, had a political end. It lasted two months, and *Tamerlan*, by his vast indulgences during that time, disposed his subjects, the great as well as the vulgar, to enter into his favourite view, which was the conquest of *China*. On this occasion, he shewed himself to be the most barbarous and detestable of all hypocrites. In an assembly of his great men, he pretended, that it was a matter of conscience with him, to atone for the blood that had been shed during his wars, by carrying his arms into *China*, which was then inhabited by idolaters, whom he was resolved to exterminate, and to convert their temples into mosques. This execrable speech was heard with vast applause by the gorgeous barbarians; and the sultan of *Egypt*, having afresh made his submission, and promised *Tamerlan* satisfaction in every point, was dismissed, with peculiar marks of honour, particularly a letter written in letters of gold, three cubits in breadth, and seventy in length; such ridiculous ideas had those *Tartars* of magnificence. Other ambassadors, for he had them from all parts of the known world, received proofs of *Tamerlan's* bounty at the same time. We are told particularly, that he made rich presents to the ambassador of *Spain*; but that minister, probably from motives of interest, makes no mention of them. After this, *Tamerlan* put the affairs of his government into the hands he could best trust, during his absence; and he ordered the troops for his *Chinese* expedition, to be reviewed in the plains of *Tashkunt*, by the emir *Barendak*, who found them to amount to two hundred thousand men, all of them in excellent condition; an army which *Tamerlan* probably thought, was more than sufficient for the conquest of *China*.

Nothing but the infatuation of ambition, could have prompted *Tamerlan* to undertake such an expedition, at his advanced time of life; and after the immense fatigues he had undergone. It is said that his army exceeded all that ever had been known; but this must be understood of their military discipline, the compleatness of their arms and appointments, and the excellent dispositions *Tamerlan* had made for subsisting them: we are particularly told, that he ordered the countries through which he was to pass, to be sowed with grain, for the use of his troops upon their return. But he now approached his last hour; he still retained, or affected to retain, his regard for astrology, and the happy hour of



in a bitter  
season.

of his departure being fixed, he set out upon his expedition upon the eighth of *January* 1405, whi'e the season was remarkably bitter, and the roads almost impassable, by the rain and snow that fell. Those considerations were no bars to *Tamerlan*. Though the frost and cold daily killed and disabled vast numbers of his soldiers, yet he crossed the *Sihun*; and on the twenty-fifth of *February* he reached *Otrar*. Nature could no longer support such fatigues; he had, before he left *Samarkand*, been in a declining state of health, but he endeavoured to conceal it. Being arrived at *Otrar*, which was once the capital of *Turkestan*, but now a petty town, in the extremity of the province of *Samarkand*; he gave audience to an ambassador of his old enemy *Toktamish*, who threw himself upon his mercy, and *Tamerlan* was absurd enough to promise, that upon his return from his *Chinese* expedition, he would employ his arms, in fixing him once more on the throne of *Kipjak*. After this, he was seized with a fever, and seems to have been sometimes delirious; for he often cried out, that he heard houries exhorting him to repentance, because he was to appear before God.

Death of  
*Tamerlan*.

He spent the last hours of his life, as other illustrious destroyers of mankind, in repenting of his crimes, and in forming resolutions of amendment. But finding he was past hopes of recovery, he declared his son *Mehemed* his heir and successor, and obliged all his ministers and general officers present, to swear that they would see his will performed. A like oath was administered to all the great lords who could not be present; and at the same time, he exhorted all about him, to relieve and cherish his people. As *Tamerlan* commonly marched with his empress, and the ladies of the seraglio, in his train, he sent for them and took leave of them. Some of his chief lords, foreseeing what afterwards happened, begged him to send to *Tashkunt*, for the other princes of his blood, that they might be instructed in his will from his own mouth. But *Tamerlan* would not suffer them to leave their posts; and in his last moments, he shewed an anxiety about his army; till on the first of *April*, 1405, he gave up the ghost, declaring he believed only in one God, and listening to the reading of the koran; after living seventy-one years, of which he reigned grand khan, or emperor, for thirty-six.

His character.

We have had so many opportunities of making observations, upon the character and conduct of this mighty conqueror, that we shall be the more sparing of them here. In valour and generalship, as well as in good fortune, he had no equal in his age; nor could we credit the instances we have of his courage, perseverance, and patience under the most trying difficulties, were it not that they come from unquestionable authority. At the same time, it appears from the same authority, that there was not a species of barbarity, and injustice, that can enter into the composition of mankind,



kind, but what he was guilty of. In the few instances, that we have of his generosity, he seems to have proceeded upon political views; and they are of very little importance. The most illustrious is, his not putting *Bajazet* to death; but we have already considered that passage, and perhaps it was much more to his interest, that he should live his prisoner by way of pledge. In many incidents of *Tamerlan's* life, he seems to have had some tincture of vanity; but we are to reflect, that the keeping up magnificent appearances, was as necessary to him, as any other part of policy.

Hypocrisy was, perhaps, another of *Tamerlan's* civil accomplishments; though, upon most occasions, he acted as an enthusiast for the *Mahometan* religion, and certainly died in that faith. But appearances were necessary for his conquests, and his zeal for *Mahometanism*, furnished him always with an argument, when he could find no others, for bloodshed and rapine. It is however, with difficulty we can conceive, that he was sincere in his belief of judicial astrology, and the other superstitions he practised; but even these were necessary for inspiring his barbarians with that confidence which generally carries conquest along with it.

*Tamerlan* seems to have proposed *Jenghiz Khan* as his model; but he had all *Jenghiz Khan's* vices, without one of his virtues; unless we allow unbounded magnificence, and family affections to be such. *Tamerlan*, like *Jenghiz Khan*, did acts of justice; and even the princes of his own family often felt his severity. But all those acts were necessary to the maintainance of his own authority and interest. Both *Jenghiz Khan* and *Tamerlan* were well served by their children; but *Jenghiz Khan* made a better choice of his other generals and governors. In that respect, *Tamerlan* was often unfortunate, as well as in the too hasty settlements, he made of his conquests; though both might be owing to the perpetual hurry in which he was obliged to live.

*Tamerlan*, like *Jenghiz Khan*, was in his person the strongest, and the most compleat soldier in his dominions; and knew the use of weapons the best. Both of them affected vast magnificence, and to speak in public; and were esteemed compleat orators. Nothing is more astonishing, than that *Tamerlan*, though lame of one side, should undergo the immense fatigues, and perform, as he did, such prodigious acts of personal valour. His person is said to have been tall, and corpulent. His beard, according to the best representations, was thick: he was very fair in his complexion, and all his limbs were formed with the greatest strength; and at the same time his appearance was becoming and majestic.

*Tamerlan*, though, as we have already seen, a deep dissimular, was so remarkable for his affectation of plainness and sincerity, that he chose these two words for the inscription upon his seal: and was displeased, when any about him in-

His great  
hypocrisy.

Inferior to  
*Jenghiz Khan*.

Descrip-  
tion of his  
person.

His affect-  
ation of  
plainness.



his secre-  
cy, cele-  
rity, and  
inquisi-  
tiveness.

His build-  
ings and  
public  
works.

dulged themselves in the most harmless jokes, or raillery. He carried this decency to the prohibiting all gross language in his presence; nor would he suffer his courtiers to mention those inhumanities of murder and rapine, of which he himself was so often guilty. He was so well served by his spies, and his memory was so tenacious, that he often mentioned things to strangers, that they thought he could only know but by inspiration. Add to this, he was excessively inquisitive, even about the smallest matters. Secrecy and celerity were in him very remarkable; for after hearing the opinions of all his general officers, and even after giving orders to follow it, he generally executed his own; and he had such an opinion of his troops, that he omitted no stratagem, when his enemies declined an engagement, to give them a despicable opinion of his army; for he thought that when they could fight, they must conquer.

Though historians have greatly extolled his memory, for the magnificent edifices he raised; yet they generally consisted of detached fortresses, bridges, mosques, and the like buildings; for we know not of any great commercial city he founded, or that he was very studious in polishing the minds and manners of his subjects. It is true, we sometimes meet with his repairing the ravages of cities, which he or his army had committed: nor did he give his favourite residence *Samarkand*, all the advantages it might have enjoyed by its nature and situation. It is much more for his honour to mention, that he caused to be erected in his dominions, many edifices for the entertainment and relief of the poor, and travellers. It was none of *Tamerlan's* least advantages, that he had the art to make his conquests pass as so many marks of the peculiar care of providence towards him; and he often mentioned, that God had raised him from being a poor prince, to be the greatest monarch on the face of the earth.

*Tamer-*  
*lan's* de  
scendants.

*Tamerlan* left behind him thirty-six male descendants, and seventeen female. His own sons were only four, (viz.) the mirza *Jehan Ghir*, who died in his father's life time, and was father to *Mehemed*, whom *Tamerlan* had made his successor. The mirza *Omar Sheykh*, was his second son, who died in his father's life time. The mirza *Miran Shah*, was his third son; and his fourth and best beloved, was *Shah Rukh*. All those princes had sons and daughters, at the time of *Tamerlan's* death.



*History of Tamerlan's successors, from his death, in the year 1405, to the year 1530.*

THE death of *Tamerlan*, whose body was interred at Disorders *Samarkand*, did not put an end to the *Chinese* expedi- upon *Ta-* tion, the conduct of which was committed to *Kalil Sultan*, merlan's *Tamerlan's* grandson by *Miran*. The proceedings of *Tamer-* death. *lan's* family, however, and his great officers, on this occasion, are not easily accounted for. The same disorders happened upon *Tamerlan's* death, as had fallen out under *Jenghiz Khan's* successors. The constitutions of *Tartary* did not admit of *Tamerlan's* will taking place, in favour of *Mehemed*, before a diet of the states was held. This interval gave room for intrigues and rebellions. *Hussayu*, the same prince who had so unaccountably deserted at *Damascus*, endeavoured to make himself master of *Samarkand*; but was prevented by a party formed in favour of *Kalil Sultan*, who declared him emperor, and swore obedience to him at *Tashkunt*, where he had an army. This usurpation, however, was discountenanced by the empresses and a great body of the emirs; and *Kalil Sultan*, with his party, consented to submit to *Mehemed*.

Notwithstanding this, the governor of *Samarkand* refused to give up that city to *Mehemed*, until the latter was recognized by the diet of the states. This gave *Kalil* and his friends an opportunity of retracting the solemn submission they had made to *Mehemed*; and, by distributing a great number of horses, money, and furniture, *Kalil* strengthened his interest so, that he became master of *Samarkand*, then the richest place in the world. Entering that imperial city, he *Kalil* seated himself in *Tamerlan's* throne, and received the submis- *Sultan* sion of all the great men. It was the more easy for him to mounts carry on his schemes, as he pretended to act only in *Mehe-* his throne. *med's* name until the diet of the empire could be convened.

But *Kalil* had not the good fortune to preserve that vast empire which he had obtained by his liberality. He had, during *Tamerlan's* life-time, fallen in love with a lady, whose name was *Shadi Mulk*, and had actually married her. She was of low extraction, and the concubine of a court-lord; for which reason, *Tamerlan* had often prohibited, under severe penalties, their cohabiting together. But the commerce between them still continuing, *Tamerlan* had ordered her to be put to death; and she was saved only by the intercession of his favourite empress, who alledged that she was then with child.

When *Kalil* came to the throne, he resumed his passion for His weak- *Shadi*, who governed him so entirely, that he shewed but lit- nefs for the regard to the affairs of government, and disoblged his *Shadi* great emirs. The empresses, and ladies of the seraglio, at *Mulk*.



Rebellion  
against  
*Kalil*.

the same time, being very rich and powerful, formed intrigues against him on account of *Shadi*'s haughtiness, and of his not paying a proper regard to their high quality. Those intrigues brought on scenes of rebellion all over the empire. *Kodadad*, one of the most powerful of the *Tartar* princes, revolted, and was joined by *Nuroddin*, who had been the great favourite of *Tamerlan*. On the other hand, *Shak Rhuk* held the government of *Herat* and *Korassan*, and was joined by a great many who wished to see him emperor; while *Allahdad*, another great governor, on the frontiers of *Geta*, being suspected by *Kalil*, joined *Kodadad*. Such a diversity of interests, while all the agents were actuated by ambition and insincerity, for some time, saved *Kalil*. *Allahdad* betrayed *Kodadad*, and was made first minister by *Kalil*. The ravages of the rebels, however, still continued; and the *Moguls*, who hated *Tamerlan*'s government, forced *Kodadad* to deliver up the places that *Tamerlan* had taken from them. In short, all *Bukharia*, and the neighbouring kingdoms, were filled with blood and confusion.

*Mehemed*  
raises  
troops,  
and pub-  
lishes his  
claim,  
which is  
answered  
by *Kalil*.

In the mean time, *Mehemed* resided at *Kandahar*, and no regard was paid to his pretensions. Having, however, a great party to back him, he raised troops, and published a manifesto, charging *Kalil Sultan*, who now had left off paying him any regard as *Tamerlan*'s heir, with rebellion and usurpation. *Kalil* sent a formal answer to this charge, maintaining, that he held his empire, as *Tamerlan* had held it before, by his sword; and, that both his father *Miran*, and his uncle *Shak Rhuk*, being nearer in blood to *Tamerlan*, if proximity of blood gave any right, ought to be preferred to *Mehemed*. He observed farther, that he was willing to be directed by his father and uncle, and to leave *Mehemed* in possession of his government of *Kandahar*.

Reflection

In reviewing those transactions, there appears somewhat extremely absurd in *Tamerlan*'s disposition upon his death-bed. For, as *Kalil* observed, *Tamerlan* had made a partition of his dominions, to his sons and grandsons, in his own life-time; and they were actually in sovereign possession of them at the time of his death, though he constituted *Mehemed* his heir and successor, as being the son of his eldest son. It is likewise very unaccountable that *Kalil* should be declared sovereign emperor, while his father, *Miran*, was alive, and then under no incapacity, that we know of, for government. Whatever might be the cause, it is certain that those paper skirmishes were backed by strong armies raised on all sides. *Kalil Sultan* trusted the command of his to *Hussayu*, to whom he had been reconciled; but who betrayed him, and set up for a part of *Tamerlan*'s succession, to which he thought himself intitled. *Hussayu*, in his turn, was betrayed by *Allahdad*, and the generals whom he trusted; all of them went over to *Kalil*; so that *Hussayu* was obliged to fly to his uncle *Shak Ruk*, in *Korassan*, where he soon after died.

*Kalil*,



*Kalil*, who seems to have wanted neither address nor courage, having thus regained his superiority, gave battle to *Mehemed*, who was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Kandahar*. He made a second attempt, in which his soldiers abandoned him; and, at last, being shut up in a fortress, he came to a compromise with his competitor; and each solemnly swore not to disturb the other's dominions. Upon *Mehemed's* return to *Kandahar*, his vizir rebelled against him, but could not form a party, amongst the great men, strong enough to support his pretensions. He was, therefore, obliged to fly to *Herat*, where he was put to death by *Shak Rhuk*; who, without any opposition, made himself master of the province of *Shandahab*.

Numberless were the rebellions that broke out, after this, in those dominions, that had been subject to *Tamerlan*. The *Moguls*, the *Kare Tartars*, the *Kipjaks*, and millions of other barbarians, were, all at once, in arms; all of them headed by princes, and rebels pretending to independent power; while *Kodadad* and *Nuroddin* quarreling, the latter was received into *Kalil's* protection, and rewarded with the honour of marrying one of *Tamerlan's* wives; and *Kalil* remained, for some time, victorious. He made the best use of the respite which success gave him; for he ordered *Allahdad* to rebuild the city of *Termed*, which had been ruined under *Jenghiz Khan*; this was done and the city fortified in a most surprizing short time; historians say in fifteen days. We mention this, that the reader may have some idea of the strength of the places in those countries; for *New Termed*, as it was called, was a very large city; and its walls were rebuilt to such a height, as not to be scaled. The houses were likewise rendered habitable. As, therefore, we cannot suppose that those barbarians had any supernatural means of constructing fortifications, those of *Termed*, as well as the houses, must have been extremely slight.

*Shak Rhuk* continued, all this time, in peaceable possession of *Korassan*; but was making preparations for becoming master of *Kalil's* dominions. Hearing that *Kalil* had re-built, and re-fortified, *Termed*, he gave orders for doing the same with a castle, standing on his dominions, opposite to that city. After that, the mirza *Omar*, another of *Tamerlan's* grandsons, and the sovereign of *Persia*, was defeated by a rebel of his own blood; whom *Shak Rhuk*, in his turn, defeated and put to death. But *Omar* and *Shak Rhuk*, afterwards quarreling, the former was killed, and the latter became sovereign of *Persia*. This acquisition of territory rendered *Shak Rhuk* an over-match for *Kalil*. But the failings of the latter, gave *Shak Rhuk* still greater advantages. He now owned *Shadi* as his first wife; and she raised a worthless deformed domestic to such power, that he lorded it over *Allahdad* and *Argun Shah*, the two greatest lords about court.



*Kodadad*  
rebels,

History can scarce furnish a more compleat set of villains and traitors than those who served *Kalil* in high posts. Those two lords, instead of retiring from court, or boldly maintaining their ground against a worthless favourite, invited *Kodadad* to march from *Turkestan* towards *Samarkand*, which they promised to put into his hands. *Kodadad* was easily persuaded; and, while upon his march, *Kalil*, though himself a great and a fortunate general, gave the command of the army, who was to oppose *Kodadad*, to *Allahdad* and *Argun*. They accordingly marched to some distance from *Samarkand*, but persuaded *Kalil* to come and take the command of his troops; and, in the mean time, gave *Kodadad* such exact intelligence of the route that prince was to take, that he was intercepted by a strong detachment of the rebels; and, after a valiant resistance, made prisoner, and carried to *Kodadad*. This traitor dissembled so exquisitely, that he outwitted *Kalil*'s two generals, whom he was unwilling should come in for a share of his good fortune: for, by the force of protestations, he persuaded *Kalil* to order *Allahdad*, and the army under him, to surrender without terms; and then *Kodadad* continued his march towards *Samarkand*, which he took possession of, and acted, in every respect, as the sovereign of the empire: keeping *Allahdad*, *Argun*, and *Baba*, the worthless favourite of *Shadi*, in close confinement.

takes *Sa*.  
*markand*,

but flies.

*Shak Rhuk*, who was now extremely powerful, laid hold of this opportunity to make himself master of *Bukharia* and its capital. He raised a great army, and sent his chief general, *Malec*, against *Kodadad*. That traitor seems to have had no settled plan of power, or, if he had, he was disappointed by the affection which the people expressed for the family of *Tamerlan*. *Samarkand* was now no longer, as it was under *Tamerlan*, the capital of the greatest empire in the world; and, therefore, was no longer able to give employment and support to the prodigious number of strangers who flocked to it from all quarters; and who, before this revolution happened, had retired to their respective countries: so that none but the old inhabitants, who were attached to *Tamerlan*'s army, were left behind. *Kodadad*, therefore, perceiving he could not be supported in his usurpation, after plundering the imperial palaces, and the houses of the chief inhabitants, upon the first accounts he received of *Malec*'s motions, marched hastily out of *Samarkand*, taking with him his prisoner *Kalil*. He directed his march to *Andekan*, where he renewed his protestations of duty to *Kalil*. His design was to obtain that prince's commission for raising an army amongst the *Moguls* and the other *Tartars*, who were the best affectioned towards *Kalil*. But, when he came amongst them for that purpose, and made overtures for putting them in possession of *Kalil*'s dominions, they cut off his head.



In the mean while, a perfect anarchy prevailed at *Samarkand*. One *Abdolwal*, a celebrated doctor of law, was there takes possession of the demagogue of the people; and continuing so, he disposed of every thing, declaring openly for *Shak Rhuk*, who soon *Samarkand* after arrived at *Samarkand*. By his orders, *Allahdad*, and his accomplices, were put to death; and *Baba*, to avoid the most exquisite torments, found means to drown himself. As to the unhappy *Shadi*, she was equally enamoured with *Kalil* as he was with her; and suffered, on this occasion, the most cruel indignities and even tortures, till *Shak Rhuk* put an end to her sufferings, and ordered her life to be spared. After this, he had no farther trouble in taking possession of his new empire. *Kalil* amused himself in making the most tender verses upon his *Shadi*; and, at last, came to a resolution to surrender himself, with the few troops he had left, into *Shak Rhuk*'s hands; which he accordingly did. The conqueror had his reasons for receiving him into his protection, and even restoring his *Shadi* to his embraces. But, when he left *Samarkand*, he took both of them along with him, and gave *Kalil*, by way of compensation for what he had lost, the sovereignty of several provinces in *Persia*. But he soon after procured him to be poisoned; and *Shadi*, unable to survive him, stabbed herself. Both of them were buried at *Ray* in one tomb.

It is plain that *Kalil* had naturally great talents, both for war and government, had his passion, or rather dotage, for *Shadi*, suffered him to make use of them. He was extremely handsome, liberal, and brave; and, by his exterior virtues, he acquired himself a party that supported him against all the striking defects of his title.

In this place it may be proper to observe, that *Tamerlan*, when he conquered only part of a country, or, perhaps, received a hasty submission, declared himself sovereign of the whole, and assigned it governors out of his own family accordingly. He had two enemies; *Ahmed*, the sultan of *Baghdad*; and *Kara Yusef*, the prince of *Arabia*; whom he never had been able to subdue, though he had made his utmost efforts for that purpose. Upon *Tamerlan*'s death, *Ahmed* recovered the sovereignty of *Baghdad*, and got possession of *Tauris*; while *Kara Yusef* made himself master of the *Arabian Irak* and *Mesopotamia*; and, entering *Azerbejan*, he defeated *Miran*, *Tamerlan*'s son, and the father of *Kalil*; and drove *Abubeker*, the other son, into *Sejestan*; where he soon after died or was killed.

After this, *Kara Yusef* defeated and killed *Ahmed*, who had quarrelled with him; and remained master of *Tauris*, *Sherwan*, *Georgia*, and *Azerbejan*. At last, his great progress alarmed *Shak Rhuk*, who had left the sovereignty of *Samarkand* to his son *Ulug Bek*; and he prepared to attack *Kara Yusef*, who died about this time, though it is uncertain in what manner, *Shak Rhuk* continued the war with *Yusef*'s son



**Death of** *Eskander*, with various success; but *Eskander* was, at last, defeated. *Shak Rhuk*, after this, applied himself to the works of peace; and, leaving some noble monuments of his greatness, he died, in 1446, in the seventy-first year of his age and the fortieth of his reign.

Such are the materials we have of those powerful successors to the great *Tamerlan*, that can be depended on; for we have not ventured to insert all that has been said of them, because no two historians agree in the facts, or even in the names of places and persons. We cannot, however, help mentioning the remarkable manner in which *Shak Rhuk* got his name. *Tamerlan*, when he received the news of his birth, was playing at chess, and had made that movement, by which the piece called the rhuk, or tower, gives check to the shak, or king; and the forms of the game requiring he should then pronounce the words *shak rhuk*, he gave them for his son's name. *Shak Rhuk* had several sons; but none of them, excepting *Ulug*, his eldest son, survived him. His other sons were *Abul Tetah*, *Ibrahim*, *Bayfankar*, *Sayergatmish*, and *Mohammed Fuki*.

**His issue.**

**History of**  
***Ibrahim*.**

*Ibrahim* deserved well of learning. He was, during his father's life-time, governor of *Pars*, or *Proper Persia*, and reigned in *Syria*, where he built a college for learned men, which, for its beauty and endowments, was called *the mansion of delight*. It was by his command, the mulla *Shafroddin Ali*, a *Persian* by birth, compiled his excellent, well-supported history of *Tamerlan*; and he was furnished by *Ibrahim*, who obtained them from other princes of his house, with the authorities, and original papers, from which he drew it up; and even with the original journals and extracts composed by *Tamerlan*'s own order and in his presence. Upon the death of that conqueror, his sons and descendants, who shared amongst them his dominions, had no leisure for encouraging works of learning; and, indeed, many of them had no inclination; for almost all their dominions relapsed into that barbarity and ignorance from which they had been raised by *Jenghiz Khan* and *Tamerlan*, the latter of whom was a professed patron and protector of the learned in all nations. *Ibrahim* left likewise behind him some pieces of poetry of his own composing.

***Alladaw-***  
***let* usurps.**

Though *Ulug* had governed, for forty years, that part of *Tamerlan*'s empire which lay to the north of the river *Amu*, or *Jehun*, and was intitled to the whole of the succession of his father, yet, upon *Shak Rhuk*'s death, *Alladawlet*, the eldest son of *Basankar*, took possession of *Korassan*, that important country lying between *Great Bukharia* and *Persia*, of which it is properly a province. His brother *Mohammed* remained governor, or rather sovereign, of *Pars*; as the third brother, *Abel Kassim*, did of *Forjan* and *Mazunderan*; those beautiful countries bordering on the *Caspian Sea*. *Alladawlet* pretended, at first, that he had seized *Herat*, the then capital

**His pre-**  
**tence.**



of *Korassan* only to preserve it for his uncle *Ulug*; but he made himself master of the person of *Abdollatif*, *Ulug*'s eldest son. This brought on a treaty, by which the young prince was restored to his father, and *Alladawlet* remained governor of *Korassan*. *Ulug* however not thinking himself bound by this treaty, drove *Alladawlet* out of *Korassan* into *Mazandaran*, where he joined his brother *Abul Kassem*, called by others *Baba*; while they raised a great army, which was defeated likewise by *Ulug*; and they were obliged to fly to their brother *Mohammed*, the sovereign of *Pars*. Upon *Ulug*'s return to *Herat*, he found the inhabitants of the suburbs of that city in arms; but he soon reduced them, gave the plunder of the suburbs to his soldiers, and returned to *Samarkand*.

His severity in plundering the suburbs of *Herat*, was attended with very bad consequences to him; for, during his absence at *Samarkand*, *Baba* recovered *Astrabad*; and the inhabitants of *Herat*, likewise, opened their gates to him. We are not sufficiently instructed as to the particulars of the great misfortunes which soon after befel *Ulug*; they were probably owing to that unnatural, barbarous spirit which, after *Tamerlan*'s death, took possession of his descendants. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Abdollatif* rebelled against his father, defeated him, took him prisoner, and, after a slight trial, formally put him to death. After this, the monster put his brother to death likewise; but his crimes growing too detestable to be longer endured, even by barbarians, his own soldiers shot him dead with their arrows. We must not here forget that *Ulug* was an excellent astronomer; and, that the justly famous tables which bear his name, were composed under his inspection, by the two best astronomers of that age; and were afterwards published in *England* with a *Latin* translation.

*Mohammed*, the son of *Basankar*, whom we have already mentioned, had, by this time, dispossessed *Abdollah*, who had succeeded his father *Ibrahim* in his sovereignty, or government; and *Abdollah* had been kindly received by *Ulug*, who even gave him his daughter in marriage; and he remained at *Samarkand*, till the death of *Abdollatif*, when he mounted the throne. But, in a few months, he found a very formidable competitor in his cousin *Abusaid*, the son of *Mohammed*. This prince had given strong marks of his ambition during the life-time of *Ulug*; but he had been taken prisoner by *Abdollatif*. Making his escape, he laid claim to the throne of *Samarkand*, and advanced against that capital; but was, in the year 1450, met and defeated by *Abdollah*, and obliged to fly into *Turkestan*. Here he met with a powerful supporter, in the person of *Uzbek*, the khan of *Kipjak*, who lent him an army, at the head of which he defeated and slew *Abdollah*, and became master of *Great Bukharia*, and the other provinces that had belonged to *Ulug* on the north of the *Amu*.

The



The *Kipjaks* return home. The *Kipjaks*, who had fought for *Abusaid*, had done it only in hopes of being able to plunder *Samarkand*: but *Abusaid*, perceiving their intention, entered the city in disguise; and, making the inhabitants sensible of their danger, he defeated their design, so that they thought proper to return home. *Abusaid* being thus settled on the throne of *Samarkand*, made preparations for conquering all *Korassan* and *Persia*, then held by *Mahmud*, the son of *Baba*. But arriving at *Herat*, *Abmed*, the governor of that city, retired into the citadel, and baffled all *Abusaid*'s attempts to take it. This exasperated *Abusaid* so much, that he put to death his own mother to ther, upon a false accusation of her having held a correspondence with his enemies. Soon after, *Abusaid* lost the strong fortress of *Nirettu*; and understanding that *Abdollatif*'s sons were preparing to make good their claims to their father's succession, in the neighbourhood of *Balk*, he marched thither and defeated them; the eldest being killed, while the youngest, *Jughi*, fled. After this, the *Turkmans*, under the command of *Jehan*, the son of *Kara Yusef*, committed great ravages in *Abusaid*'s dominions; but, after various skirmishes, the *Turkman* proposed a peace; by which he was left in possession of *Azerbejan*, and other provinces in *Irak* and *Ko-Turkmans. rassan*.

*Abusaid* then applied himself to make commerce flourish in his dominions, and particularly in *Herat*, which was now in his possession. For this purpose, he sent to his respective countries the best part of his troops. This gave the neighbouring princes, who were all of them his cousins, encouragement to invade his territories: but he bravely encountered and defeated them, and put one of them, who fell into his hands, to death. In 1459, he defeated *Hussayyu*, the sultan of *Massanderan*, and made himself master of its capital; where he was recognized as sultan, but he gave the government of it to *Mahmud*. He next reduced *Kalil*, the sultan of *Sejestan*, who had made an attempt upon *Herat*, to ask his pardon; and he made peace with *Jughi*, the son of *Abdollatif*, who claimed his father's inheritance. But, about this time, *Hussayyu* regained possession of *Massanderan*, after defeating prince *Mahmud*; and, invading *Korassan*, he laid siege to *Herat*: but, upon *Abusaid*'s advancing to relieve it, he retreated to *Astarabad*. Hither *Abusaid* pursued him, and a second time conquered *Mazanderan*, and again appointed his son *Mahmud* its governor.

His next war was with *Jughi*, who had become too formidable, and had fortified the city of *Sharukiya* so strongly, that it held out a whole year's siege against *Abusaid*. He obliged *Jughi*, however, to surrender himself and the place at discretion; and he kept him prisoner all his life. In the year 1463, his generals were defeated by *Hussayyu*, who had again invaded *Korassan*; but *Hussayyu*'s troops deserting from him,



him, gave *Abusaid* some respite. His next expedition was He against *Hassan Beg*; and it was undertaken after consulting marche; with *Nosroddin*, who was accounted the ablest politician of against that age. *Hassan Beg*, again and again, applied, by his am- *Hassan* bassadors, for peace; but it was refused by *Abusaid*, who de- *Beg*, manded *Hassan Beg* should deliver himself up into his hands, and, at the same time, penetrated so far into his dominions, that he gave *Hassan Beg* an opportunity, first to cut off his provisions, then his troops, and, lastly, to make himself prisoner. After some debate in *Hassan Beg*'s council, it was who puts judged improper he should live; and he was therefore put to him to death, in the forty-second year of his age, and the twentieth death. of his reign. As he was a very powerful prince, the ruin of *Tamerlan*'s empire, in a lineal succession, is dated from him.

We have given the reader an extract of this prince's history, as a kind of a specimen of what he must expect, were we to give the like of the reigns of his successors. When he reads the above, he reads the whole: a confused chaos, consisting of nothing but depredations, invasions, deaths, and defeats. *Abusaid* left eleven sons: the eldest, *Ahmed*, reigned in *Great Bukharia*, and was succeeded by his eldest son, *Masjud*, whose brothers rebelled against him.

This brings our history to the year 1499, when the *Usbeg History of Tartars* invaded the kingdom of *Great Bukharia*, drove *Baba, Baba.* the reigning descendant from *Tamerlan*, from thence; he then fled into *Gazna*, and from thence to *Indostan*, where he reigned till the year 1530.

The above comprehends all that is material of the history of *Tamerlan*'s successors in *Bukharia*, *Syria*, *Korassan*, *Persia*, and the neighbouring countries. We are now to pursue the history of such of his successors who are commonly called the *Great Moguls of India*.

### *History of the Great Moguls, from the year 1525 to the present time.*

**L**EARNING in *India*, at this period, was at so low an Uncer-  
 ebb, that it is uncertain, whether *Baba*, when he was tainty of  
 driven out of *Great Bukharia*, was received in *Gazna* and *In-* history at  
*doftan* as a lawful prince or as a conqueror. It is certain, this time.  
 that the sovereigns of *Great Bukharia*, being esteemed the  
 eldest branches of *Tamerlan*'s family, and the princes to whom  
 all the rest of his blood owed a kind of homage, they took  
 upon them all *Tamerlan*'s titles, and, particularly, that of  
 emperor of the *Indies*. It is most probable, that the *Indian*  
 princes acknowledged a superiority over them to be vested in  
 the



His con-  
quests in  
*India*.

the *Bukharian* emperors ; and, perhaps, paid them some tribute. But, when *Baba* came to take possession, they disputed it. He was defeated, we are told, in four battles ; but, in the fifth, he beat the sultan *Ibrahim*, though he was at the head of one hundred thousand *Afgans*, the best soldiers in *India*, and one thousand armed elephants. *Baba* pursued his success, and, about twelve months after, he defeated *Rana Songa*, and died possessed of all that part of *India*, excepting the kingdoms of *Dekan*, *Guzerat*, and *Bengal*, in the year 1530, after reigning in *India* almost five years, and in the fiftieth year of his age.

Succeeded  
by *Hemay-*  
*un*,

His son *Hemayun*, about the year 1535, conquered the greatest part of *Guzerat*. In the year 1538, he conquered *Bengal*. But he was now attacked by an *Afgan*, or *Patan*, prince, named *Shir Kan*. This *Shir Kan* took his measures so well, that he obliged him, *Hemayun*, to fly from place to place, and at last to *Agra*, where he was joined by some troops, and he marched towards the *Ganges*. He and his officers, thinking they were at a great distance from their enemy, indulged themselves in all manner of excess ; but were surprized, and utterly defeated, by one of *Shir's* generals, at the head of ten thousand light-horse, who had made a forced march in the night-time for that purpose. It was with the utmost difficulty that *Hemayun* himself escaped over the *Ganges* ; and all his camp, treasure, and elephants, with the ladies, fell into the hands of *Shir*, who protected the women's honour.

who is de-  
feated by  
*Shir*.

His great  
distresses,  
he flies

into *Persia*,

In the mean while, *Hemayun*, with a favourite wife, big with child, wandered amongst those who had been lately his vassals, dispirited and deserted by all. None would admit him into their cities, and even his own brothers refused him protection. In this distress he resolved to fly into *Persia*, and left his wife and son, but a year old, with all his treasure, in *Shauwan* ; where they were seized by *Askeri*, one of his unnatural brothers.

from  
whence he  
returns  
and re-  
conquers  
his domi-  
nions.

Sultan *Thomas*, for so we shall call him, then reigned in *Persia*, and received the fugitive prince with distinguished humanity and honours ; ordering even his own brother, *Beyram*, to attend him at his meals. *Beyram* resenting an affront which he thought *Hemayun* had put upon him, endeavoured to persuade his brother to put him to death. But *Begun*, the generous sister of *Thomas*, put him in mind that he was the eldest descendant of the great *Tamerlan*, to whom their family was so much indebted ; and, that he would thereby violate all the laws of hospitality. *Thomas*, moved by her eloquence, came to the noble resolution of replacing *Hemayun* upon his throne ; and gave him a body of troops, with which he besieged *Kondabah* ; which was defended by *Askeri*, who ignobly exposed *Hemayun's* wife and young son upon the walls. This touched the *Mogul* emperor, and brought on an accommodation, by which *Askeri* gained his life



life and liberty. But the *Mogul* took possession of the city, and, after that, punished another of his unnatural brothers, called *Cam Ram*, with the loss of his dominions and eyesight.

The death of *Shir*, which happened about this time, and His death, the distractions of his empire, compleated the good fortune of *Hemayun*, who was every where victorious ; and, at last, reduced the province of *Soubal*, lying between the *Ganges* and *Temni* ; and took possession of the great city of *Delhi* : where, about three months after, he was killed by a ridiculous accident ; for, coming down the stairs of his palace, he was overtaken by a drowiness, and fell down forty steps ; which accident put an end to his life three days after, in the fiftieth year of his life, and in the twenty-sixth of his reign, in the year 1556.

*Hemayun's* son, *Akbar*, one of the best and greatest princes Succeeded that ever sat upon the *Mogul* throne, succeeded his father, by his son when he was but little more than thirteen years of age. Up- *Akbar*. on *Hemayun's* death, *Abdol Kan*, the brother of *Shir*, resolved to invade *Delhi*. This *Abdol* had murdered his nephew and lawful prince, and had usurped his throne ; but the nobility opposing him, he had retired to *Shiluar* ; from whence he invaded *Delhi* with an army of one hundred thousand men and five hundred elephants. A nobleman of great merit, one *Beyram*, had been entrusted by the late *Mogul* with the education of his son, and the conduct of his armies ; but he was then at so great a distance from *Delhi*, that that city, before it could be relieved, fell into the hands of *Kemow*, *Abdol's* general. But the *Mogul* troops, assembling from all quarters, *Kemow's* men mutinied for want of pay, and abandoned him ; so that all his baggage and elephants were who captured ; and, at last, he himself being made prisoner, young *Akbar* struck off his head with his own hand, and a great *morw*. slaughter was made of his dispersed soldiers.

Though *Beyram* was the *Mogul's* general, tutor, and first He gets minister, yet his nurse, *Maghem*, was his favourite ; and, as rid of his *Akbar* grew up, she inspired him with a jealousy of his go- minister. vernor ; and, at last, unknown to *Beyram*, he was crowned at *Delhi*. *Beyram*, whose intentions were very loyal and upright, being extremely old and broken with fatigue, desired no other reward of his services, than to spend the remainder of his days in retirement at *Mecca* ; but, before he could get thither, he was assassinated by one of his *Patan* slaves, whose father *Beyram* had put to death.

A great intercourse had, by this time, been opened be- Fortifies tween *Portugal* and *India* ; so that the *Indians* received vast *Agra*. improvements in their manners and arts. *Agra*, one of the most considerable cities in *India*, had only mud walls to defend it ; but *Akbar* ordered it to be surrounded with strong walls of stone. He afterwards marched against *Zinet*, a rebel lord, and, in a few months, took *Chitah* ; which a former Takes emperor *Chitah*.



emperor of *India* had besieged, for twelve years, in vain, *Zimet*, as soon as he found the place must be taken, burned all his wives and children alive, and died with his sword in his hand.

**Defeats the rajahs.** His fate did not deter other great rajahs, or lords, from rebelling in like manner. But all of them were defeated, and some of them put to death, by the surprizing activity and courage of the *Mogul*.

**His superstition and pilgrimage.** Though this prince, in fact, had his religion to chuse, being extremely indifferent to all sects, yet, like the great *Tamerlan*, and the successors of *Jenghiz Khan*, he either was, or affected to be, superstitious. Having no children, he settled the affairs of his government, and set out on a pilgrimage, bare-footed, to visit the tomb of *Haji Mondi*, an *Indian* saint, with an idle notion, that his mediation could procure him an heir. A stone was erected at the end of every

**Interview with a saint.** mile, to commemorate this pilgrimage. Upon his return, he visited a living saint, called *Selem*, or *the peaceful*, about eighteen miles from *Agra*; and this holy man, to the *Mogul's* great joy, predicted that he should have three sons; and that one of his concubines was then with child. Whatever truth may be in this story (for the saint might have spoke at a venture) it is certain that *Akbar* had three sons; and that he called the eldest *Selem*, after the saint; and afterwards laid out an immense sum of money in inclosing *Sikeri*, the place of the saint's residence, with a strong stone wall; and ordered it thenceforth to be called *Tettipur*, or *the place of victory*. His gratitude did not stop there; for, after erecting within it a magnificent palace, he would even have made it the place of his residence, had it not been for the unwholesomeness of the waters with which it was supplied.

**His quickness in defeating a rebellion.** But, when *Akbar* was intent upon those and other great works, *Hussayu*, *Mirza*, *Mohammed*, and *Jehan Kan*, had broke out into rebellion. Upon this, *Akbar* mounted all the officers, and the few troops he had about his person, upon dromedaries; and, though the rebels were at the distance of four hundred miles, he came up with them in seven days. His unexpected presence daunted them, and they fled; which encouraged the *Mogul's* loyal subjects to join him; so that he pursued the rebels at the head of twelve thousand horse, which were commanded by *Gogau*; while he himself followed close behind. The rebels made a stand, *Gogau* was killed; and his army must have been entirely defeated, had it not been for the personal valour of *Akbar*, who charged the rebels so bravely, that they gave way; *Hussayu* and *Mirza* were killed on the spot; and *Mohammed*, falling into *Akbar's* hands, was beheaded, and all the province of *Guzerat* was again reduced to the *Mogul's* authority.

All this while, *Akbar's* generals were carrying on a war, with various success, against the princes of *Patan*; the chief of whom was called *Dowet*, who was an indolent prince and perpetually



perpetually drunk. *Akbar*, at last, marched in person against He in- him, at the head of fifty thousand horse and six hundred ele- vades *Pa-* phants ; and, after defeating the *Patan* generals, he laid siege *tan*. to the city of *Patan* itself, which held out for six months ; but, at length, he stormed and took it ; while *Dowet* was so End of a brutally drunk, that he knew nothing of the matter, and drunken was carried off in a boat by his servants, who soon after cut prince. off his head ; and thus *Akbar* became master of all *Bengal*, excepting one or two castles, particularly that of *Rotas*, esteemed the most impregnable of any in *Asia*, and was defended by its rajah. He gained an immense treasure by this expedition. *Mohab*, one of his generals, undertook to reduce *Rotas* ; and having, by the means of vast presents made to the rajah, obtained his acquaintance, he begged the favour of him, that he should have the liberty to leave his harran, or seraglio of women, in the castle, till he should return from a journey he intended to make. The rajah consented ; and *Rotas* *Mohab*, instead of women, filled the two hundred litters, in taken by which his harran was carried, with armed men ; and *Mohab* stratagem. thereby became master of the castle ; where the rajah was killed, and his vast treasure was seized.

Those rajahs, as they still continue to be called, every Constitu- year paid a slight acknowledgment to the *Mogul*, as they do, tion of the indeed, at present ; but, in all other respects, they acted as rajahs. independent princes ; and, could they have united amongst themselves, the *Mogul* had not been able to withstand them. But *Akbar*'s fortune prevailed over all. The strong castle of *Jebur* was betrayed to him by the rajah's own brother. After this, no rajah dared to trust another ; and it was easy for the *Mogul* to reduce them singly. It appears as if the ladies in *India*, at that time, were capable of acting as rajahs ; for we read of a beautiful princess of the *Patans*, who invaded the *Mogul* dominions at the head of her troops ; but being defeated and taken prisoner by *Adam*, one of the *Mogul*'s generals, like another *Cleopatra*, she took poison to prevent her being carried in triumph. In short, almost all the rajahs of *India* were now in arms ; but all of them were defeated ; some of them were put to death by the *Mogul*, or his generals ; and others by their own hands. At last, finding *Akbar* resolved to be obeyed, they, by degrees, made their submissions ; and all, who did, met with a most gracious reception, and had the honour to send their daughters, as concubines, to the *Mogul*. This happened about the year 1570.

*Akbar* was now in the height of power and prosperity, and, Great though his dominions were not so extensive as those of *Jeng-* power and *biz Khan* and *Tamerlan*, yet they were more compact, and riches of he, perhaps, was master of more riches than either of them. *Akbar*. By this time, the *Uzbeks* had conquered all *Bukharia* ; and *Abdollah*, their sultan's son, came to *Lahor* to pay a visit to *Akbar*, who had an interview with him in that city. But *Akbar* had not forgot that *Bukharia* was the original inheritance



## A GENERAL HISTORY

ance of his family ; and, having again conquered the *Patans*, and got possession of *Kondahar*, by the treachery of its governor, he formed a scheme for regaining the empire of *Samarkand*.

With this view, he sent two ambassadors, who, indeed, had no other commission than that of being spies, into *Bukharia*, to learn the state of that empire ; but, though they made their report, we do not find that he ever attempted the conquest of it. The truth is, it was at too great a distance for him to think of invading it before he had secured himself in *India*. But the little kingdom of *Kashemia*, opening his entrance into *Bukharia*, he reduced it, partly by force, and partly by money, allowing the king and his son a certain yearly revenue. After this, *Akbar*, by his generals, reduced the kingdom of *Sindi*, whereof he made a province depending on himself. The king of *Dekan* happening to die about this time, was succeeded by his daughter *Ijan Bibi* ; and *Akbar* resolved to subdue it. But, though his generals defeated the troops of *Dekan*, yet the *Mogul* troops suffered so much, and their queen made such excellent dispositions, that she maintained her power and independency against him.

Conquers  
*Kashemia*.

Baffled by  
the queen  
of *Dekan*.

His son  
killed by  
drinking.

Remark-  
able re-  
quest of  
*Akbar*.

*Akbar*, exasperated at this resistance by a woman, ordered his son *Morad* to carry on the war against her. But the young prince gave himself so entirely up to drinking, that he loitered away his time, for six months, at *Brampur*. *Akbar* understanding this, sent *Abul Fazel* to reclaim him. He was a man of taste and learning, and wrote the history of his own times with peculiar elegance. He had been tutor to *Morad*, and he was, at that time, president of *Akbar's* divan, or council. His admonitions, however, could not reclaim his pupil, who died of drinking, about the year 1598. Upon his death, *Abul Fazel* took the command of his army, conquered *Barar* and *Kandish*, and persuaded *Akbar* to remove to *Aga*, that he might attempt the conquest of *Amdanagar*, *Viziapur*, and *Golkonda*.

It was about this time, that *Akbar*, who appears never to have attached himself to any particular sect, or religion, wrote to the king of *Portugal*, and to *Albuquerque*, his viceroy in the *East Indies*, desiring that a translation of the scriptures into *Arabic* or *Persian* might be sent him, together with a person proper to explain them. Either the king of *Portugal*, or *Albuquerque*, sent three jesuits, *Xavier*, *Pigueria*, and *Benedict*, to the *Mogul* court. But a worse choice of missionaries could not have been made. *Xavier*, who understood the *Persian* language, instead of complying with the *Mogul's* request, composed a gospel of his own, intitled *The History of Jesus Christ* ; stuffed with all the absurdities of *Romish* legends ; together with another treatise, by way of defence of the *Christian* religion, called, *A Mirror to shew Truth*. Those rhapsodies falling into the hand of an acute *Persian* nobleman, were answered by him in such a manner, that



that all the learning of the court of *Rome* could not give a sufficient reply to him ; for, instead of defending the *Christian* religion, they attempted only to defend the church of *Rome*, the infallibility of popes, and the absurdities of their faith. We cannot well suppose that such performances were proper for making a convert of *Akbar* to *Christianity*. He, however, built a church for the commissioners at *Agra* ; and gave them, not only his protection, but several privileges.

About the year 1596, *Ranah Mardout*, the most powerful of the rajahs of the province of *Indostan*, rebelled ; and *Selem*, *Akbar*'s eldest son, was sent to subdue him with a great army. But *Akbar* never had lost sight of the *Dekan* war, and went to prosecute it in person, by the advice of his favourite *Abul Fazel* ; who told him, that, if he could conquer that kingdom, those of *Viziapur* and *Golkonda* must follow of course. *Akbar* had the fairest prospect of success in this expedition ; and, after six months siege, he took the strong castle of *Hasser*. He prosecutes the *Dekan* war.

But, while he was thus in the career of his victory, he received the astonishing news, that his son *Selem*, with the army under his command, was marching to make himself master of *Agra* and his empire. Upon this, *Akbar* gave the command of the expedition he was upon to his son *Daniel*, and other generals, and set out for *Agra* ; but not time enough to prevent *Selem*, who had gained over a vast party to his interest, from making several vigorous, though unsuccessful, attempts against that city ; from which he was obliged to remove, and his father entered it. It was in vain for *Akbar* to attempt to reduce his son to his duty by the most serious and pathetic letters ; for *Selem* became every day more formidable in his progress, till, at last, he summoned the governor of *Bengal* to deliver up that province to his power, but met with a flat refusal. This disappointment had such an effect upon *Selem*, that he sent one of his chief ministers, called *Jehan*, to treat with his father. *Jehan* remained six months at *Agra*, and brought *Akbar* to consent to pardon his son, provided he would throw himself at his feet. But *Selem*, who had still on foot an army of seventy thousand excellent troops, demanded previously an indemnification of all his officers, and that they should keep possession of what they had acquired. *Akbar* rejected those conditions. *Selem* went on in his rebellion, coined money in his own name, and had even the insolence to send some of it to his father. His son *Selem* rebels.

*Akbar* now thought, that the suppression of his son's rebellion was of more importance to him than the prosecution of his conquests. Prince *Daniel* had advanced to *Gondezin*, a city of *Jan Bibi*'s dominions ; upon which she retired to *Amadnagar*, where she prepared to stand a siege. The prince, however, in about six months time, made himself master of the place, strong as it was, with all the queen's vast treasures ; but she had secured herself from farther insults by



taking poison. This great conquest, with other advantages, gained by *Daniel*, alarmed the kings of *Viziapur* and *Golkonda* so much, that they sent the most submissive letters, attended by great presents, to *Daniel*; who, like his brother, having betaken himself to drinking, proceeded no farther in his conquests.

*Abul Fazel*

murdered.

Prince *Daniel* drinks himself to death.

*Akbar* reconciled to *Selem*.

Such was the situation of *Akbar*'s affairs, when he sent an order to *Abul Fazel* to set out immediately to his assistance against his son *Selem*. *Abul Fazel* promised to obey him, and gave him hopes of soon seeing his son a prisoner before him. But *Selem*, who was rich, powerful, and the apparent heir of the empire, had intelligence of all that passed, and of the route *Abul Fazel* was to take to *Agra*, and the precise time he was to set out. *Selem*, upon this, gave orders to one of his officers to way-lay him; and *Abul Fazel*, who had not above three hundred horse in his retinue, who were all of them killed after a brave resistance, was found sitting under a tree, where his head was struck off and sent to *Selem*. The news of this event affected *Akbar* so much, that, for three days, he shut himself up from all company. In some time after, he received news of the death of his son *Daniel* by excessive drinking. When this news came to *Akbar* he was advancing against *Selem* at the head of an army; but his resolution was soon changed by the reflection of *Selem* being now his only son. He therefore once more wrote to the prince, offering him his pardon; which *Selem* accepted of, and, after consulting the astrologers concerning the happy minute, he was introduced to his father at *Agra*.

*Akbar*, notwithstanding all his accomplishments, had still the *Tartar* blood within him. Upon seeing his son at his feet, he led him into an inner apartment; where he disciplined him so violently with his fists, that the prince offered him his breast to pierce. *Akbar* even forgot himself so far as to reproach him for being such a coward as to resign his arms when he was at the head of seventy thousand men, and to come on his knees before the throne. This surprizing interview being over, *Akbar* ordered the prince, and all his attendants, to be carried to prison. *Akbar*'s passion, however, subsiding in a day or two, he went to see his son, and, with his own hand, gave him some opium, which was a favourite drug with *Selem*; and, upon the intercession of the ladies of the palace, he, at last, ordered him and his attendants to be restored to their liberty. *Akbar*, however, who was now grown old and suspicious, being informed that his son had some dangerous design in his head, ordered that he should not appear before him attended with above three or four of his omras, or noblemen.

Conjecture.

Upon the whole of this history, it appears, that, from *Selem*'s behaviour, he must have had some very strong provocations for his rebellion, which historians have not acquainted us with. They, most probably, arose from the father's



father's partiality to his other sons ; as we see *Selem* so readily submitting to him after they were both dead.

*Akbar* did not long survive this reconciliation : but the Death of manner of his death, as related by historians, is highly im- *Akbar*. probable. They tell us, that, taking some disgust at the mirza *Gaja*, one of his great lords, he gave orders for his physician to prepare two pills, one of them poisoned, the other not ; but both of them so alike one another, as not to be distinguished but by a certain mark. It is said, by some, that the mirza himself presented those pills to the *Mogul* ; and, that he swallowed the sound one, as *Akbar* did that which was poisoned. Perceiving his mistake, he immediately took antidotes, put his own turban upon *Selem's* head, and girded him with his father *Mehayun's* sword. He charged him, at the same time, not to act as sovereign within the palace, nor to come within his presence, till he was recovered. But the poison proved too strong for his constitution, and he died twelve days after taking it, on the twelfth of *October*, 1605, when he was sixty-three years of age, of which he reigned almost fifty. He was a great and a fortunate prince, but, besides his superstition, he had the other failings of the *Mogul* race. Nothing could stand in the way of his ambition, and, when he could not conquer by force, he subdued by money. Under him all religions had toleration, and that of the *Christians*, as has been seen, encouragement.

Notwithstanding the late *Mogul's* nomination of *Selem* to Disputes be his successor, the grandees of his empire were far from be- about the ing united in that point. He had received great provoca- succession, tions from some of them, which they were afraid he might revenge ; and others thought they might have a greater share in the government, if they advanced to the throne the sultan *Kofru*. At the head of the last party were two noblemen, *Manseng* and *Asem*. But the party of *Selem* at last prevailed which falls over all opposition ; and *Manseng* was obliged to restore to upon *Se-* his father the young prince, whom he had carried off during *lem*. the height of the dispute.

*Selem* being thus fixed upon the throne, assumed the name of *Jehan Ghir*, and was then about thirty-six years of age. He was complimented upon his accession by the three monarchs that still remained in *India* ; *Golkonda*, *Viziapur*, and *Dekan*, who made him magnificent presents ; as did the ambassadors from *Persia* and *Tartary*, and the rajahs, or great lords. From this it appears, that he was then incomparably the most powerful monarch in the east ; which might, in a great measure, be owing, partly to the divisions that tore *Persia* and *Tartary* at this time, and split those great empires into petty sovereignties ; but it is likewise extremely probable, that the *Mogul* family, after being settled on the throne of *India*, were served in their wars by great numbers of their original countrymen, who were infinitely superior to the effeminate *Indians* in all the duties of the field. Add to



this, that the benefits of commerce had attracted many *Europeans* to their service.

Prince  
*Kofru* re-  
volts,

*Jehan Ghir* knew, by his own experience, the power which an heir-apparent has among his father's subjects, whenever he pleases to exert it. He deliberated concerning the putting out of *Kofru's* eyes; but that prince escaped, and endeavoured to make himself master of *Labor*. He was pursued so closely by detachments from his father's troops, and, at last, by his father in person, that it was with the utmost difficulty he escaped to *Hassan Beg*, the governor of *Kabul*, who was his friend. In a few days he got together an army of twenty thousand men, with which he formed the siege of *Labor*, but was obliged to abandon it. After this, being surrounded by the imperial forces, he gave them battle, but was defeated, and, being obliged to fly, he was taken prisoner, along with *Hassan Beg*, in a little boat crossing a river. *Hassan Beg* was put to a most cruel death. Eight hundred of *Kofru's* soldiers, who had been taken prisoners, were impaled alive, along the roads through which *Kofru* was to pass; and his father insulted his misery so much, that he demanded of the prince, while he was passing along, the names of the criminals, as they were raving upon the stakes. *Kofru*, though young, shewed a becoming concern; and told his father, that he ought to have served him so, and have spared so many brave men; and, that he could have no satisfaction in the after-part of his life.

but is de-  
feated and  
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soner.

Conspi-  
racy  
against the  
*Mogul*.

It is de-  
feated.

The *Mogul* arriving at *Labor*, committed his son to the custody of his great lords, while he himself went a hunting. This had almost proved fatal to him. A conspiracy was formed amongst them to make away with the father, and to place the son upon the throne. This conspiracy was discovered time enough for the *Mogul* to defeat it; and he surprised the conspirators, who were some of the greatest lords in the empire; and, amongst the rest, the high-treasurer, or *etimadodawlet*. The lords were immediately beheaded, but the treasurer redeemed his life, by paying upwards of one hundred and thirty-two thousand pounds sterling, though he was still treated in the most ignominious manner, and kept in prison. Those executions seem to have been performed at *Kabul*.

*Kofru's*

eyes sealed  
up.

Upon the king's return to *Labor*, *Kofru*, who was still a prisoner there, was sentenced to have his eyes sealed up for three years. Some say, that he was blinded with a certain juice, but that he still had a glimmering sight: however, when Sir *Thomas Roe*, and Mr. *Tarry*, his chaplain, saw him and spoke with him, he appeared to have no defect in his sight; at least they mention none. *Azem*, the father-in-law of *Kofru*, likewise felt the *Mogul's* indignation, and was thrown into chains; from which, however, he was delivered and restored to favour, some years afterwards, at the intercession of the ladies of the harran.

*Jehan*



*Jehan Ghir*, during his father's life-time, had been in love with a beautiful lady, called *Meher Meja*, who had been married to a nobleman, one *Shir Afkan*, a Turk by original. This nobleman was sent to *Bengal*, and, by the management of the *Mogul*, had been cut off. Upon his death, the king ordered the family of *Shir Afkan* to be sent to *Agra*, and, on the journey, a dervis is said to have predicted the future greatness of *Meher Meja*; which, considering *Jehan Ghir's* former attachment to her, and her own exquisite beauty, he might well do, without any spirit of prophecy. She had along with her a daughter of six years old, and, when they arrived at *Agra*, they were introduced to *Rokkia*, the *Mogul's* mother, who seems to have been as fond as her son was, of *Meja*.

When she was presented to *Jehan Ghir*, he found her improved in charms. She fell at his feet, and recommended her daughter, whom she held in her hand, to his majesty's mercy and protection. The *Mogul*, smiling, said he was resolved to be the child's father. *Meher Meja* understood his meaning, and answered him with the most profound humility: She was daughter of the treasurer, and, perhaps, both the severe treatment, as well as the pardon that nobleman received, was owing to that circumstance. He was not yet replaced in his posts and favour: but, so delicate was the *Mogul's* love, that he not only courted her assiduously for forty days, but ordered one of his chief noblemen, *Abdol Hassan*, to go, as his proxy, and demand her in form of her father for his first wife. As the treasurer, by the sentence and the punishments he had undergone, was deemed to be an infamous person, *Hassan* was beginning to make some remonstrances on that head, when the *Mogul* commanded him to be gone and do as he had ordered him.

The marriage was soon celebrated. The lady's name was changed into *Nur Jehan Begum*, or *The Lady who enlightens the World*; and was the same with the famous *Nurmahal*, so celebrated by *European* historians and travellers. After marriage, the *Mogul's* passion encreased for her to such a degree, that her father was restored to all his places, and had a greater degree of credit than ever, together with the command of five thousand horse; and the *Mogul* seemed to take pleasure in promoting all her relations and dependents to the chief posts of his empire. In short, the whole affairs of the empire were managed by *Assof Kan*, the treasurer, and his daughter.

This happened about the year 1611, when a resolution was taken, that *Abdol Kan* should command an army against the rajah *Rana*, instead of *Mohabet*, who had been appointed to carry on that war. This *Rana* had a principality called *Rendow*, the chief castle of which, called *Siavend*, was thought to be inaccessible, by reason of the woods and deserts



Other conquests by *Jehan Ghir's* generals,

who are outwitted by *Amber*, king of *Dekan*.

A rebellion suppressed.

Miserable state of the *Indians*.

surrounding it. But *Abdol*, after defeating the troops sent against him, cut his way through the woods, took the place, put the garrison to the sword, and demolished all the temples of idolatry; *Rana* himself escaping with great difficulty. This was esteemed so great a conquest, that *Abdol* was employed in services of still more importance in *Guzerat*; where he destroyed all the robbers and rebels, who were very powerful, in those parts. War, at the same time, was carried on against the king of *Dekan*; the management of which was committed to the *Mogul's* favourite son the sultan *Parweis*. It appears that the kings of *Guzerat*, *Viziapur*, *Dekan*, and *Golkonda*, had been accustomed to pay a yearly tribute to the *Mogul*, which, of late, had been withheld. *Parweis* demanded this tribute from the kings of *Viziapur* and *Golkonda*, and they readily paid it. *Parweis* then fell with his troops upon *Amber*; and, in the mean time, *Rana* quietly submitted to the *Mogul's* authority. *Jehan Ghir*, provoked with *Amber's* resistance who had on foot fifty thousand men, ordered one hundred thousand of his best troops to advance against his capital. Upon this *Amber* fled.

The *Mogul* army was, at this time, commanded by noblemen and generals united in nothing, but a blind obedience to the reigning emperor. *Amber* knew this, that his own capital was defenceless, and that, if the *Mogul* generals advanced, he must be ruined. *Jehan Ghir* was himself at a vast distance, and therefore *Amber* forged certain letters so artificially, and conveyed them so craftily, to the *Mogul* generals, that they had not the least doubt of their contents; which were, that the *Mogul* himself was dead. Upon this, all of them, even *Abdol*, who had the chief command, broke up their several camps, and left *Amber* at liberty to regain all he had lost, which he easily did. Though *Jehan Ghir* was, terribly incensed at their credulity, yet we do not perceive that any of them was punished; and *Abdol* was afterwards preferred even to higher commands; in which he served his master with great success, every where reducing the rebellious rajahs, and sending their subjects into slavery. We are told, that he sent as many slaves into *Persia*, as, from the sale of them, he obtained the sum of one hundred and thirty-seven thousand pounds sterling. About the same time, the *Mogul* had the good fortune to suppress a most dangerous rebellion in *Bengal*.

All those successes, and all the grandeur of *Jehan Ghir*, were sources of calamity and misery to his subjects. The lands of every rajah, or prince, who was subdued, became immediately the *Mogul's* property. The inhabitants could neither sow, nor reap, nor work, but for him. The fine cities and seats, of which Sir *Thomas Rowe*, who was then in *India*, saw many stupendous remains, were demolished; as likewise the houses of the common people; who, after the reduction



reduction of their lords, were obliged to live in tents, under the open air, or in mud huts. Even his great men dare not build, for they inherit nothing they can call their own; and Sir *Thomas*, who could not be mistaken in the matter, says that they lived either in tents, or houses worse than cottages. In *Surat*, indeed, he owns there were some stone buildings, the rest being all of mud, and but one story high: and he heard, that, at *Agra*, there were some handsome stone buildings, and that the king's palaces were very large and magnificent.

From this view of the *Mogul's* policy and government in *Vast riches India*, the most fertile in gold, diamonds, and precious stones, of the *Mogul* of any in the world, the reader will not be surprized when he hears, that those *Moguls* possessed riches equal, at least, to those of any other prince mentioned, either in antient or modern history. As to his expences, it is true, his attendants and equipages, as represented by Sir *Thomas Rowe*, were as magnificent as can well be imagined; as was his own dress and those of his family; but, in other respects, he was at very little expence; and the meanness of his practices, as related by the same ambassador, would have disgraced the poorest mechanic. He paid his generals and great men by the lands he distributed amongst them; and they, the soldiers under them by giving them leave to cultivate those lands for their own and their families subsistence. But the great men were obliged to pay a certain revenue from those estates to the *Mogul*, over and above what was allowed for their own services and the troops they maintained in the field; and, when they died, all they had amassed in their life-time, became the property of the *Mogul*; who, if they had been favourites, and had served him well, and had left large estates, generally allowed their sons, for they had no heirs but the emperor, another proportion of land, held in the same manner as that of their father had been.

The above is a slight view of the capital springs of the *Mogul's* government in *India*, and the almost incredible wealth they possessed, as they stood in the reign we now treat of. *Jehangir* was a compleat master of that kind of knowledge which makes a monarch rich; and to policy he joined hypocrisy: for he pretended that luxury was the bane of an empire; and, out of a principle of religion, he hoarded up all the jewels, treasure, and ready-money, of his kingdom. In other respects, his manners were upon a level with the meanest of his subjects. Under pretext that it was a mark of disrespect to his sovereign authority, to approach him empty handed, he exacted the most exorbitant presents, not only from his own great men, but from all foreign ambassadors, merchants, and others, to whom he gave audience; and their reception and success was always proportionable to the value and rarity of those presents. But, notwithstanding his excessive riches, he lived in a state of perpetual turmoil and  
I h 4
sovereign



sovereign trouble. By abandoning his inferior subjects to the power of his great men, his whole empire was a scene of oppression and tyranny. Every remove he made of a minister, or governor, who had riches or power enough to get an army into the field, produced a kind of a civil-war between him and his successor; which the *Mogul* winked at, as those little differences never could hurt or endanger his authority, because he was always sure of confiscations from one party or the other.

Sends an  
ambassa-  
dor to  
*Persia*.

It was about this time that *Jehan Ghir* dispatched the khan *Arem*, upon a most magnificent embassy, into *Persia*. The value of presents he carried with him amounted to about seven thousand five hundred pounds of *English* money; and the expence of the appointments, and the vast train of noblemen he carried with him, amounted to about six thousand pounds; which, considering that this was the most magnificent embassy that ever went from *India*, and, that the *Mogul* gave the ambassador the title even of brother, in his credential letters, serves to prove that *Jehan Ghir* was far from being lavish upon the most extraordinary occasions. *Shah Abbas* was then king of *Persia*, and received *Arem* with extraordinary pomp and civility. When he took his leave, he sent to the *Mogul* nobler presents than he received, consisting of five hundred *Persian* horses, which are esteemed all over the world for their swiftness and beauty; twenty male and fifty female mules; one hundred and fifty dromedaries, all of them extremely beautiful; with vast quantities of gold and silver brocades, besides noble presents made to *Arem* himself. *Shah Abbas*, however, intimated to *Arem*, upon his departure, that he expected the *Mogul* should restore to him *Kandubar*; which, he said, had been torn from his dominions by treachery; or, that the *Mogul* would give him leave to purchase it back.

Suppresses  
rebels.

While *Arem* was upon this embassy, *Jehan Ghir* suppressed several rebellions, and one particularly in *Bengal*, upon his appointing a new government. He likewise suppressed the *Mukans*, a set of robbers who had rebelled and besieged the fortress of *Kangra*, and would have taken it, had it not been

His policy.

for the death of the general who commanded the siege. One of *Jehan Ghir*'s great maxims of policy, and a wise one it was, in those countries, was, never to suffer a governor, or a general, to command long in one place, or over one army. The removes, therefore, he made of his generals and governors, were so frequent, that they form a great part of his history. But, in fact, the choice of the persons seem to have been commonly directed by *Nur Jehan* and *Affof*, who was her brother. Whether that lady's influence, which is not improbable, over her husband began now to decay, or he began to open his eyes to the virtues of *Kosru*, is uncertain; but it is plain, from the relations of Sir *Thomas Rowe*, and others, that *Jehan Ghir* acted, in regard to *Kosru*, with vast policy



policy and circumspection ; in which he gives an instance, too curious, and too exemplary, to be omitted here.

*Kofru* was a prince of great virtue and sentiment. He Character loved the *Christians* ; was a favourer of learning ; humane of his el- and brave in his person ; and he made no secret that he de- dest son spised and abhorred the mean practices of his father and an- *Kofru*. cestors in beggaring his subjects, by obliging them to make presents. *Kurm*, his brother, was the reverse of his character, as afterwards appeared. *Nur Jehan* was hated and despised by the ladies of the royal family and by many of the great men ; and she was obliged to call in *Kurm* to support her and her relations. *Kurm*'s bloody ambition made his brother's life the price of his alliance with her. They knew that *Jehan Ghir* loved and esteemed *Kofru* ; and, that he only kept him in confinement from a principle of caution. *Nur Jehan* made the first attack, and, with tears, began to expostulate with the king upon the danger he was in from his eldest son's intrigues ; and the danger which she, and all her relations, whom he hated, must be in, should he succeed to the crown. Tho' *Jehan Ghir* seemed to agree with what she said, yet she easily knew, by his manner, that it would not be safe for her to press the matter farther ; and the faction therefore changed their battery.

Amongst the other vices of *Tamerlan*'s descendants, which *Jehan Jehan Ghir* possessed, a brutal drunkenness was one. One day *Ghir*'s the treasurer and *Asoph* made him drunk, and plied him with brutal many arguments to send an order for *Kan Jehan*, who had the drunken- custody of *Kofru*, to deliver him up to his dear brother *Kurm*, nefs. in whose custody he would be much safer than where he was. The *Mogul* granted, or they pretended he granted, their request ; and, after his usual custom, he fell fast asleep in the company.

This *Kan Jehan* was a rajapute, or *Indian* prince, and an Fidelity of idolator ; but a man of such strict honour, that the *Mogul Kan Jehan* had put his son into his hands, fearing the practices of his enemies ; and the khan had already defeated several attempts to poison him. No sooner did the *Mogul* drop asleep, than *Asoph*, at the head of a party of guards, repaired to *Jehan*'s apartment, and demanded his charge. But *Jehan* flatly refused to deliver him into any hands but those of the king, from whom he received him ; and said, that he would know his majesty's pleasure in the morning. *Asoph*, and his party, little expecting to meet with such a repulse, were forced to return without their prize : and, next morning, the khan *Jehan* acquainted the *Mogul* with all that had passed. The *Mogul* applauded his honesty and resolution, commanded him to persevere, and to take no notice of orders ; but not to mention what had been done. " I," said he, " will not seem to know this, nor do you stir further in it : preserve your fidelity, and let us see how far they will carry it." A prince



*Kurm*

made

com-

mander in

chief of

his father's

army.

A prince, subject to the power of a woman and wine, is not master of himself; but the khan remained still unsubdued: and those about the *Mogul* plied him so incessantly with the praises of *Kurm*, that his father resolved to make him the commander in chief of all his forces against *Malec Amber*, who had made himself master of all the provinces of *Kandish* and *Barar*, and the kings of *Viziapur* and *Golkonda*. This could not be done without stripping the sultan *Parweis* of his command; and a great lord remonstrated to *Jehan Ghir* how dangerous that might be. The answer he gave shews his true character: "I wish," said he, "they would fight it out between themselves, and I would give the prosecution of the war to the best general." According to Sir *Thomas Rowe*, who was upon the spot at this time, the sultan *Parweis* was sent to *Bengal*, and *Kurm* was so generally hated, that all the great men were disgusted at his advancement.

During the absence of *Parweis*, the command of the army fell upon the khan *Kanna*. He was one of the greatest and most independent subjects, as well as generals, of the empire; and, when he was ordered to resign his command to *Kurm*, he advised the *Mogul* to give it to another of his sons, not above fifteen years of age, and absolutely refused to come to court. This refusal being represented to the *Mogul*, as indeed it was, little less than an act of rebellion, threw *Jehan Ghir* into great perplexity; and he would gladly have continued *Kanna* in his command, had he not thought that he would employ his army against himself. He therefore came to a resolution to put *Kurm* at the head of such an army, and to support him so effectually in person, as, that he should have nothing to apprehend from *Kanna*.

His bro-

ther *Kofru*

put into

his power.

*Kurm* was now so great, that it was almost dangerous to refuse him any thing. His party renewed their attacks upon *Jehan Ghir*, for taking *Kofru* out of the hands of the khan *Jehan*; and, at last, the *Mogul* consented he should be committed to the custody of *Asoph*, by way of deputy to *Kurm*. Accordingly, the khan *Jehan's* guards were removed, and those of *Asoph* and *Kurm* succeeded them. This appeared to the people in no other light than a prelude to the death of their beloved *Kofru*; and his sister exclaimed most bitterly against her father, as did many other ladies in the seraglio. In short, little less than a civil-war was expected. *Jehan Ghir* himself was apprehensive of the consequences. He employed *Nur Jehan* to appease the ladies of the seraglio; but, far from listening to her, they would not see her. *Jehan Ghir*, upon this occasion, thought proper to give some satisfaction to the public; and Sir *Thomas Rowe* relates a remarkable instance of this. He tells us, that *Asoph*, who, it seems, was of a brutal nature, had been guilty of some insult to the prince, and had approached him without paying him the common marks of respect, in hopes that he might there-

by



by provoke him to commit some act of violence and so find cause to ruin him entirely with his father. He, however, was disappointed; for all the resentment the prince shewed, was to prevail on a friend to inform the *Mogul* of the treatment he had received. *Jehan Ghir*, who, according to Sir *Thomas*, had political, as well as natural, reasons for what he did, resolved to give the prince a public mark of his disapproving *Asoph's* conduct. He therefore asked him, in full Instance court, whether he had received admittance into his son's of the apartment; and, whether he had shewn him those outward *Mogul's* marks of respect that were due to a prince of his blood. regard for *Asoph*, at first, wanted to evade the question; but the *Mogul Kosru*, sternly repeating it, *Asoph* acknowledged he had not, and discovered great marks of confusion. "Whereupon," says Sir *Thomas*, "the king told him, He would make his proud heart know he was his eldest son and beloved heir, his prince and lord; and, if he once heard of any, the least want of duty or respect towards him, he would command his son to set his feet on his neck, and trample on him."

From this relation, it appears, that *Jehan Ghir* would not suffer a violation of respect due to his blood from the greatest of his subjects, even to his son, though he was a state-prisoner; and, that this subtle tyrant knew well how to ballance the parties, had they been ever so powerful, about his court; for Sir *Thomas* adds, That he said, He loved his son *Kurm* well, but would make the world know, he did not intrust his son with them for his ruin. But *Jehan Ghir*, by this time, was neither his own master, nor master of his subjects. Women and wine had rendered him ridiculous and weak. *Kurm* was at the head of forty thousand horse, and disposed of all places at his pleasure. He took particular care to have the best generals, particularly *Abdol*, in his interest; and he assumed the name of *Shah Jehan*, which is a title of royalty. The rajah *Ranna* died about this time. He boasted the most Death of antient descent of any prince in *India*, or, perhaps, in the the rajah world; for he could trace his ancestors from the time of *Ranna Alexander the Great*. This is the less incredible, when it is considered that his country lay in the most inaccessible place of all *India*; and, that, from the time of *Alexander the Great*, till the invasions of the sultans of *Gazna*, we know of no bloody wars the people of *India* were involved in. He was succeeded by his son *Karen* in the government of his dominions, which nominally depended upon *Jehan Ghir*.

When *Kurm* advanced to *Brampur*, he reviewed his army, Character and began the operations against *Amber*, and the kings of of *Abdol*, *Golkonda* and *Viziapur*. *Abdol* was the general he most depended upon. Sir *Thomas Rowe* calls him *Abdollah*, and gives him a great character, when he says, That he was the only nobleman about the *Mogul* who refused a present from him. *Abdol* was victorious, he took *Kirki*, *Amber's* capital, and



and destroyed his palace, and, after that, reduced the whole provinces of *Kandish* and *Barar*. Those successes encouraged *Kurm* to commit a most execrable fratricide. *Kofru* was now entirely in his custody, but not properly a close prisoner; for Sir *Thomas Rowe* saw him riding about, attended indeed by a guard, but without any other restriction. He seemed to be ignorant of every thing that passed in public, his beard spread to his girdle, and his appearance was comely. The grand treasurer, the father of the favourite empress, was by this time dead. It does not appear that he ever entered into the bloody views of *Kurm*; and his death, perhaps, accelerated the fate of the unhappy *Kofru*.

*Kofru*  
murdered.

His murder was committed to the care of one *Reza*, a noble slave, depending upon *Kurm*; and several other omras, whom *Kurm* had gained, were privy to the design of murdering him. *Kurm* pretended a hunting-match, and was absent at the time of the murder of *Kofru*. *Reza*, according to directions, in the night-time, knocked at the door of *Kofru*'s apartment, pretending that he had an order from his father for his deliverance. *Kofru*, and his friends, had, for some time, foreseen that he must fall a victim to his brother's ambition, and he refused to admit *Reza*: upon which the slave forced open the door, threw the unhappy prince upon the ground, and strangled him. After that he laid him on a bed, and it was given out that he died a natural death. But the fact was too notorious to be stifled, and the truth came at last to the ears of *Jehan Gbir*. All he could do was to bewail the death of his son; to give his body an honourable burial; and to reproach the great men about *Kurm* for concealing from him the truth. He then sent for the khan *Arem*, who was father-in-law to *Kofru*, and committed to him the education of his grandson *Sultan Bolaki*.

Rebel-  
lions.

The murder of *Kofru*, for some time, suspended the operations of war. The *Indian* court, barbarous and inhuman as it was, could not reflect upon it without horror; and *Abdul* hastily departed to his government of *Kalpi*; but was obliged to return to the army under *Shah Jehan*. This confusion and discontent encouraged *Shah Abbas*, the monarch of *Persia*, to execute what he had been long meditating, and had indeed threatened, the reduction of *Kandahar*. The khan *Jehan*, the same nobleman who had approved himself so faithful to *Kofru*, was then governor of *Multan*, as *Ajoph* was of *Kandahar*. The khan *Jehan* paid little or no regard to the *Mogul*'s order, when he was commanded to make head against the *Persians*, who had now formally besieged *Kandahar*. *Abdul* was the only general who could be depended upon; and he gave a signal instance of his loyalty, by immediately marching against the *Persians* with five thousand horse and one hundred elephants: for which he was rewarded by *Jehan Gbir*'s giving him in marriage his grand-daughter, the daughter of  
Sultan



*Sultan Daniel.* *Shah Abbas* besieged *Kandahar* for six months. *Jehan Ghir* would willingly have made him his friend, by giving it up; but *Asoph*, the governor, held it out till it was taken by force.

This *Asoph Kan* was brother to the first empress, and had entered into a deep conspiracy with *Shak Jehan*, who aspired to his father's throne; and, to make the union more complete, *Shak Jehan* had married *Asoph's* daughter. *Jehan Ghir*, at this time, was at *Labor*, and he sent *Asoph* to *Agra* with orders to transfer the imperial treasure from that city to *Labor*. *Shak Jehan*, having already laid the plan of his rebellion, was desirous of becoming master of those treasures. He possessed, by his father's ill-judged indulgence, a vast empire, which he pretended to rule in his own right; and, by his power in money, he governed every thing at his father's council-board.

*Ethabar Kan*, and *Ethamat Kan*, the former the governor of *Agra*, and the latter the keeper of the treasure, raised great objections against the delivering of it to *Asoph*, whom they suspected, and who, in fact, had privately engaged his son-in-law, *Shak Jehan*, to rob him upon the road. This delay of the governor and the treasurer precipitated *Shak Jehan* into open rebellion; for he took the field with seventy thousand horse. *Ethabar* was willing to have delivered up the treasure to *Asoph*, but perceiving *Shak Jehan's* design, he with-held it, and fortified *Agra* against him.

*Shak Jehan's* treason was now too palpable to be any longer doubted of; and *Jehan Ghir* set out in person from *Labor* to *Agra*, the castle of which was closely besieged by *Shak Jehan*, and made a noble defence, though the city was in his hands. His chief minister and general was a rajah called *Bikkermansid*, who pretended to the gift of prophecy. But *Ethabar* made so good a defence, that, tho' they plundered the city, they could not take the castle nor the treasures. *Shak Jehan* therefore retired to *Tretipur*, where he mustered his army, and prepared to give battle to his father. But, notwithstanding all his power and practices, he found his strength far inferior to that of *Jehan Ghir*. The latter was faithfully served by his son *Parweis*, notwithstanding the provocations he had received. The khan *Jehan*, governor of *Malta*, continued to be *Shak Jehan's* enemy; and *Mahabet Kan*, the governor of *Kabul*, the bravest general in *India*, was upon the father's side. Those noblemen were sincere in their attachment to their sovereign, but many others were not, and, upon the eve of the battle, they went over to *Shak Jehan*.

*Shebriar*, one of *Jehan Ghir's* sons, had the nominal command of his army, but every thing was done by the direction of *Mahabet*, and he made the dispositions for the engagement. *Bikkermansid* commanded the rebel army; and, upon the day of battle, gave so furious a charge, that he broke through



through *Jehan Gbir*'s troops into his camp, and took him prisoner. But he was killed in the attempt, and the *Mogul*'s troops proved victorious. The khan *Kannah*, after this, prevailed with *Shak Jehan* to submit to his father; but the agreement was of short standing; the prince pretended to govern *Guzerat*, and all the other provinces given him by his father, independently. However, *Arem Kan*, and his grandson, *Sultan Belaki*, took from him *Ahanedabad*, the chief city of that province. *Abdol* endeavoured to retake it, but could not, and was defeated.

This defeat seemed to portend a total ruin to the affairs of *Shak Jehan*, who, at the same time, was defeated by his brother *Parweis*, and obliged to fly to *Brampur*. During this state of humiliation, by the khan *Kannah*'s councils, a fresh negotiation was set on foot between *Shak Jehan* and his father. But it proved abortive by the persuasion of *Abdol*, who infused suspicions into *Shak Jehan*'s head of the khan *Kannah*'s fidelity. After this, *Shak Jehan* fled to *Kirk*, and threw himself upon *Amber*, who gave him shelter. In the mean time, the sultan *Parweis* was every where victorious against his father's rebels; and *Zaed*, the son of *Mohabet*, defeated an army of *Usbeck Tartars*, who, taking advantage of the distractions of the empire, had invaded it.

*Shak Jehan* flies to *Amber*.

*Brampur* besieged.

*Mohabet* retires.

The indolence of *Jehan Gbir* gave his son an opportunity of subduing part of *Bengal*, and from thence he marched to *Pattan*, where he was joined by five thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. This success gave a great turn in favour of *Shak Jehan*: but certain variances arising amongst his generals, he was again defeated by his brother *Parweis* and *Mohabet*, in a bloody engagement, in which both the royal brothers were wounded. *Shak Jehan* fled from the field of battle with the utmost precipitation, and left his camp, his treasures, and all his equipages, in the hands of the conquerors, and, quitting *Bengal*, he went to *Decan*; but being pursued, he was obliged to retire to *Golkonda*; where he was supported by *Amber*, and furnished with troops sufficient to besiege *Brampur*. He could have taken the city had it not been that *Fakik*, the son of a merchant, must have had the credit of taking it; so that his other generals did not support him; and the sultan *Parweis* arrived time enough to oblige *Shak Jehan* to raise the siege.

In the mean while, *Jehan Gbir* had, by the advice of the brave *Mohabet*, confined the khan *Kannah*, whose part *Parweis* took, and prevailed with the *Mogul* to order *Mohabet* to come to court, and give an account of his conduct. *Mohabet* knowing that the favourite empress, as well as *Parweis*, was his enemy, not complying with these orders, he retired to one of his old castles, about one hundred miles from *Agra*, and he was turned out of all his employments. As he was greatly dreaded by all parties, his disgrace procured a kind of reconciliation between *Shak Jehan* and his father.

*Shak*



*Shah Jehan* had still great hopes of succeeding to the empire: but not only *Balaki*, *Kosru's* son, but the two sons of *gul's* grandfather his brother *Daniel*, stood in his way. To make them unfit children for succession, he craftily put them into the hands of one baptized *Corfi*, a *Portuguese* Jesuit, who baptized them, and thereby rendered them incapable of succeeding to the empire. But, as they were, in a manner, forced to profess *Christianity*, they soon returned to *Mahometanism*, and were entirely reconciled to their grandfather.

*Shah Jehan*, notwithstanding this seeming reconciliation with his father, still retained his ambitious views; but he was, about this time, deserted by *Abdol*, who was the chief prop of his party. The *Mogul* and the favourite empress thus carrying every thing before them, they thought it would be easy for them to crush *Mohabet*, who still remained at his castle of *Rantipur* with his small army of *Rasputs*, or native *Indians*. He was, by the *Mogul*, commanded to deliver up his castle and province. *Mohabet* was sensible that this order was only a prelude to his ruin; and he set out at the head of fifty thousand *Rasputs*, all of them devoted to his service, the *Mogul*, for *Labor*, where he intended to clear himself of the charges against him.

His enemies took advantage of the force he brought along with him, and *Jehan Ghir* sent him a peremptory order to dismiss it and repair to court only with his domestics. *Mohabet*, on the contrary, remonstrated to his majesty, that it was hard his old slave, as he called himself, should be sacrificed to a court faction, and sent his son-in-law to the *Mogul* to make his peace, offering to give his wife and children as hostages for his loyalty. The son-in-law was treated as a criminal and bastinadoed in the most ignominious manner; and, at the same time, *Mohabet's* enemies at court, perceiving he still kept his *Rasputs* about him, advised the *Mogul* to reduce him by force.

Authors are divided with regard to the number of *Mohabet's* troops. *Herbert*, who was then in *India*, says they consisted of twenty thousand *Rasputs*, which is most probable. Those of the *Mogul* were fifty thousand horse, but they were defeated through the excellent disposition made by *Mohabet*, him who pursued his blow so critically, that he penetrated to the soner. very tent of the *Mogul*, made him a prisoner while he was asleep, and carried him upon an elephant to his own camp. Had not *Mohabet* been a man of the most exalted sentiments, he would have made use of his advantage to the ruin of his master and his family. His provocations had been great; and, in reality, he had been condemned to death without being heard. This injustice was thought to be owing to the favourite empress, as she suffered for it: for a guard was placed upon her tent, and she herself was stripped of all that pomp and power which, but a few days before, all *India* had worshipped.

It



It was not easy for *Mohabet*, moderate as he was, to keep matters from running to extremes ; after being so bold as to put his master under confinement, it was necessary for him to support himself and his friends against all who were his enemies. He was therefore, in a manner, obliged to throw a great many of the latter into irons ; and he restored *Kassem Kan*, who was husband to *Nur Jehan*'s sister, to his government of *Agra*. He likewise obliged *Mozaffer*, who had succeeded to that government, to put into his hands the two sons of *Shak Jehan*, and the sultan *Bolaki*.

Conduct  
of Moha-  
bet,

*Mohabet*, like other successful rebels, acted every thing now under his master's authority. He had little to dread but from *Nur Jehan*. He knew her to be immensely rich, and that she paid the troops which had been raised to destroy him ; and, that, otherwise, she was active, subtle, and implacable. To humble her the more effectually, she was tried for her life, and condemned to be beheaded ; but was spared at the earnest intercession of her husband. In the mean while, *Shak Jehan* raised some troops in *Dekan*, and pointed his march towards *Agra*, but stopped short to besiege *Tatta* : upon which his army mouldered away ; and, being defeated by the *Mogul*'s governor, he was obliged to retreat to *Bakker*. At the same time, the sultan *Parweis*, who remained at *Brampur*, and continued unshaken in duty to his father, was strengthening himself by raising troops and money. The efforts made by *Shak Jehan* and *Parweis* seem to have saved the *Mogul* ; for, though we know little of the particulars, yet we find that, by means of *Nur Jehan*'s vast riches, an army was raised against *Mohabet*.

who is re-  
duced.

This turned the face of affairs : the sultan *Shebriyer* took possession of *Labar*, and delivered *Sultan Bolaki*, with the two sons of *Sultan Daniel*, out of the hands of *Mohabet*'s *Rasputs*, who were now every where cut in pieces. The *Mogul* himself, under pretence of hunting, wrested himself out of *Mohabet*'s hands, and soon saw himself at the head of thirty thousand men. *Mohabet* continued still undaunted ; and, obnoxious as he knew himself to be, he had the boldness to come into the *Mogul*'s presence. But he was soon sensible that he was there no welcome guest, and made a quick retreat. His dependance was chiefly on the known bravery of his *Rasputs* ; but he had likewise a great advantage in having in his custody *Asoph*, the king's first minister, and favourite brother to the empress, *Shak Jehan*'s two sons, and other princes and lords of the highest quality in the empire. Departing from the king's presence, he took up a separate camp, and was summoned to set at liberty the princes and noblemen who were his prisoners. He refused to do that ; and the empress violently insisted upon her husband's falling upon *Mohabet* with his whole army ; and even railed at his meanness of spirit for entering into parley with a rebel.

*Mohabet*



*Mohabet*, knowing he was no match for his enemies, of his own accord set *Asoph*, and some other of the chief omras, who were his prisoners, at liberty, after taking an oath from them never to act against him. When *Asoph* came to court, he was reproached by his sister for having accepted of his liberty from a rebel, whom she was ready to have crushed. But *Asoph* frankly confessed, that he thought himself under eternal obligations to *Mohabet*. This acknowledgment was far from appeasing the empress, who every day distressed *Mohabet* more and more; and, to add to his afflictions, his younger son, *Beryner*, abandoned him with part of his army, and attempted, but in vain, to seize his treasures that were lodged in the castle of *Ranti Pir*. Generosity of *Asoph*.

The death of *Sultan Parweis*, which happened about this time, gave a new turn to affairs. The sultan *Shahriyar* was thought disqualified for government, through want of judgment; and the empress persuaded her husband once more to forget the provocations that had been given him by *Shak Jehan*, and to call him to the succession. Though there was originally no good understanding between *Parweis* and *Mohabet*, yet, the moderation and generosity of the latter had made the former his friend; but, upon his death, *Mohabet* despaired of being able any longer to stand his ground against his enemies; and, having had the good fortune to become master of his unnatural son's person, he retired to the castle of *Fermol*, which was held by one of his friends. Mean time the implacable *Nur Jehan* had prevailed with the khan *Kanna*, though now full of age and infirmities, to head an army against him; but that khan died as he was setting out on his march. Death of *Parweis*.  
Death of the khan *Kanna*.

The famous *Amber*, king of *Dekan*, died about the same time; and his son not only furnished *Shak Jehan* with fresh forces, but engaged in his party *Abdol Kan*. His practices, were, at last, discovered by the khan *Jehan*, governor of *Brampur*, who invaded *Dekan* with forty thousand men and forty elephants; and, putting *Abdol Kan* under an arrest, he confiscated all his treasure. The khan *Jehan*, however, penetrated too far into the country of *Dekan*; and involved himself so, that the *Dekannites* cut off his retreat; and would have destroyed both him and his army, had he not made an inglorious peace, and delivered up several towns and territories for his safety.

Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the *Mogul's* court, many of the great lords, and *Asoph* in particular, were touched with gratitude for *Mohabet*; but the empress remained inflexible in her hatred, and dispatched *Nuroddin*, a great commander, with fifteen thousand horse, to bring *Mohabet*, if possible, either dead or alive, to court. But *Asoph*, and other great lords, besides their personal motives of gratitude, had particular reasons for thinking it dangerous to destroy the man who was most capable to oppose the fury and Extreme resentment of the empress against *Mohabet*.



resentment of *Shak Jehan*, should he come to the throne. They therefore found means to retard *Nuroddin's* march so much, that he escaped to the raja *Rana*, who advised *Shak Jehan*, by all means, to make him his friend. *Shak Jehan* was then at *Ginir*, and in but very indifferent circumstances. He saw that the assistance he had received from the *Dekannites*, had been given him only with a view to embroil the affairs of his father's empire, and he had of late been deserted by many of his chief friends. In short, he took the advice of the rajah *Rana*, who offered to be security for *Mohabet's* fidelity, and they joined their interest together.

Ambassy  
from  
*Bukharia*.

In the mean while, *Nur Jehan*, or *Nur Mahal*, continued to govern every thing at court, where two ambassadors now arrived from *Bukharia*. They were men of such sanctity, that they were almost worshipped by their countrymen; and so immensely rich, that they were thought to surpass their master in wealth. The magnificence of their embassy, and their presents both to the *Mogul* and the empress, exceeded every thing of that kind which had ever been seen before; nor was *Nur Jehan* backward in her returns. Matters were

Death and

in this situation, when *Jehan Ghir* died of an asthma, in the year 1627, when he was upon his return to *Labor* from *Kashmir*, aged about fifty-nine, and in the twenty-second year of his reign. This happened on the twenty-second of *October*.

character  
of *Jehan  
Ghir*.

It is extremely difficult to describe the character of *Jehan Ghir*, who had a few virtues intermingled with a great number of vices. Sir *Thomas Rowe*, who knew him well, saw him eat with, embrace, and caress, the most loathsome beggar that ever eyes beheld; and even eat out of his wallet and made him a present of one hundred rupees. But this was meer caprice, for he himself was, in his heart, a meer atheist, and made profession of no religion, though he is said to have protected the jesuits. As to *Mohammed*, both he and his father *Akbar* affected sometimes to imitate him, and to adopt his policy by pretending to inspiration. But the truth is, *Jehan Ghir* had drowned his natural faculties in drinking; and his beautiful empress found her account in encouraging him in that vice. The appearances, therefore, of virtue which he put on, were no other than starts of drunkenness; and he was merciful or cruel, but much oftner the latter, as fancy led him. Though brutally inebriated himself, he punished that vice with cruelty in others; and, as the humour took him, he inflicted the greatest torments upon his servants for the meere trifles. Upon the whole, therefore, *Jehan Ghir* can scarcely be said to have had any other character than what liquor gave him: for which reason, we shall here close his history without taking notice of the many impostures concerning him, that were invented and propagated by the jesuits, to gain a belief in *Europe*, that they had made great progress in *India*, where, in fact, their success was next to nothing.

During



During the life-time of *Jehan Ghir*, the sultan *Shahryar*, Party in whom he had by a concubine, had married the daughter of favour of *Nur Jehan*, by a former husband. This threw her vast in- *Shahryar* terest into his scale, and no sooner did her husband die than to succeed he sent him to *Labor*, and practised with the great officers him, of the army to raise him to the throne. But her brother *Asoph*, and other great lords, had their reasons for opposing his exaltation, and actually put her under an arrest. *Shah Jehan* was, at this time, six hundred miles distant from the court, and there was an absolute necessity for filling the throne. The sultan *Bolaki*, the son of *Kofru*, had the undoubted right of inheritance, but he was no more than thirteen years of age. *Asoph*, however, and his friends, made him a mock emperor, but dispatched expresses, inviting *Shah Jehan* to take upon him the government. A scene of infamous murders then followed. In vain did *Shahryar* squander his mother-in-law's treasures to secure to himself the army, for it was no sooner known that *Shah Jehan* was preparing to march for *Labor*, than all *Shahryar*'s troops deserted him; and, being taken prisoner, he was deprived of his who is sight. The nearer *Shah Jehan* approached to the capital, the abandonment- less regard was paid to the young emperor *Bolaki*; and, at ed and last, his power increased to such a degree, that he dispatched blinded. a ruffian rajah, one *Bohadri*, to *Labor*, who, by his orders, put to death *Shahryar*, the emperor *Bolaki*, and the three sons of his brother *Daniel*. In the mean while, *Shah Jehan* proceeded to *Agra*, and, the lucky minute being fixed by the astrologers, he was solemnly recognized as emperor by all the great men.

Nothing can be, in reality, more despicable than the state Reflection of the *Mogul* court and dominions during this and the for- on the mer reign. Though the emperors, in their own persons, state of the equipages, palaces, women, and attendants, were sumptu- imperial ous, beyond all imagination, yet they had nothing about court them that was liberal or manly. The great men, though covered with jewels, submitted to the most abject acts of slavery, even to the scrambling with one another for fragments of victuals, that were tossed to them, in scorn, by their emperor. They submitted to be beggars to the *Europe- ans*, and the instances related of their meanness by *Sir Thomas Rowe*, are really shocking.

The condition of the country, if possible, was still worse and than that of the court. The whole policy of the emperors had country. been to abolish the power of the great rajahs; and to reduce their subjects to a state of slavery under themselves. This had abolished all kind of police out of the empire, and had filled the plain country with robbers; insomuch that a foreign ambassador could not travel without being protected by an army; nor was the smallest care taken to punish the most flagrant violences.



*Shak Jehan* succeeds.

It was not long before *Shak Jehan* felt the effects of those disorders. His authority had been actually acknowledged by *Nur Jehan*. He had received possession of the imperial treasures, and he had continued *Asoph* in his post of first minister. But the *Usbek Tartars* infested the province of *Kabul*, and two rebels, *Almuk* and *Youk*, were in arms; the former held the kingdom of *Tattan*, and the latter filled the country with his robberies. *Shak Jehan*, however, who wanted neither courage or experience, soon suppressed all those insurrections; and, the neighbouring kingdoms being in no condition to give him farther disquiet, towards the end of the year 1628, he reigned as absolute as any of his predecessors had done.

His aver- *Shak Jehan* had many reasons for being an utter enemy to  
sion to the the *Christians*, particularly the *Portuguese*. During his dis-  
*Christians*. tress, and disputes with his father, he had applied to *Rodriguez*, the *Portuguese* commandant at *Ougli*, for assistance; but that *Portuguese* treated him only with taunts and reproaches, and even joined his brother *Parweis* against him. His sultana empress was also exasperated on account of two of her daughters, by a former husband, who had been converted to *Christianity*, and had taken refuge amongst the *Portuguese*. In short, *Kassem*, one of *Shak Jehan's* generals, laid siege to *Ougli*; and, after extorting from *Rodriguez* a large sum of money, he perfidiously took the town, and sent all the *Portuguese* prisoners to *Agra*. There the vindictive empress put it in their choice, to suffer death or turn *Mahometans*, which most of them did; and she would have put to death all who stood out, had she not died in the mean while. After her death, which her husband sincerely bewailed, two of his favourites, a *Venetian* and an *Armenian*, prevailed with him to send the surviving *Portuguese*, who had not abjured their religion, to *Goa*.

He im-  
merges

himself in  
pleasures.

*Shak Jehan* had now neither rival nor enemy; and he employed upon his pleasures, upon women principally, the immense treasures of his empire. He made *Delhi* the place of his residence, and expended above six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds in adorning it. No monarch, perhaps, ever lived in such profusion and luxury as *Shak Jehan* did at this time. The wives of the greatest noblemen were not exempted from his lust; and the presents he made to his favourite women were inexpressibly rich. His palaces, his furniture, his gardens, alcoves, retreats, equipages, and every thing over which he had power, or in which he had property, we are told, were all of them made subservient to his ruling passion for women. Having some kind of taste for wit and ridicule, he employed poets, whom he honoured with his company, to compose little buffoon farces for the entertainment of his ladies; and these were always attended with dancing, music, and feasting. If he took pleasure in  
any



any thing but women, it was in seeing the encounters of prize-fighters, and in hunting. In short, *Shak Jehan*, after coming to the crown, relinquished all his former character for activity and courage.

This unparalleled propensity to pleasure, did not, however, stifle certain native virtues, with which *Shak Jehan* was born, and which he exercised most signally. He surpassed all his predecessors in administering justice, which he did in person, and with an exactness and sagacity seldom known. He likewise suppressed the infamous robberies with which, as we have just seen, his empire was filled when he came to the crown; and that too by a sound principle of policy, not unlike that practice now in *England*, with regard to counties; for he ordered the governors, and officers of justice, to make good all the losses that happened, by thefts or robberies, within their divisions; and he even carried this principle so far, that he obliged his governor of *Surat* to indemnify the *Dutch* for one of their warehouses which had been robbed in that city. His justice was so scrupulous, upon some occasions, that it made him overlook actions which other princes would have punished. One of his officers presuming to sit in his presence, was punished by being turned out of all his posts; and, next day, coming to the royal hall, he seated himself opposite to the emperor, and told him, That, being now independent, he had a right to sit in his presence. This freedom, so extraordinary in an *Indian*, not only went unpunished, but was rewarded, by *Shak Jehan*; who restored the nobleman to a greater degree of power and credit than he had ever possessed before.

This strictness with which *Shak Jehan* administered justice and punished corrupted judges, could not sometimes screen him from insults, on account of his weak and voluptuous manner of life. His *Mogul* subjects were become far more effeminate than the native *Indians*, and the *Rajaputs* were the standing troops of the empire. All the power of the *Moguls* could not suppress the authority of the rajahs over those troops which served for the body-guard of the emperor; and a rajah, one *Amarfin*, had one day the insolence to stab a secretary of state, so near to his master, as to cover him with his blood. The rajah was instantly dispatched, but his *Rajaputs* revenged his death with impunity, by filling the court and city of *Delhi* with slaughter.

We mention this, to shew that the vices of a prince, be he ever so powerful, or despotic, may make him contemptible; and the sequel of *Shak Jehan's* history will prove, that, when a prince becomes contemptible, he is upon the brink of ruin.

*Shak Jehan* had his family failing, that of superstition; for he was a slave to that jargon which is termed judicial astrology; and the wretches who practised it imposed upon his credulity in the following signal manner. One *Champet*, a powerful



*Shak Jehan's superstition.* erful rajah, pretended to be independent of the *Mogul*; and the astrologers advised *Shak Jehan* to take the field against the rebel; adding, that the stars prognosticated a violent death to the person who was the chief governor of *Delhi* during the approaching month. *Shak Jehan* abandoned his pleasures so far, that he put himself at the head of his army, and left his kutwal, or chief judge, to govern his capital. The expedition proved shameful to *Shak Jehan*; for the rebel kept the field, while he returned to *Delhi*, where he found his kutwal dead; they having poisoned him, that they might verify their prognostication. His death confirmed the weak emperor in his good opinion of astrology.

In this unimportant manner the first years of *Shak Jehan's* reign passed: but, as his sons and daughters grew up, the scenes were active, rapid, and, at last, dismal. This makes it necessary to touch upon the character of those princes who have been so celebrated in history.

Character  
of his sons

His eldest son was called *Dara*, a proud, haughty, passionate prince, but possessed of a kind of cunning to make a party, especially amongst the religious, whom he courted with great assiduity. His second son, *Sujah*, like himself, was devoted to pleasure, especially with women; and, as natural affection is next to extinguished amongst brothers, in countries where polygamy is practised, he turned his head to making a party, amongst the great lords, who might one day place him upon the throne, and that by the force of money. *Auringzib* was the third son of *Shak Jehan*, and was the most remarkable character in that age. To a person, which was as mean as the persons of his brothers were noble and majestic, he joined the deepest ambition and hypocrisy. He pretended to renounce all worldly concerns, and to be a fakir, or an *Indian* monk; and was continually praying or preaching: but his real study was mankind, in which he was an able proficient; and he laid his schemes so deep, and so well, that, in the end, he succeeded, tho' all appearances were against him. *Morad*, the fourth son of *Shak Jehan*, was the very reverse of *Auringzib's* character: he was as open and frank, as the other was dark and reserved; and, like his two elder brothers, he was handsome, brave, and generous; but was destitute of capacity for business.

and

daughters. Such were the characters of those princes of *India*. The princesses, the daughters of *Shak Jehan*, were, *Jehan Ara* and *Royssan Ray*. The former was so beautiful, that her father was suspected of having an incestuous correspondence with her. She was at the same time possessed of great wit and address, but unmeasurably fond of pleasure. Her father knew that, and connived at the visits paid her by a young musician about court. As she had an absolute ascendancy over her father, her appointments and revenue were very great; and she made use of them in strengthening the interest of her brother *Dara*; who was so passionately fond of her,



her, that he was said to have promised to marry her, if ever he came to the throne. But she was, in every respect, a libertine, and admitted the embraces of every man who pleased her. One of her lovers, upon a certain day, when her father came to visit her, jumped into a chaldron, in which she used to bathe; and the old man, suspecting where he was concealed, ordered a fire to be made under the chaldron, by which the lover was destroyed. *Shak Jehan*, with his own hand, poisoned another of her lovers, of whom he was jealous. *Roysham Ray*, the other daughter of *Shak Jehan*, was as voluptuous as her sister, but not so great a beauty. She was in the interest of her brother *Auringzib*, and, though her appointments were not equal to those of her sister, yet she did him great services.

*Shak Jehan* had too many instances, even in his own experience, of the ambition of sons and brothers, not to be extremely apprehensive of the practices of his own sons against him. *Dara*, proud and aspiring, had the advantage of seniority; and, in all respects, emulated the pomp and grandeur of his father: so that he seemed scarce inferior to him in the state. But, though *Shak Jehan* suffered this, yet he still had a secret bias in favour of *Auringzib*. In imitation of his great ancestor *Tamerlan*, he bestowed upon his sons the chief governments of his empire. *Sujah* was made governor of *Bengal*; *Auringzib* of that part of *Dekan* which had been conquered; *Morad* of *Guzerat*; and *Dara* of the kingdoms of *Kabul* and *Multan*.

A misunderstanding, about this time, happened between the king of *Golkonda*, a prince so powerful that he had five hundred thousand troops in his pay, and his chief general, with the emir *Jemla*, to whom he owed his crown. *Jemla*, thinking himself ill treated, at first offered the sultan *Sujah* his interest to raise him to the throne of *Golkonda*: but *Sujah*, with a becoming disdain, rejected the proposal: upon which *Jemla* applied to *Auringzib*, who embraced it. The king of *Golkonda*'s name was *Abdollah*, and the name of his capital was *Bagnagar*. *Auringzib* and the rebel general joining forces, they surprized *Bagnagar*, and rifled it, even stripping the palace of the golden plates that covered the apartments. *Abdollah* had neglected to keep up his army, and had then only about seventy thousand on foot. He escaped to his strong fortress of *Golkonda*, where *Auringzib* and his general besieged him.

Happening to have in his service an engineer remarkably dextrous, while he was one day upon the bastions of the fortress, the engineer, pointing to *Auringzib*, as he was riding upon his elephant, asked leave of the king to take off his head with a cannon-ball. But *Abdollah* forbid him, saying, That the persons of princes ought to be sacred. Upon this the engineer took off the head of *Auringzib*'s general, just as they were preparing to storm the castle; which threw his troops



into such confusion, that the general of *Golkonda*, who lay near the city, gave them an entire defeat.

*Auringzib*, who was as intrepid and resolute as he was crafty and cunning, would have revenged this defeat in a signal manner, had not *Jemla*, who lay under personal obligations to *Abdollah*, and felt some remains of duty within his breast, applied to *Shak Jehan* to mediate a peace between *Auringzib* and *Abdollah*; which was effected upon *Auringzib*'s son marrying *Abdollah*'s daughter, and being declared heir of his kingdom, after his decease, in case he died without male issue. This peace was reckoned, as indeed it was, a masterpiece of policy; it having been effected by *Dara*, and the queen-mother, who knew *Auringzib*'s aspiring genius, and disliked his being master of *Golkonda*.

Character  
of *Jemla*.

*Jemla* had a great capacity both for war and politics, and tached himself entirely to *Auringzib*, by whose powerful influence he was made commander in chief of the *Mogul*'s troops. In this *Auringzib* gained a great point. *Dara* had begun to manifest his ambition, which made his father extremely uneasy. His overbearing disposition had led him to maltreat some of the most powerful princes in *India*, and he poisoned *Sadollah*, who was his father's first minister, and esteemed to be the greatest statesman in the empire. *Auringzib* therefore strove to ballance *Dara*'s interest at court, by that of *Jemla*, who persuaded *Shak Jehan* to send an army towards *Dekan*. *Dara* considered this army as so many auxiliaries to his brother; and, *Shak Jehan* falling dangerously ill in the mean while, *Dara* had even the insolence to confine him. This spread an alarm of his death, and the whole empire was quickly in arms.

Avarice of  
*Shak Je-*  
*han*.

*Shak Jehan* now felt the effects of his mistaken policy. His avarice, having increased with his age, was now become excessive. He had prepared vast subterraneous apartments, into which he stowed the immense treasures he was daily heaping up; and, not chusing to part with them, he had given his sons the great governments of his empire to live upon. Thus he, in fact, parted with his power, that he might increase his treasures. *Dara*, by his magnificence, courage, and right of prerogative, but, above all, by the ascendancy he had over his eldest sister, had the greatest sway at court. His father feared him, but he loved *Auringzib*, to whom he sent an account of his situation. The sultan *Sujah* took arms in *Bengal*, as *Auringzib* did in *Dekan*. *Dara* prevailed with the father to order both of them to be quiet; but they persisted in their warlike operations, on pretence that their father was either dead or confined by his eldest unnatural son; and, that they were resolved, either to revenge his death or free him from his imprisonment.

His sons  
take arms  
against  
him.

Conduct  
of *Auring-*  
*zib*.

The situation of *Auringzib*, upon this occasion, was as particular as his policy was profound. Having professed a total abstinence from worldly riches and pleasures, he had forborne



forborne to raise money, and professed to be a fakir. The father, was a real atheist; *Dara*, was an indolater, or a worshipper of fire; and *Sujah* was what they call an heretic; therefore, as he pretended, neither of them were capable of succeeding to the empire; and, he himself being disqualified by his profession, he applied to his brother *Morad*, who was in *Guzerat*, and who, he pretended, was the only son of their father who could inherit his dominions. His letter to *Morad* was extremely artful. He asked no more for himself than a quiet retreat in a corner of the empire, after *Morad* should come to the throne; and he invited him to besiege the fortrefs of *Surat*, which contained a vast treasure, and he accordingly did so.

*Jemla* continued still at the head of the *Mogul's* troops, who joins and was then besieging *Kalian*; which he afterwards took: with *Jemla* but his wife and children were detained at *Agra* by *Dara*, as hostages for his fidelity. *Auringzib* saw the necessity he was under of keeping *Jemla's* friendship, and proposed their joining forces. *Jemla* made difficulties, but, at last, by a remarkable juggle between them, *Auringzib* put him under a sham arrest; and, by vast presents and promises, brought his army to declare for him.

He gave intelligence of this great event to his brother *Morad*, who, with the help of the *Dutch*, was besieging *Surat*, which he took after a great resistance. Being a vain, rash prince, his success and *Auringzib's* letters intoxicated him so much, that he immediately proclaimed himself the sovereign of *Indostan*, or *India*, and coined money in his own name. *Shak Abbas*, an eunuch, whom he chiefly trusted, put him upon his guard against *Auringzib's* cunning, and advised him not to join him with his army. But he was deaf to all council of that kind; the junction was formed, and *Auringzib*, in all respects, behaved to him as if he had been his lawful sovereign.

*Shak Jehan*, who was still in *Dara's* power, ordered them to lay down their arms; but his orders were disregarded, on pretence that they were either forged, or extorted from him. At the same time, *Sujah* was advancing with another army. *Soleyman*, the son of *Dara*, a brave and handsome young prince, was sent to oppose him; and, though *Shak Jehan* did all he could to compromise matters, the two armies met, and *Sujah* was defeated, and might have been taken prisoner, had it not been for a general called *Jessyu*, whom *Shak Jehan* had joined in the command with *Soleyman*, with secret instructions to do all he could to compromise matters among his children. *Sujah* defeated.

When *Sujah* was defeated *Auringzib* and *Morad* were still advancing to *Agra*, and had surmounted vast difficulties in their advances march. Arriving at the river *Enjin*, they were opposed by *Hassam* and *Jessom*, *Shak Jehan's* two generals; but the former hated *Dara*, and, though the troops of the confederate brothers



brothers were exposed to vast disadvantages, yet *Morad's* courage, and *Auringzib's* conduct, gained a compleat victory. *Jessom* was the son-in-law of the famous *Rana*, whom we have mentioned to have been the descendant of *Porus*. The *Rajaputs* he commanded were reckoned the best troops in *India*, and almost all of them were killed fighting by his side; for, out of above eight thousand, scarce six hundred were left alive. Upon his return home, his wife was, with difficulty, prevailed upon, by her mother, to see him, because he had survived his defeat. *Dara* would have taken a signal revenge upon *Jemla's* wife and family, had he not been prevented by his father.

*Dara's*  
ambition  
and poli-  
cy.

His son *Soleyman* was, at this time, in pursuit of *Sujab* with the flower of his grandfather's troops; and, though *Dara* had about him an army vastly superior to that of his two brothers, yet it was not to be trusted, as he was disliked by the chief officers. *Shak Jehan* was sensible of this, and his great knowledge in affairs made him propose the best expedient that could have been offered; which was, that of mediating peace in person amongst his children. But *Dara* had, by this time, become master of all the imperial treasure and forces. *Sujab* had been defeated; the army of his confederate brothers did not amount to above thirty-five thousand men, and those harrassed and fatigued; while he himself had one hundred thousand horse, with twenty thousand foot and an immense train of artillery. He resolved not to let the crisis slip out of his hand, and he even refused to wait till he could be joined by his brave son, who was esteemed and loved by the whole empire, and who was the darling of his grandfather. *Shak Jehan* saw *Dara's* madness, but could not prevent it. The old man, however, had spirit enough, on his taking leave of him, to charge him, never to appear in his sight more, unless he was victorious.

When *Dara* took the field, he made such dispositions on the banks of the river *Chembel*, that *Auringzib* durst not venture to pass it; but he took his measures so well, that, marching by another road, he advanced within five miles of *Agra*, where he found *Dara* with his army ready to oppose him. The dispositions for the battle were admirable on both sides; but *Dara*, by his haughtiness, had made himself many enemies amongst the general officers; and *Auringzib* did not fail to give out that he had forty thousand of *Dara's* troops in his interest.

*Dara is*  
defeated.

The battle joining, *Dara*, who was extremely brave in person, broke through the lines of the confederate princes with dreadful impetuosity, and penetrated almost to the person of *Auringzib*, who was surrounded by a few faithful friends. His firmness, on this occasion, has but few parallels in history; for, though he saw himself ready to be overpowered by his victorious enemies, he was so far from retreating, that he ordered the elephant which he rode to be chained to

the



the spot where he stood. *Morad* behaved with equal intrepidity, and was in equal danger from *Ramseyn Rowtla*, whom he killed with his own hand; and thereby called the attention of *Dara* from *Auringzib* to the left wing, which was beginning to give way. He accordingly led his victorious troops against *Morad*, whom he charged so furiously, that he must have gained a compleat victory, had not *Kalil*, who commanded his right wing, and who had a secret enmity to him, persuaded him to descend from his elephant, and to mount a horse, to pursue his fugitive enemies. The imperial army, no longer beholding their prince upon his superb elephant, thought he had been killed; and, by a most unparalleled turn of fortune, *Auringzib*, who had scarcely a thousand troops about his person, saw himself victorious. The imperial troops were fled and dispersed, and *Kalil* came over to the confederate princes; while *Dara*, seeing the day lost, retreated to *Agra* with the utmost dejection of spirit.

*Shak Jehan* was touched with the misfortunes of *Dara*, who had behaved so gallantly, and had failed of success only through the treachery of his general. He advised *Dara* to march to *Delhi*, where he would find means to repair his misfortune, and again to take the field; which he at last did, but with the utmost consternation. *Auringzib*, on the other hand, dreaded the fortune and courage of *Soleyman*, but wrote such artful letters to the rajah *Jessyu*, and the khan *Delil*, who commanded under him, that they, believing *Dara* utterly ruined, persuaded *Soleyman* to repair to the mountains of *Sernaghar*, where he was received with great cordiality by the rajah.

This event was fortunate for *Auringzib*, who pursued his march to *Agra*, and sent one of his eunuchs to make his apology to his father. The latter seemed not displeased with *Auringzib's* success, and professed such kindness for him that he sent him word he earnestly desired to embrace him. But in this *Shak Jehan* dissembled, and *Auringzib* knew it. The *Mogul* emperors, since their accession to the throne of *India*, had always about their persons, within their palace, a guard of *Tartar* women, in all respects armed and disciplined like men. *Shak Jehan's* intention was, that, if *Auringzib* had accepted of his invitation, those amazons should have assassinated him the moment he set his foot within the court. *Auringzib*, however, instead of visiting his father, ordered his son, the sultan *Mahmud*, to surprize him in his palace; which he did; while he himself, by threats and promises, made sure of most of the great omras and lords.

*Shak Jehan* had still all the appearances of sovereignty; but he was not considered as such by *Auringzib*, who still owned his brother *Morad* for his emperor and master; while *Shak Jehan* himself was kept a close prisoner. But *Auringzib* was so great a master of dissimulation, that he pretended his father's confinement was owing to the practices of *Dara* only;



only ; and, that he would set him free as soon as he could bring *Dara* to reason. After this, *Auringzib* put the custody of *Agra* into the hands of his uncle *Hesh Kan* ; and, having secured all his concerns there, he set out with his brother *Morad* in pursuit of *Dara*.

But *Auringzib* had now carried his dissimulation, perhaps, a little too far. His brother's friend, *Shah Abbas*, knew well that it was not likely a prince, of his courage and penetration, would run such dangers, and bear such fatigues, as he had done, merely from the disinterested view of serving his brother. He counselled *Morad* to put him to the test, and to suffer him to go at the head of a party in pursuit of *Dara*, while he, *Morad*, kept possession of *Agra* and *Delhi*. *Morad* rejected this advice, as shewing too great a distrust of his brother ; and they set out together at the head of the army. But it was now time for *Auringzib* to strike the great blow he had so long meditated against *Morad*. He had not been so cautious, but that somewhat of his intention perspired. *Morad*'s friends, on the second or third day of their march, made a final attempt upon him, to dissuade him from trusting his brother. He was inclined, at first, to have taken their council ; but he soon relapsed into his ordinary credulity ; and, though they even entreated him to refrain but a single day from his brother's company, yet he was infatuated enough to accept of an invitation to a banquet given him by *Auringzib*.

After the banquet, wine was served in the utmost profusion, and *Auringzib*'s mask of religion then obliging him to withdraw from the company, who were in the secret, they plied him so warmly with the wine, that he got drunk and fell asleep. This was the signal agreed upon ; he was disarmed by the officers and domestics of *Auringzib*, who, returning into the room, rudely awakened *Morad* with a kick of his foot, and reproached him, in the most bitter terms, with being a drunkard and a violator of *Mahomet*'s law ; ordering him, at the same time, to be bound and confined, which was accordingly done. *Morad*'s officers, who had long expected such an event, instead of revenging his cause, entered into *Auringzib*'s service ; nor was a sword drawn upon the occasion : so that *Morad* was quietly conveyed to an old fort called *Selimajel*, in the middle of the river near *Delhi*.

and puts  
his brother  
*Morad* in  
prison.

*Auringzib* then resumed his pursuit of *Dara*, who fled from place to place, and, at last, to *Tatta Bakar*, which was reckoned the most inaccessible fortress in *India*. *Auringzib*'s ambition was now manifest to all the world ; and he began to be apprehensive, what the consequences might be, if he should be longer absent from the capital. He therefore sent a body of seven or eight thousand men in pursuit of *Dara*, and set out upon his return.

While



While he was near *Labor*, he narrowly escaped being cut off. It was his custom to march some miles before his army with few or no attendants; and, in this situation, he was met by the rajah *Jesseyu*, at the head of some thousands of *Rasputs*. *Auringzib* had no resource but in his own intrepidity and presence of mind. He was not sure whether *Jesseyu* had any design upon his person, but he had a great deal more reason to think so than otherwise. While *Jesseyu* was approaching him, *Auringzib* gave him signals with his hand to make haste; and, before they could meet, he called out to him, That *Dara* was ruined, and that he had expected him, *Jesseyu*, impatiently. Then coming up to *Jesseyu*'s person, he put about his neck a magnificent string of pearls, which he took from his own, and made him governor of *Labor*. This behaviour, with other expressions of endearment, entirely reconciled *Jesseyu* to his new master, and he marched for his government. We mention this escape, because it serves to shew the true character of this great but wicked prince; who, on many occasions, appears to have been more fortunate than prudent; though, in prudence, few princes ever excelled him.

The unfortunate *Dara* left a strong garrison at *Tatta Ba-* The mis-  
*kar*, and, having engaged some *European* engineers and offi- rics of  
 cers in his service, he marched with an army of not above *Dara* du-  
 three thousand men into *Guzerat*; where he made himself ring his  
 master of the capital of *Ahmed Abad*, though *Nevaz*, the go- flight.  
 vernor of it, was uncle to *Auringzib*. But the latter was  
 not so apprehensive of *Dara*, as he was now of the sultan  
*Sujah*, who had an excellent train of artillery, and had made  
 so good a disposition, that *Auringzib* was once more in the  
 most imminent danger; and must have been entirely ruined  
 by his brother's army or by want of water, had not his good  
 fortune again interposed. Some say that *Dara* in person was  
 at this battle; and, if he was not, it is more than probable,  
 from the disposition of his troops and artillery, that some of  
 his *European* officers were there. In short, by the treachery  
 of *Sujah* and *Jessom Sheyu*, *Auringzib*'s troops were, in fact,  
 at first routed; and the elephant on which he rode was so  
 galled by the vast showers of arrows which fell upon him,  
 that *Auringzib*, fearing he would turn from the enemy, was  
 upon the point of leaping from his back, when the brave  
*Jemla* stepped in to his rescue. But this could not have pre-  
 vented the destruction of *Auringzib* and his army, had not  
*Sujah*, like *Dara*, alighted from his elephant, and mounted  
 his horse to go on the pursuit. The same cause had the same *Sujah* is  
 effects: *Sujah*'s army, imagining him to be killed or taken, defeated  
 gave ground; that of *Auringzib* fought with fresh spirits, and by *Au-*  
*Sujah*'s army was dispersed, he saving himself with great dif- ringzib.  
 ficulty.

*Auringzib*, who made the possession of *Agra*, and of his His per-  
 father's person, his great objects, returned to *Agra*, at a time plexities  
 when and policy



when the inhabitants expected to see him appear there in chains; so much had they been prepossessed by the accounts of *Sujah's* success. He considered it, when he reflected upon all circumstances, as a kind of a miracle, that *Jessom*, who, after betraying him, and had been, for two days, in possession of *Agra*, had not delivered him out of prison; but that nobleman's view was to carry all the plunder he could into his own country. On the other hand, *Sujah's* troops, recovering their consternation, he was again at the head of a great army; and he fortified *Elabas*, a strong and important pass.

*Auringzib*, upon this occasion, was greatly perplexed how to behave. He would, indisputably, have marched against *Sujah* in person, had he had about him a person to whom he could trust *Agra*. *Jemla* had, indeed, given him no reason to suspect his fidelity; but his power, his reputation, his riches, and quality, all which were almost equal to that of the *Mogul* himself, together with a certain air of independency which *Auringzib* began to find he assumed, rendered it dangerous to trust him with so important a charge. *Auringzib's* son, *Mahmud*, had done him services almost equal to those of *Jemla*; and it was principally owing to his courage and conduct, that he was in possession of his father's person and the castle of *Agra*. But he carried about him too many symptoms of ambition for his father to trust him. He therefore resolved to make them checks to each other, by putting them both at the head of the war against *Sujah*. It was not long before the two generals quarrelled; by which all the operations of that campaign upon the *Ganges* were rendered ineffectual, notwithstanding all the abilities of *Jemla*.

Sultan  
*Mahmud's*  
impru-  
dence.

*Mahmud*, impatient of equality, and far more of controul in command, treated *Jemla* with disrespect, and even reflected upon his father. Understanding that this had come to the ears of the latter, and well knowing the danger he was in of being arrested, he not only separated himself with a few of his followers, but went over to his uncle *Sujah*, to whom he swore fidelity. Happily, perhaps, for *Auringzib*, *Sujah* suspected that this desertion was only an act of his own craft, and did not chuse to trust his nephew in a command. *Mahmud*, nettled at this, returned to *Jemla*; but, by his father's orders, he was secured and carried prisoner to *Guliyar*, where he afterwards finished his days.

His example, with the severe admonitions of his father, struck his brother, the sultan *Mauzem*, with such terror, that he affected all his father's shew of religion and disregard of power. *Jemla* still remained at *Rajah Mhal*, in *Bengal*; where, by reason of the rainy seasons, he could make no effectual progress against *Sujah*.

*Auringzib* was, at this time, in possession of the sovereign authority both at *Delhi* and *Agra*, where he still kept his father confined; his brother *Morad* being in prison at *Guliyar* along



along with *Mahmud*. Notwithstanding all this, *Auringzib* had still difficulties to encounter. *Jessom*, who had reached his own country, professed himself *Dara's* friend, and promised to join him with all his troops; which promise *Dara* trusting to, he marched from *Ahmed Abad*, with a great body of troops he had got together, towards *Agra*. But *Jessom* was persuaded by *Jessyu* to remain quiet: and thus *Dara*, who is said to have been betrayed on all hands, even to the charging his artillery only with powder, in his approach to *Agra*, was irretrievably defeated; and, without being able to save even a tent, with no more than two thousand troops, fled from *Adzmir*, the place of the battle, back towards *Ahmed Abad*, after suffering inexpressible miseries from the extreme heat of the climate, the want of water, and the perpetual attacks of the robbing rajahs through whose countries he passed. In this distress, *Bernier*, the *French* physician and traveller, and author of the best account of that reign, met him; and *Dara*, having with him no physician of his own, took him along with him in that capacity; but he was obliged to leave him in a night or two, not having credit enough to procure him a carriage or a horse.

Notwithstanding *Dara's* precipitate flight from *Adzmir*, he found means to carry along with him his wives and ladies. He still made no doubt of being readmitted in *Ahmed Abad*; but *Auringzib* had prevailed on the governor to refuse him admittance. This unexpected disappointment threw *Dara* and his family into the utmost consternation; and he wandered from place to place, and, at last, took the route of *Tatta Bakar*, which was then streightly besieged by *Mir Babab*, *Auringzib's* general. Upon this news, *Dara* left the brave governor of *Tatta Bakar* to make the best terms he could for himself, and, instead of retiring into *Persia*, which he might have done, though not without difficulty, threw himself upon a *Patan* robber, one *Jon Kan*, noted for crimes, rebellion, and ingratitude, *Dara* having twice saved his life after his father had ordered him to be trodden to death under the feet of elephants. But the villain was proof against the remembrance of these obligations; and, allured by the sight of *Dara's* treasure, and *Auringzib's* promises, he seized both him and his grandson, with all their treasures; and, ignominiously mounting him in chains upon an elephant, with an executioner sitting before him, holding a drawn sabre to cut off his head in case of resistance, he was carried, in a coarse linen habit and turban, which he wore by way of mourning for his favourite wife, who died of thirst in the deserts, through the principal cities of the empire, with his grandson sitting by him, while his infamous betrayer rode by his side.

The miserable equipage in which *Dara* appeared, drew tears from the people, and the most bitter reproaches against his



his enemies ; but no attempt was made to rescue him. The sentiments the people discovered, made *Auringzib* cautious how far he should proceed against him ; and he summoned a council to deliberate whether he should put him to death or send him prisoner to *Guliyar*. *Dara's* enemies carried it for the former proposition, but pretended that it was for his being a kaffer, or idolater.

and put  
to death.

The sentence of death was immediately awarded, and the execution of it was committed to a slave, one *Nazar*, a professed enemy to *Dara*. He had no sooner entered the apartment, where the princes were confined, when *Dara*, who was then dressing some pulse for his own supper, knew his errand, and attempted to defend himself, but was instantly thrown to the ground by the assistants of *Nazar*, who, sitting upon him, cut his throat, and carried his head directly to *Auringzib*. The hypocrite had it cleaned, that he might not be imposed upon, and then affecting to shed tears, he ordered it to be buried in the tomb of his ancestors. As to *Sepe Shekewh*, *Dara's* grandson, he was sent prisoner to *Gauliyar*.

His son  
*Soleyman*  
holds out,

but is  
taken

*Soleyman Shekewh*, that prince's father, and *Dara's* eldest son, continued still in arms amongst the rajahs in the mountains, within eight days journey of *Agra*, to *Auringzib's* great disquiet. Having failed in his attempts to persuade the chief of those rajahs to abandon the prince, he raised an army, and attempted to pass the forts of the mountains, but without effect. Notwithstanding this, after *Dara's* death, the rajah of *Serenaghar* was prevailed upon to give him up ; and the unhappy prince was sent, with chains upon his hands and feet, a prisoner to *Delhi*. His person and mein being answerable to his quality, had a great effect in his favour.

and poi-  
soned.

*Auringzib*, to persuade the people that he was no impostor, ordered him to appear publicly in his own presence and that of all the court. Upon his coming into the hall, with gilt fetters upon his hands, the others having been taken off, the ladies and the omras present could not refrain from tears, even in presence of the tyrant, who seemed himself to be touched, and promised him life and good treatment. *Soleyman* returned him thanks, but desired to be put to immediate death rather than drink the powst, which is a slow poison extracted from poppies, and destroys not only the understanding but the life of those who drink it. *Auringzib*, who had no other motives for his shew of clemency, but the sentiments the assembly expressed, still gave him assurances of safety, but sent him prisoner to *Gauliyar*, where he and his son were soon after dispatched by the powst.

The sultan *Morad* was in the same prison ; but *Auringzib* not chusing, for political reasons, to dispatch him by the powst, had him publicly tried, for extortions and murders committed



committed by him while he was preparing for war at *Ahmed Morad is Abad*, of which he was really guilty; and, being doomed to executed death by the court, his head was cut off.

*Jemla* was still carrying on the war against *Sujah* in *Bengal*. The war and, at last, obliged him to fly to *Rakan*, where the king of that country promised to protect him, and to furnish him with in *Bengal*, a ship that should carry him to some port of *Turky* or *Persia*. But *Sujah*, like his brother *Dara*, was ruined by the vast treasure he carried along with him, and which he took no care to conceal. Finding that the king of *Rakan* was in no disposition to furnish the ship he had promised, and that he had even the insolence to desire him to appear at his court, and to demand his daughter in marriage; *Sujah*, who thought his quality highly superior to that of the king, was mad enough to attempt to dethrone him. For this purpose, he secretly engaged in his service a number of foreigners who were trading in that kingdom; his design, however, was trusted to so many, that it took air, and *Sujah* was obliged to fly; but being pursued, he was overtaken and killed by the Sultan *Su-Rakans*; though it never was certainly known what became *jab's* death of his body. His eldest son, the sultan *Banka*, with two and his younger ones, his two daughters, and his mother, were all family of them made prisoners. The king of *Rakan* married the murdered, eldest and favourite daughter; but perceiving that the *Ma-hometans*, and the other strangers in his dominions, were renewing their practices against his government, he put the whole family of *Sujah* to death, excepting the princess he himself had married. These events happened about the year 1661.

*Auringzib* was now the sole possessor of the *Mogul* empire in *India*, without any other disquietude than what he had from a report that was spread, as if *Sujah* was still alive and had escaped to *Persia*, where he was preparing to renew the war. But those reports soon vanished, and *Auringzib* received acknowledgments of his authority from all quarters, particularly from *Bukharia*, by way of attonement for the indignity he suffered while he commanded his father's troops in that country.

But a desperate sickness he fell into, through his immoderate abstinence, which would be incredible in the meanest falls ill by *European* monk; and which threatened mortal consequences, his immoderate abstinence threw every thing into confusion. The sultan *Mazrim* entered into secret cabals with the great lords, to be recognized as successor to the empire; but *Auringzib* designed to leave that honour to his son, the sultan *Akbar*, on account of the high dignity of his mother, who was descended from the ancient monarchs of *India*, and his intention was seconded by several of the greatest omras.

In the mean time, it was easy to be foreseen, that, if *Auringzib* died, his father must again regain his authority; and



therefore all the great lords prepared to make a merit, to be the first to effect his rescue upon *Auringzib's* decease. But, though that prince was so ill of a fever attended by a paralytic disease as to be given over by his physicians, yet he recovered the use of his tongue so well, as to order himself to be removed into the great hall, where his nobility were assembled, that he might quash all the reports which had been given out of his death. In the mean while, he was perpetually writing to *Akbar*, who had the care of his father, to look strictly to his charge while he was alive; but with orders, that he should be set at liberty if he, *Auringzib*, should die. Herepeated those visits to the assemblies of his omras, till he swooned away; but, when he recovered, he sent for the chief of them into his own apartment, that they might again see he was alive; and he ordered his favourite sister to redeliver into his own hands the imperial signet with which he had entrusted her. But, at last, he recovered.

His vast  
craft and  
address.

His behaviour to his father during his confinement was of a piece with the rest of his art. *Shak Jehan* was under a strict, but not a cruel, restraint. He was indulged in every pleasure but that of reigning, for which his age had now almost disqualified him. His women, his table, entertainments, diversions, and all the enjoyments he loved, were still preserved to him; and, what was yet more extraordinary, he was left in possession of his jewels and treasures. *Auringzib* had obvious reasons for all this lenity; and he did nothing, even in matters of government, without consulting him in the most respectful manner. In short, the whole of his behaviour to the old monarch, was so captivating, that *Shak Jehan* seemed to forget that he had been an emperor, or that he was a prisoner. He even, on many occasions, acted in the most imperious manner to *Auringzib* himself, particularly on the following occasion.

Remarkable instance of his father's haughtiness.

*Auringzib's* health being re-established, he bethought himself how he could best secure the succession to the sultan *Akbar*; and found no method so proper as to marry him to *Begum Sahib*, the daughter of his eldest brother *Dara*. This lady was under the tuition of her grandfather *Shak Jehan*, who approved of her indignation, when she fiercely answered, That she was resolved to stab herself rather than become a wife to the son of her father's murderer.

About the same time, *Auringzib* had given orders for constructing that superb throne which has been so celebrated by *European* travellers and all who have seen it. But he found he could not carry the work on, without being supplied with some of the imperial jewels and diamonds that were in his father's possession. He sent *Shak Jehan* a respectful message for that purpose; but the latter answered, That, rather than comply, he would beat the jewels to powder with his own hands. Even this disobliging answer did not seem to ruffle

*Auringzib*;



*Auringzib* ; and he behaved towards his father, if possible, with greater respect than ever ; and thereby so mollified him that he consented to both his requests.

Though *Auringzib* had thus come to the throne of *India* Alteration through the blood of his brothers and their families ; and of *Auring-* though it must be owned he was a most wicked hypocrite, yet *zib's* cha- we are to remember, that, had any one of them succeeded, he racter. would have proceeded in the same manner. Such is the fate of an unsettled succession in an arbitrary barbarous country. Though, as we have already seen, he was abstemious, even to the ruin of his health ; though he was superstitious to the most abject weakness ; and so deep a hypocrite, that what he had feigned at first he believed at last, yet, when he arrived at the summit of his ambition, he behaved himself as the mildest, as well as the greatest, prince in the world ; which, with regard to power and riches, he certainly was. Tho' he was so parsimonious upon his own person, that his food was entirely vegetable, living sometimes only upon very coarse bread ; and, tho' he drank no liquor but water, and lay on the ground with nothing but a tyger's skin between him and the boards, yet he was generous, even to profusion, to all who approached his person.

His court was now the rendezvous of ambassadors from all His mag- parts of *Europe* and *Asia* ; and, though he both despised and nificent hated some of their principles, yet he did not suffer an am- reception bassador, from the meanest among them, to depart from his of ambaf- court without making him the most magnificent presents. sadors. Though the sovereignty of the *Dutch* had been but very lately acknowledged in *Europe*, and *Auringzib* could have no very high idea of a republic, yet he received their ambassador with the greatest civility, and dismissed him with a noble present to the governor of *Batavia*. He did the like by other ambassadors of less consideration ; but he made a proper distinction, tho' he took no notice of it, but by his contempt, between princes who treated by their ambassadors as such, and those who, from a mean principle of avarice, gave the title of ambassadors to traders and merchants, with a view of making profits in his dominions, which often was the case.

The great rival to *Auringzib*, upon the continent of *Asia*, His differ- was *Shah Abbas II.* of *Persia*. This prince had high notions ences of the regal virtues, and could not bear the pompous titles with *Per-* which *Auringzib* assumed in his coins and letters, particu- *sia*. larly that of *Alem Ghir*, or *Conqueror of the World* ; neither could he endure the thoughts of *Auringzib's* having confined his father in prison and murdered his brothers. *Shah Abbas* was vastly addicted to drinking, which often made him cruel and indecent. *Auringzib*, some time before his father's death, sent an ambassador to the *Persian* court, with the usual presents ; which *Shah Abbas* distributed amongst his great lords,



all but one diamond. Understanding this ambassador had been raised by *Shak Jehan*, he ordered his beard to be cut off, the greatest indignity that could be done him, for his ingratitude to his benefactor, in serving under the author of his misfortunes, and the murderer of his sons. Soon after, by a strange caprice, he dismissed the *Mogul's* ambassador, and sent one along with him from himself, who was loaded with the richest presents, besides one hundred and fifty horses to *Auringzib*. The *Mogul* received the *Persian* ambassador with the most distinguished politeness and favour; but, when he was informed of the treatment *Shah Abbas* had given to his own ambassador, he ordered all the horses to be killed, and the presents to be burned. Notwithstanding this, he shewed no resentment against the *Persian* ambassador, farther than that he obliged him to return a great number of his subjects, whom the ambassador had purchased, and was carrying as slaves into *Persia*.

**Case of** But political, as well as personal, reasons operated in  
**Kandabar.** this misunderstanding. *Kandabar* had been betrayed to *Shak Jehan* by *Murdan*, its *Persian* governor. It was afterwards recovered by the sopher of *Persia*, and, though twice besieged, once by *Shak Jehan*, and another time by *Auringzib*, that important city still remained in the hands of the *Persians*. *Auringzib* had been long making preparations for besieging it afresh, notwithstanding the intercourse between the two courts; and this being known to *Shah Abbas*, to whose predecessors *Kandabar* had originally belonged, encreased the misunderstanding.

**Auring-** When *Auringzib* had scarcely any thing to fear, he began to  
**zib's** be afraid of his greatest friend, as well as subject, *Amir Fem-*  
**jea-** *la*. After the death of the sultan *Sujah*, the government of  
**lously** *Bengal* devolved upon that nobleman; and he reigned there  
**of** in a manner independently. *Auringzib* at once feared and  
**Femla.** caressed him; and the emir, to make proof of his sincerity, requested *Auringzib* to send him his wife and family, whom he had dexterously detained as hostages for the emir's fidelity. *Auringzib* durst not either refuse or comply with this request; but, acting up to his own character, he made the emir's eldest son the master of his horse, or a post resembling it; but such as obliges the professor of it to be always near the *Mogul's* person. He then sent to *Femla* his wife and his other children, and he created *Femla* himself the head of his lords; a dignity which answers to the emir al omra of the khalifs. Each thus understanding the other's meaning, both remained quiet for some time; but *Auringzib*, knowing that the emir was at the head of a great army entirely devoted to him, proposed to him the conquest of *Azem*, a great and a powerful kingdom, north of *Dekan*, upon the gulph of *Bengal*.

**War in** This country was governed by a prince whom historians  
**Azem.** call only a rajah, but he was, in fact, a king. It is very little known



known, being, by situation, so much sequestered from the rest of the world, that the people had lived in a profound tranquility amongst themselves till they were disturbed by the ambition of the *Mogul* and his emir. This silent climate was rich beyond expression, and the subjects enjoyed the whole, as their own property, without paying taxes to their king, who found an immense revenue in the mines of gold, silver, and other metals, which he reserved to himself. The emir *Jemla*, with excessive labour, penetrated into this happy country, took several of its chief towns, and particularly *Gargon*, their capital, and obliged the king, or rajah, to fly to the mountains.

Notwithstanding those pompous accounts, there is reason to believe that they ought to be believed with great caution; for, after *Jemla* had advanced into the country, he found the rajah had taken such precautions, that his army was in danger to perish for want of food; and that, the roads being broken up by the rajah's orders, he could advance no farther.

This, perhaps, was what *Auringzib* had foreseen. *Jemla's* Death of army was entirely ruined by fatigue and famine, and his own *Jemla*, health so much impaired, that he died in returning from the expedition. *Auringzib*, though inwardly rejoiced at this event, behaved to the son with all the gratitude and respect due to his father's services; and not only gave him all his father's personal estate, which was immense, but augmented his appointments. He could not, however, help telling him, He had lost the truest, but the most dangerous, friend he ever had, in the person of his father.

As to the government of *Bengal*, *Auringzib* gave it to his own uncle, *Shah Hest*, who had well deserved it by his services; and it was observed, that the first reflection that fell from the public, upon hearing of *Jemla's* death, was, That *Auringzib* is master of *Bengal*.

The first thing *Shah Hest* undertook in his new govern- Account ment, was, to attack a port, called *Chategon*, inhabited by of the *European*, particularly *Portuguese*, pirates; but belonging, *European* in property, to the king of *Rakan*, the same who put the sul-pirates, *tan Sujah* to death. It is impossible to relate the robberies, murders, and devastations, committed by those pirates, who were the very off-scoverings of *Europe* and some parts of *Asia*, but all of them pretending to be *Christians*. Their general practice was, to make all their prisoners slaves, or to sell them as such; and their barbarities are said to have given rise to that aversion which *Shah Jehan* had always expressed for the *Christian* religion, even to the pulling down churches which his family had suffered to be built. They grew, at last, to such a height of power and insolence, that they sent one *Gonsalvo*, who was the arch-pirate amongst them, and who had even married the king of *Rakan's* daughter, to the



vice-roy of *Goa*, offering to put the king of *Portugal* in possession of that kingdom upon certain terms, which the vice-roy disdained to comply with. Their power at sea was greatly superior to that of the *Mogul*; and therefore *Shah Hest* resolved, if possible, to make them his friends, or exterminate them.

They join  
*Auring-*  
*zib's* ge-  
neral.

*Auringzib* either resented, or pretended to resent, very highly, the murder of his brother, and family, against the king of *Rakan*; and the true design which *Shah Hest* had in his eye, in attacking the pirates, was, to open his way into *Rakan*. He knew there was a deep hatred between the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese* in *India*, and he easily prevailed upon the former to lend him their assistance; but, in the mean time, he wisely opened his mind to the pirates themselves, by telling them, that his real design was upon *Rakan*, and that, if they would serve under him, he would double their pay, and give them settlements in *Bengal*. This proposal was backed by vast armaments both by sea and land; and the pirates, embracing his offer, came over, like one man, to *Bengal*, and assisted *Hest* in taking the island of *Sundiva*; which, by its situation, commands the mouth of the *Ganges*, and where a friar had for some time reigned as king.

*Hest's* next attempt was upon *Chategon*, which was in possession of the king of *Rakan*, and which he took by the assistance of the pirates.

*Hest* having thus gained his chief ends, and conquered the king of *Rakan*, neglected his *European* allies, both *Dutch* and pirates. The former came to his assistance with two ships, though not till after he had been joined by the pirates; but they had no other reward than civility and fair words. As to the pirates, being now in possession of their nests, he left them to misery and contempt.

Barbarism  
of *Au-*  
*ringzib*.

Whatever compliments *European* writers may have paid to *Auringzib's* abilities and greatness, it appears that he was a barbarian in one sense; for, whether it proceeded from jealousy of the *Europeans*, or of the neighbouring princes, it is certain, that, about the year 1671, he commanded that no person in his dominions should commit any part of his history to writing. This was an edict more barbarous than any of his ancestors ever had issued; and to that it is owing, we know little of the remaining part of his reign, but from the lame informations we have from *European* travellers in *India*. It is owing to this, that we are uncertain what became of his eldest son *Mahmud*, whom he several times imprisoned; though it is probable that he died by the pox. His other son, *Marozm*, notwithstanding all his dissimulation, was suspected

His con-  
duct to  
his son  
*Marozm*.

by his father. He had heard of the intrigues he had set on foot during his sickness; and, under pretence that he would try his courage, he one day took an opportunity, in full court,



court, to order him to kill a lion, that had laid waste the neighbouring country; and to do it without making use of ropes and nets. The reader, however, is not to imagine, that *Mawzm* went singly out to encounter the lion. He was attended with a numerous train of horsemen, and mounted upon an elephant; and, after the loss of some men and horses, the lion was killed. This was esteemed so wonderful a proof of courage in an *Indian* prince, that *Auringzib* is said to have loved *Mawzm* ever after, and to have given him a government, but with very little power.

The person who made the greatest figure in *India* at this time, was a prince, or rajah, called *Seva Ji*. This rajah was in the service of *Viziapur*, and had been guilty of all manner of crimes, cruelties, and treasons; but had raised himself, by his courage, to great power, and was master of many important cities and fortresses; and, at last, he even attacked the dominions of *Auringzib*, who sent his uncle *Hest* against him with an army vastly superior to that of *Seva*. The latter was obliged to retire to the woods, from whence *Hest* found it impossible to dislodge him; and therefore was obliged to withdraw his troops, for fear of losing them all.

History of  
*Seva Ji*.

After this, *Seva*, in the habit of a fakir, travelled by himself to *Surat*, then one of the greatest emporiums in all *India*; where he observed the situation and fortifications so exactly, that he soon after surprized and plundered it at the head of four thousand men. The governor, however, saved himself and the castle, which *Seva* did not attempt to take, with the richest effects of the place: neither did that robber molest either the *English* or *Dutch* settlements, because he saw them well fortified with cannon. He exercised the most shocking cruelties upon all the other inhabitants who fell into his hands, and the booty he made amounted to about one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Upon his return, *Auringzib* sent *Jessyu* and his son *Mawzm*. He joins to chastise him; but *Jessyu*, whose talent lay in negotiating, *Auring-* managed matters so, that he drew *Seva* over to the party of *zib*. *Auringzib*, who made him a rajah with distinguished marks of his esteem; and employed him in his wars against the king of *Viziapur*. But *Seva* had a strong party against him at court, especially amongst the ladies, at the head of whom was *Hest*'s wife, whose son *Seva* had killed, and wounded her husband, in an unexpected attack during the former war. *Auringzib* required but few solicitations to take off a dangerous or a suspected subject; and, though *Seva* was provided with the imperial passport and protection at court, yet the *Mogul* would certainly have destroyed him, had it not been for *Seva*'s own vigilance and resolution; and *Auringzib*'s apprehension of an insurrection amongst the rajahs who were under the like circumstances with *Seva*. It is more than probable.



bable, however, that the *Mogul* would, at last, have perfected his intention, had not *Seva* dissembled even more than *Auringzib*; and, escaping with his son from court in disguise, he reached a river, over which he was ferry'd; and, at his landing, he desired the boat-man to report to the *Mogul*, that he had ferry'd over the rajah *Seva Ji*.

Having had the precaution to provide relays of horses all along the road he was to travel, he rode night and day, and, though his son was killed with the fatigue, yet he arrived safe in his own dominions; and, in revenge for the *Mogul's* perfidy, he plundered *Surat* a second time; and rendered himself, by enlarging his territories to a vast extent, next to the *Mogul*, one of the most powerful princes in *India*. But all the while he lived like a public robber, though his situation amidst the mountains was such as bade defiance to *Auringzib's* best generals and all his troops. Upon his death, which did not happen till the year 1660, *Auringzib* continued his son in all his posts and pensions; which gave some colour to a suspicion, that he had not been displeased with the father's escape; or, for being able to employ his ambitious sons and rajahs against so powerful an enemy.

Death of  
*Shak Jehan*.

In the year 1666, *Shak Jehan* died, in the seventy-fifth year of his age; and was buried in a monument he had erected over his favourite wife, so sumptuous, that it is said to have cost him seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. As to his character, we have little to say in his recommendation, excepting his strict administration of justice. In other respects, he had all the vices and weaknesses of *Tamerlan* and his descendants. *Auringzib* put on the greatest appearance of grief when he heard of his death; and, as if he had changed his nature, he took into his favour and confidence *Begum Sahib*, for so *Europeans* call his sister, who so often, and so invariably, had opposed his interest. This indulgence, however, might have been no other than the effect of his usual dissimulation, for it was thought that she died with poison soon after.

Chasm in  
*Auringzib's*  
history,

There is now a chasm, for the cause related, in the history of this mighty emperor; but the truth is, the reader can be at no great loss on that account. All the virtues of the *Mogul* line were now extinct; and *Auringzib's* own character, policy, and personal conduct, are the objects that alone engage the attention of an intelligent reader during his reign. His troops, when in the field, lived by rapine, and were more cowardly, and worse disciplined, than the worst militia in *Europe*. His court was filled with a set of lawless oppressors, under the titles of nabobs, omras, rajahs, and the like, who flattered him as meanly as they plundered their inferiors unmercifully. His own life was one continued round of fasting, praying, and tasteless magnificence; when he was not employed in giving audiences to foreign ambassadors, in regulating



gulating the affairs of his revenue, and in ballancing parties amongst his great men. Notwithstanding his austere mortifications, he was far from being unsusceptible of love. As a proof of this, the history of *Jessom Sayu's* widow is now to be related.

*Jessom Sayu*, who has been so often mentioned, was one of those lawless rajahs who tyrannized in their almost inaccessible governments, and were dependent upon the *Mogul* only for the posts and pensions he gave them. Upon his death, *Auringzib* demanded of the widow, who, it seems, was one of the finest women in *India*, a surrender of all her late husband's effects and territories. She and her people were *Hindows*, or idol worshippers; and her answer was, That she had no money, but a great many swords. This resolute answer raised a storm which had almost overset *Auringzib's* government. The widow's birth, quality, and alliances, were the noblest in all *India*; and a confederacy was soon formed amongst the *Hindows* and *Rajaputs* in her favour. This served as a kind of signal for *Auringzib's* sons, the sultans *Manzem* and *Azem*, to put their ambitious schemes in execution. Their father had foreseen this, and had ordered them to leave their governments and repair to court; but they knew their father's disposition too well to obey him.

In the mean while, *Auringzib's* real, or seeming, zeal for *Mahometanism*, plunged him into difficulties from which it required all his genius to extricate himself. He double taxed all the *Hindows* in his dominions, and, by demolishing their images, and places of worship, he forced them to associate in remote parts, which strengthened the confederacies against his government. *Mohammed*, the governor of *Guzerat*, who was himself a *Hindow*, and, in his heart, a friend to *Jessom Sayu's* widow, who was stiled the rana, or princess, remonstrated to *Auringzib* upon the bad policy of his conduct: but he could not prevail, till, by the most undoubted proofs, he convinced him, that some noblemen, about his own person, who were immediately executed, were betraying him, and held a correspondence with his rebellious sons.

It seems to have been on this occasion, that the rana was introduced, by *Mohammed*, to the presence of *Auringzib*: As he had carried on the war against her in person, her territories had suffered greatly; and the mercenary *Mogul* generals, who had promised to defend her, but did not, had drawn from her excessive sums. *Auringzib* was struck with her beauty, his zeal gave way to his love, and, though he had made a vast progress in her dominions, he instantly gave orders for his troops to evacuate them, and that all hostilities should cease; and commissioners met on both sides for a friendly accommodation.

It is uncertain how the two sultans, *Manzem* and *Azem*, demeaned themselves on this occasion: but the sultan *Akbar*, of *Akbar*, who



who was younger than either of them, still continued to be his father's favourite, and was looked upon as the heir of his empire. This young prince's ambition, however, led him greater lengths against his father than his two brothers had gone. He had been at the head of thirty thousand men, and had always kept a secret correspondence with his father's enemies, particularly with *Seva Ji*. His destination with his army was against a rajah in the neighbourhood of *Azmir*. The rajah joined him, and their troops together making up seventy thousand horse, and an answerable body of foot, they immediately marched against *Auringzib*, who was, at that time, at *Azmir*.

suppressed by *Auringzib's* craft. He must have been ruined, had it not been for his own incomparable address. He chose an eunuch of capacity and fidelity, and he entrusted him with letters, directed to his son *Akbar*, which imported a secret correspondence between them, and, as if *Akbar* had, by his direction and knowledge, drawn the *Hindows* into *Azmir* on purpose to give the father and son an opportunity of cutting him off. The fellow acted with so much art, that he was seized upon by the *Hindows* as a spy; they read the letters, and the manner of his answers confirmed a suspicion that they were to be sacrificed. It was in vain for *Akbar* to swear, as he did, upon the *Koran*, as to his ignorance of the contents of the letters, or to put the *Hindows* in mind of his father's art and cunning. They could not shake off their distrust, and, by their divisions, they gave *Auringzib* time to bring up reinforcements, which gave a total defeat to his son and the *Hindows*.

*Akbar* had himself the good fortune to escape out of the battle, and retired into the dominions of the rajah *Somba* with four thousand men. *Auringzib* pursued him, but he escaped to *Maskat* in *Arabia*, where two *English* gentlemen, of the names of *Bendel* and *Stevens*, provided him a vessel that carried him to *Persia*; where he was nobly received by the monarch; and, according to captain *Hamilton's* account, who was a man of credit, and had long resided in *India*, that prince gave *Akbar* his daughter in marriage.

Death of the rajah *Somba*.

As to the rajah *Somba*, he perished through his unaccountable brutality. *Auringzib* advanced to his dominions, and was but a few miles from his camp, when the alarm was given that the *Mogul* army was at hand. *Somba* was then carousing in his tent, and, instead of profiting by the intelligence, he ordered the slaves who brought the news to be beheaded, for presuming to say, that *Auringzib* dared to come where he was. This barbarity scarcely was committed, when he was taken prisoner by the *Mogul* troops; and he was beheaded in his turn, by *Auringzib's* command.

It appears, from the best authorities, that the death of *Somba* did not put an end to *Auringzib's* wars in that country; for we soon after find them besieging his capital, *Jenji*; which



which was so strongly situated, amidst seven fortified mountains, when *Jemelli*, the traveller, left *India*, the place had held out for seven years against an army of sixty thousand men, and the siege still continued.

We have little or nothing more to add to this account of History of *Auringzib*, but what regards the concerns of the *English East India* company, with him. Upon the restoration of *Charles East India* the second, he applied himself to encourage that company, company's which he did, by granting them a new charter, and by ex-differences tending their privileges; particularly, by empowering them, with *Au-ringzib*. as a company, to make peace or war with the natives of *India*. Upon his marriage with the infanta of *Portugal*, he prevailed with that king, to send orders to the vice-roy of *Bombay*, to put that island into the hands of the earl of *Marlborough*, and sir *John Shipman*, who was appointed governor of it, and they accordingly sailed thither, with a squadron of five men of war. At first, the clergy practised with the vice-roy to refuse obedience to his master's orders; and the governor of *Surat* backed them. At last however, the *English*, after lying some months in those seas, got possession of that island, which has proved since of so much importance; and there they carried on a vast commerce. This stirred up the jealousy of the *Dutch*, who made war upon all the natives, who did not act hostilely against the *English*, and indeed against all *Europeans* but themselves. The mogul, or rather his governors, were equally jealous of the *English*; of whose power they had conceived the highest ideas, in which they were confirmed by the vigorous resistance which the company's garrison at *Bombay*, (which by this time had been ceded by the crown to them) made against the strongest efforts, of both the *Mogul* and the *Dutch* arms. Great confusion however happened in the affairs of the company, which are foreign to this history. At last, about the year 1687, *Child*, who was the *East India* company's governor there, pretending great dissatisfaction with the behaviour of the *Mogul* governors; actually entered into war with *Auringzib*, and seized the vessels of his subjects, wherever he met with them.

This was a proceeding as unjust and impolitic, as it was Injustice insolent, and unprecedented. It never had been heard of, and avarice of that an *English* merchant had ventured to carry on war, with perhaps the greatest emperor in the world; and that too *Child*, the within his own dominions. The truth is, *Child* sacrificed *English* the honour and interest of his masters to his own insatiable avarice. At first, *Child* pretended to make war only governor and general. against the traders of *Surat*; where he seized all the *Mogul* shipping, and attempted, with a small squadron of *English* ships, to force the *Mogul* general there, into his terms. But failing of success in that, he seized a fleet of the *Mogul* ships laden with corn for his army; and by his rash rapacious, injudicious



injudicious conduct, he rendered himself as obnoxious to the *English*, as to the natives, and thereby the company's affairs in *India* were threatened with total ruin. *Yacub*, *Auringzib's* chief general in those parts, either dreading the *English*, whose power and riches were at that time at a very high pitch, in *India*, or from a principle of moderation, at first requested, in the most polite terms, the releasement of the corn fleet, which was his master's property; and upon *Child's* returning a brutal, unsatisfactory, answer, he landed twenty thousand men upon the island of *Bombay*, and laid siege to the company's forts there. *Child's* conduct, on this occasion, was as cowardly as it had been insolent before. *Yacub* made himself master of the fortress of *Magazan*, with all the artillery and treasure that was in it, and cut in pieces a detachment of fifty *English*, sent under a captain and a lieutenant to dislodge him. *Yacub* then laid siege to the castle, and *Child* was obliged to take into his pay three thousand *Sauvagees*. Provisions thereby growing scarce, the *English* vessels found means to supply the garrison, by cruising upon the mogul's ships. But *Yacub's* army being now encreased to forty thousand men, *Child* thought of delivering himself, by other means than those of arms. For this purpose, two *English* merchants, and a *Surat* merchant, were sent, loaden with treasure and presents, to implore forgiveness from *Auringzib*, whose court was then at *Jehan-abad*. Their presents and money procured them access to the mogul's person; and the most abject submissions when they were admitted, by having their hands bound, and prostrating themselves on the ground, procured them his pardon: but on condition, that *Child* should leave *India* in nine months: he likewise promised to grant them a new phirmand, or licence to trade.

Submis-  
sion of the  
*English*,  
and mo-  
deration  
of the  
emperor,

Instance  
of his  
penetra-  
tion.

This wonderful moderation in a great monarch, so justly provoked, with all the means of revenge in his hands, is incompatible with the conduct, even of the mildest princes. *Auringzib* indeed stipulated, that reparation should be made to his subjects for their damages and just debts; but *Child* dying, affairs were put upon the former footing, and the *English* became greater favourites at the mogul's court than ever. This was owing to the vast sagacity of *Auringzib*, who had made himself master of the history of *Europe*. As a proof of this, we are told, that *Baroon*, the *Dutch* ambassador at this time, endeavoured to impose upon the mogul's understanding, by representing the *English* as a worthless people, and so inconsiderable, that they had received their king from *Holland*: adding, that if the mogul would drive them out of his country, it would be greatly for the benefit of him and his subjects. *Auringzib* suffered him to finish all he had to say, and then told him, that he expected his masters, who were so powerful, would be at the trouble and expence of clearing *India* of their rivals. *Baroon* giving an evasive answer, *Au-*

*ringzib*



*ringzib* astonished him, by acquainting him, that he knew the *English* kept the ballance of power in *Europe*; and that, had it not been for *England*, *Holland* must have been destroyed, when it was attacked by the *French* king. Upon this *Baroon* withdrew with shame and surprize. *Auringzib* is said to have been the conqueror of *Viziapur*. But it cannot be said that he added the whole of that kingdom to the rest of his dominions; or if he did, either he or his descendants soon lost it.

Little more remains now of *Auringzib*'s history, but his conquest of *Golkonda*. We have already seen the history of the emir *Jemla*, and upon what footing matters stood between *Auringzib* and that king. The latter had assisted the kingdom of *Viziapur* with two hundred thousand men; but *Auringzib* obliged him to recall them. After this, the mogul formed such intrigues among his omras, that his authority was but little respected; and he had not power even to protect an *English* ship, which had been seized by the *Dutch*, and to which he promised his protection. *Abul Hassan*, however, was a prince of abilities; and as the history of his life has a connection with our subject, and is in itself extremely curious, the reader, we doubt not, will be pleased, with a small sketch of it in this place.

*India* about the middle of the last century, began to be much better known than it had been before; and most of its chief princes being *Mahometans*, the *Persians* and *Arabs* made great figures in their courts and armies. *Kothb*, the old king of *Golkonda*, had three daughters. The eldest was married to *Mahmud*, son to *Auringzib*, with a promise of the succession to *Golkonda*. The second daughter's marriage was concluded in a very extraordinary manner. An *Arab* nobleman, in the habit of a fakir, or mendicant, came to the gates of the palace of *Golkonda*, where he took up his lodging for about two months, but without deigning to return any answer to the numerous enquiries made by the courtiers concerning his person and business.

Such an uncommon appearance, excited the curiosity of the king; who sent his physician to enquire into the phenomenon. The physician soon perceiving the pretended fakir to be of no vulgar condition, as to wit and abilities, introduced him to the king; who, pleased with his conversation, at last demanded to know the business that had brought him to *Golkonda*; but was greatly astonished when the fakir bluntly answered, That he had no other but to marry the princess his second daughter. The king and the court at first thought the fakir to be in jest; but perceiving that he was serious, they very reasonably concluded him to be mad, and put him on board a ship which carried him to his own country.

The fakir, however, was not to be put off in that manner; he returned two years after to *Golkonda*, and renewed his

Conquers  
*Viziapur*  
and *Gol-*  
*conda*.

Remarka-  
ble history  
of the  
marriages

of the  
princesses  
of *Golcon-*  
*da*.



his attacks with such vigour and assurance, that he carried his point; he not only married the princess, but, by his behaviour, proved himself worthy of that high distinction: for, when his father-in-law, the king, was about to have delivered the keys of *Golkonda* to *Aurinzib*, while he was besieging it, *Mohammed*, for so the *Arab* was called, snatched them out of his hand; and not only prevented so inglorious a surrender, but obliged *Auringzib* to raise the siege. After this, he became first minister to his father-in-law.

The marriage of *Kothb's* third daughter, was attended with circumstances still more extraordinary. She was the favourite of her father, and *Mahmud*, the son of *Auringzib*, had, by this time, forfeited all pretensions to succeed either his father or father-in-law. The king therefore intended to leave his crown to her and her posterity, provided he could find her a husband deserving so exalted an honour. He unbosomed himself to *Mushuk*, his minister, his son-in-law *Mohammed* not being then in favour; and *Mushuk* advised him, in choosing a husband for his daughter, to have less regard to high birth and riches, which would only increase the factions that were then tearing his court, than to merit and abilities. The king relished this advice, and commissioned the minister to find out the object, but communicated his intention to *Zaffer*, another of his principal officers of state.

An *Arab* of rank had lately died, and was held in great esteem; but all his estate being seized, as usual, by the king, his son was reduced to enter the army in a very low station. The two ministers cast their eyes upon this young nobleman, spoke of him to the king; and it was determined, at last, that his majesty should see him incognito in *Zaffer's* house. This was no hard matter to bring about; but the king complained that the *Arab's* mein and air was not answerable to the report that had been made of him. In answer to this, *Zaffer* urged the *Arab's* dejected circumstances and want of a proper dress. Upon this, it was concluded, that he should be secretly furnished with money sufficient for making a better appearance. *Zaffer* sends for some bankers, and orders them to furnish *Abdollah*, for that was the *Arab's* name, with whatever money he should call for; but enjoined them, as they valued their lives, to conceal from him, that they were to be repaid by the minister.

The bankers soon found an opportunity of introducing themselves to *Abdollah*, and, under pretence of wanting his assistance in soliciting some affairs at court, they, with some difficulty, prevailed upon him to accept of a sum to the amount of some thousands of pounds. This enabled *Abdollah* to enter upon high life; in which he made a most splendid figure, and seemed to be quite a different kind of a man from what he had appeared to be before. The king sees him again, wonders at the change, and, after seeing him



him several times more, he fixes upon him to be his son-in-law.

That no time might be lost, he ordered two of his principal officers, civil and military, instantly to conduct *Abdollah* to court under a noble guard. *Abdollah* lived pleasurably as well as magnificently, and was revelling with some female dancers, when this honourable deputation came to his door. Upon seeing the two persons who were at the head of it, he gave himself up for ruined; and the royal vest with which they presented him, confirmed him in his belief, so that he made no doubt of its being poisoned: a kind of death which all the *Indian* kings were extremely dextrous in administering.

After some gentle reflections upon his majesty's severity, and making professions of his innocence, they secretly assured him, that the apparatus he saw, was only intended to introduce him into the highest degree of honour that could be bestowed upon a subject. The remaining fears of *Abdollah* were *Abdollah's* dissipated, when, at the door of his own house, he mounted suddenly a horse superbly caparisoned; and he led the procession, with rise. a general, riding on the one side, and the secretary on the other, to the palace; where he was instantly married to the princess, without even *Mahmud*, her brother-in-law, knowing any thing of the matter.

*Mahmud* resented the indignity, which he thought was offered him, so much, that he put himself under the protection of *Auringzib*, who gave him noble appointments; and received him at *Delhi*. The father-in-law *Kothb*, the more he advanced in years, the more jealous and suspicious he grew; nor would he suffer even his favourite son-in-law, to be his own master. He would not so much as trust him with money, sufficient even for defraying the expences of his household, nor approach the council table, but kept him guarded in a most magnificent thralldom, by eunuchs and ministers.

*Abdollah* found he had exchanged happiness for grandeur, His conduct and could not help expressing great symptoms of dissatisfaction; upon which the old king still drew his chains the closer, and made him be observed more strictly. At last, after *Abdollah* had lived for about eleven years in this splendid slavery, *Kothb* died, and bequeathed to him his kingdom. The accession of *Abdollah* was the more tranquil, because the ministers and generals of the former reign, knowing him to be an utter stranger to the affairs of government, hoped still to retain all their power and influence under him. It was with this view, that they took his part in an attempt made by the second princess, the wife of *Mahmud*, to settle her son upon the throne. Her attempt was defeated, and *Abdollah* was proclaimed emperor: but he found himself in the lead- He is proving strings of those who had raised him to sovereignty; and, claimed though emperor.



His wife  
policy.

though he was an indolent prince, he had good sense enough to know how to humble their pride. He hated *Moso Kan* and *Zaffer*, who had principally contributed to his greatness, and therefore studied to ruin him. He placed the former at the head of his army, and made the latter his first minister, or duan.

The rivalry between them soon produced the effect that *Abdollah* foresaw and desired. Without appearing to have any hand in the matter, he created an enmity between them, which, at last, broke out into professed acts of hostility. The general defrauded his troops of their pay, and the duan accused him of corruption. Each recriminated upon the other, and thus the king was left the moderator of their differences. He acted with so much art, that he decoyed the general to court, where he was made prisoner and put in chains. A charge was then drawn up against him of the most atrocious nature, accusing him of bribery, and of having violated the privileges of the king's palace; and, at last, all his ready-money, which amounted to about two hundred thousand pounds sterling, was seized, together with an immense quantity of diamonds, which he had amassed by being governor of the chief diamond mine in *Golkonda*. Upon his fall, the king ingratiated himself with the army, by whose assistance he proposed to humble the duan, who now thought himself more than monarch.

*Abdollah*, all this while, winked at the abuses which the duan committed in his office; and suffered him to proceed till the whole kingdom was in a fermentation; and then, being sure that the popular clamour was against him, he sent him into banishment; and thereby became his own minister as well as general. All this happened about the year 1670; at which time, we are told, *Abdollah* applied himself very assiduously to the affairs of government. But a storm, which he little foresaw, was now about to break upon him. *Auringzib*, from the beginning of his reign, had an eye upon the kingdom of *Golkonda*; and, at last, resolved to conquer it. He had a plausible pretext from the breach of the family settlement of the crown upon his son *Mahmud*. All rebellions and family divisions were now crushed, and *Mazm* had returned to his duty, and was, by his father, put at the head of the army destined to act against *Golkonda*. *Mazin*, who, by that time, had assumed the title of *Shah Alam*, had never dropt his ambitious views; and, instead of acting against *Abdollah*, he studied to make him his friend, that he might secure his interest in case of his father's death. In short, he concluded a temporary peace with *Abdollah*, and even got his father's assent to it. But *Auringzib*'s ambition reviving, *Shah Alam* was ordered by him to renew the war. *Shah Alam*, upon this, assumed the masque of sanctity, by pretending that his conscience did not suffer him to make war against a

*Moslem*

Makes  
peace with  
the Mogul.



*Moslem* prince; and he therefore laid his sword at his father's feet. But *Auringzib* had himself worn the same masque too long to be imposed upon; and, having taken into his pay a considerable body of *European* engineers and officers, he first made himself master of *Bagnagar*, and then he besieged *Abdollah* in *Golkonda* itself. *Auringzib* besieges

This happened about the year 1687; and, late as that date is, we have no precise account of those wars, and those we have are next to fabulous. We are told that the fortress of *Golkonda* itself was so immensely strong, that it held out a siege of nine months, though battered by cannon, each of which required five hundred elephants and two hundred men to draw it. Upon the whole, however, it seems to be pretty certain, that the fortress was amazingly strong, and that *Abdollah* might have defied all *Auringzib's* power, had not the latter found means to corrupt the governor of the place, who treacherously gave it up.

*Abdollah*, we are told, offered to pay *Auringzib* a tribute of and takes about a million sterling; but his offer was rejected; and him prisoner. *Auringzib*, with his son *Azem*, who had been likewise released, entered the place in triumph. The unhappy *Abdollah* sought to mitigate the severity of his fate by taking from his own neck a rich collar and putting it round *Azem's*. This present was so far from having the desired effect, that *Auringzib* reproached his son for not ordering the unfortunate prince's hands to be bound: but *Azem* interceded in the cause of distressed royalty. *Abdollah*, at last, was shut up in a prison, and confined to the wretched allowance of about forty shillings a day. This appointment, was afterwards enlarged, upon *Abdollah's* having a son born to him in prison.

As to the conquest of *Golkonda*, it seems to have been far from complete; for, some years after it was made, we find one of *Abdollah's* sons sitting upon his father's throne, though obliged to pay tribute to the *Great Mogul*. This happened about the year 1695, and was amongst the last of *Auringzib's* conquests.

He lived to the year 1707, and he was above ninety years of age, of which he reigned fifty, when he died at a place called *Abmednagar*. He was, perhaps, one of the most remarkable instances, next to the first khalifs we have given an account of, of the force of ambition. He had no enjoyment of life incompatible with the strictest abstinence, in eating, drinking, and lodging; tho' he is said to have been far from being insensible to the power of beauty. The destination which he made of his great empire was unaccountable; for he parted it amongst his sons, without naming the particular prince assigned to each territory. By his will, however, he recommended unanimity amongst them; and was, to the last, so self-denied, as to order himself to be buried like a dervis, *Death of Auringzib* His will.



or poor religious, without pomp or ceremony, or any other distinction than that only of distributing about one hundred and twenty-five pounds in alms at the place of his interment.

His character,

But, however *Auringzib*, as a man, denied himself many worldly enjoyments, yet no prince ever exceeded him in splendour upon days of ceremony. Even his virtues were the effects of craft and design ; for the mildness and clemency with which he exercised his power over his subjects, after he had subdued all opposition, rendered his great lords unwilling to change his government for that of any of his sons. He is said to have carried his gentleness even into a degree of weakness ; and that, when the insolence of his great men and their oppressions were represented to him, he used to say, That Heaven would punish them. This forbearance was productive of many bad consequences, by the lower sort of his subjects being oppressed by the higher. Yet *Auringzib* carried his tenderness for the meanest of his people farther, perhaps, than any prince was ever known to do : for he professed, That, rather than to eat food earned by the sweat of the brows of his subjects, he would work with his own hands for his living. He accordingly used to work, or knit caps, which he affected to send in presents to his great lords, who, we are told, remitted him, in return, money.

His annual revenues amounted to about forty millions sterling ; but he made a distinction between his public and private treasury ; for, when he died, he had, in the latter, not much above seven thousand pounds. This private treasury appears to have arisen from the exchange of his own manufactures ; for, when he was so old that he could not work with his own hands, he set apart the revenues of four cities for his maintainance.

course of living,

His appearance and person were as mean as his living was moderate. His stature was low, his person slender, his nose high, and, when he became old, he stooped, and was commonly supported by a plain stick forked at the end ; but he made use of no spectacles when he either wrote or read. The cloaths he commonly wore did not, in the whole, cost him forty shillings. The division of his time was regular, and all his occupations painful. Before sun-rise he bathed, and next prayed ; and, after breakfasting, he dispatched business with his ministers for two hours, and then gave audiences : but, before dinner, he again performed his devotions. After dinner he applied himself to private affairs, and went through two other sets of prayers. But the most extraordinary part of his manner of living, was, that he is said never to have slept above two hours, and, after he awaked, he read the *Koran* till day-break. This course of life was looked upon, by his subjects, as somewhat supernatural, especially as he lived only on plain vegetables ; which, in fact, might be the reason of his arriving to so advanced an age.



But *Auringzib*, with all this self-denial and abstemiousness, and pride was one of the proudest princes ever known. He arrogated to himself the title of Conqueror of the World, and Reviver of Religion; and he believed, or affected to believe, that he possessed three parts in four of the earth. This ridiculous belief he expressed by tearing off a corner of every piece of paper upon which he wrote; as an emblem; that he did not possess above three fourths of the globe.

The effects of *Auringzib*'s unaccountable partition of his empire soon appeared after his death. By his will he seems to have given his third son, *Azem*, a superiority over his other children; and that prince, accordingly, advanced at the head of his father's troops to take possession of *Agra*. He was opposed by his elder brother *Mazim*, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand horse and one hundred and seventy-eight thousand foot, besides great numbers of auxiliaries; so that the numbers upon both sides were pretty near equal. A battle ensued near *Agra*, in which *Azem* was defeated and slain; and *Mazim*, or *Shah Alam*; which signifies *the king of the world*, obtained the empire.

He is said to have been, at that time, upwards of seventy years of age; and, amongst other superb titles, he is known by that of *Kothboddin*, or *the axle-tree of religion*. After he had settled his government, he marched against his brother *Kambush*, who was in arms in *Golkonda*, and whom he likewise defeated and killed. After that, we find him suppressing some insurrections that happened on account of religion, and he died when he had reigned about six years.

*Kothboddin* left four sons, *Azem al Shan*, *Jehandar Shah*, *Rafiya Shah*, and *Jehan Shah*. The three latter united against the former, who was defeated and killed; and *Jehandar* afterwards found means to mount the throne, and to put his two remaining brothers to death. His weakness, however, for a favourite dancer, produced a conspiracy against him in favour of *Mohammed*, the son of *Azem al Shan*, who defeated *Jehandar*, and was proclaimed emperor: but falling into the errors of his predecessors, in being ruled by oppressive ministers, he was, in his turn, dethroned, and put to death after losing his eyes, about the year 1719.

We must not forget that this emperor granted to the *English East-India* company a firman, or patent, exempting them from the payment of duties within his dominions. He was succeeded by his nephew *Rafiya*, who, after reigning about three months, was murdered; and his brother, called *Rafiya al Dowlat*, was made emperor in his room, and had the good fortune to die a natural death.

He was succeeded by *Mohammed*, the son of *Jehan Shah* and grandson of *Kothboddin*, in the year 1720. This prince, like his predecessors, was under the dominion of ministers, particularly one *Hassan Ali Kan*, and his relations, especially



his brother *Seyd Abdollah Kan*. He found means to cut off the former, and he advanced to *Delhi* against the latter, who declared *Ibrahim*, the son of *Rafiya*, emperor.

Mogul's  
crown  
fold.

Abdollah  
defeated.

Moderation of the  
Mogul.

Death of  
Abdollah,  
and barbarity at  
his funeral.

This *Abdollah* and his brother had been the principal means of dethroning and murdering the emperor *Mohammed*; and had, in fact, engrossed the imperial power to themselves. Being at a loss for money, he sold the materials of the famous throne at *Delhi*, which had cost *Auringzib* and his father the incredible sum of near twelve millions sterling, and raised an army of fifty thousand horse. With this army, *Ibrahim* and he encountered that of *Mohammed*, but they were defeated and taken prisoners.

*Mohammed*'s moderation upon this occasion was wonderful. He contented himself with remanding *Ibrahim* to prison, from whence he had been taken to remount the throne; and, after reproaching *Abdollah*, for the ills which his ambition had occasioned, he ordered him into confinement; which *Abdollah* bore with the most undaunted courage. This procured him *Mohammed*'s esteem so much, that he refused to deliver him up, though *Kothboddin*'s mother demanded him to be surrendered to her as the murderer of her son; and he ordered him magnificent appointments, with one hundred servants to attend him, and provisions from his own palace. But *Abdollah*, having been mortally wounded in the battle, soon died; and forty-five of his wives, concubines, or relations, burned themselves alive to attend him in the next world.

This ridiculous and impious superstition took its rise from the practice of the wives of the *Bramans*, who formerly were all powerful in *India*; and, even after *Mahometanism* became the religion of the court, some old *Indian* families claimed the inhuman privilege of being attended by their wives in the next world. The government, however, does not award the unhappy victims to the flames; and it is entirely optional to themselves. But, such is the infatuation of those female enthusiasts, that (though, as *Mahometans*, they are prohibited from that kind of voluntary death) they are extravagant enough to procure their apartment to be set on fire, which was the case with *Abdollah*'s women, that they may have the honour of expiring in the flames.

Degeneracy and  
indolence of the  
Mogul.

History and progress of  
the *Maharattas*.

This happened in the beginning of the year 1722; and, soon after, *Mohammed*'s government became despicable from the causes that had ruined so many of his predecessors, the giving himself up into the hands of women and worthless favourites. The *Maharattas*, or *Ganims*, the inhabitants of *Viziapur*, ever since the death of *Seva Ji*, had become the most warlike people in *India*; and, notwithstanding all the power of *Auringzib*, they had, even in his life-time, maintained a kind of independency under a prince of *Seva Ji*'s blood, who, we are told, could bring two hundred thousand horse



into the field. Their incursions, at last, grew so intollerable, that *Mohammed* was obliged to employ one *Nezam*, the governor of *Dekan*, against them.

This *Nezam* had been bred up under *Auringzib*, was a man Character of address and courage, but paid very little regard to the emperor's authority. He was always afraid of being stripped of power of his power and otherwise called to an account. For which *Nezam*, reason he had rather encouraged than checked the *Maharattas* in their excesses, till, at last, they invaded *Guzerat* and the best provinces of the empire, and had almost made themselves masters of *Agra* and *Delhi*; when they were defeated by *Nezam*, who, however, suffered them to retire unmolested to *Dekan*.

*Mohammed* had a favourite called *Kandoran*. He, with the other omras, or great lords, entered into a confederacy against *Nezam*, whose abilities were become necessary to *Mohammed*. *Nezam*, finding himself insulted, and his life in danger, refused, at last, to come to court, or even to have any connections with it. The emperor continued to devote himself to all the shameful pleasures of a court; and *Nezam* vites *Nadir* *Shah* he, and some of his friends, who were likewise disobliged at the court, invited the famous *Nadir Shah* into *Persia*.

That prince had, by his strong natural parts and courage, Character raised himself to the throne of *Persia*; and had, of late, made and pro- himself master of *Kandahar*. The *Mogul's* government, at gress of this time, was sunk to the lowest contempt, and his subjects *Nadir* were buried in effeminacy. The experience of history tells *Shah*. us, that the master of *Persia* may be master of *India*. *Nadir Shah*, at first, started some objections with regard to the difficulties attending the expedition: but, at last, he undertook it with one hundred and twenty-five thousand horse, all of them excellent troops.

*Nezam* and *Saadit Kan*, who were at the head of the conspiracy against their sovereign and country, did not fail to represent the weakness and infamy of the *Mogul's* government, in such terms, that several of his chief governors sided with the invader, who made himself master of *Gazin*, and advanced against *Kabul*, which he took by storm, and put the governor and his son to death.

At length *Mohammed* took the field, and he gave *Nezam*, who had hitherto concealed his treason, the command of the army. At this time *Nadir Shah* had advanced to within two hundred and fifty-three miles of *Delhi*, and ninety-seven from *Labor*; but, being opposed by the *Indian* army, he would have found his farther progress impracticable, had not the sowbadars, or *Indian* governors, whom the emperor had neglected, been brought off by the *Persian*, and enlisted under his banners. *Nadir Shah* then advanced to *Pcysbur*, which he took, and defeated and made prisoner *Nazir*, one



of *Mohammed's* most faithful general officers. The defeat of *Nazir* threw the *Mogul's* court into the utmost consternation; which was improved by the arts of *Nezam* and his confederates, who were now in the field with a numerous army and seven hundred pieces of artillery.

**His artful behaviour.** In the mean while, *Nadir Shah* behaved with great art and dissimulation. He pretended that he was come into *India* with no other intention but to protect his good ally *Mohammed* from the insults of the idolatrous *Maharattas*; and even swore, by the head of *Ali*, that he had no other intention; but, at the same time, he made a demand on *Mohammed* of a sum equal to five millions sterling. The emperor's consternation daily encreased. His troops remained inactive under *Nezam*; and *Nadir Shah*, about the end of *August*, crossed the *Attock*, and made himself master of the important city of *Labor*, where he staid eight days. After that, he advanced towards *Karnal*, where the *Mogul's* army was encamped with five thousand carriage-guns in front, its numbers amounting to about two hundred thousand men. But they were *Indians*, that is, the most despicable of all cowards. *Nadir Shah*, on the contrary, was at the head of about one hundred and sixty thousand excellent troops. But the situation of *Mohammed's* army was so advantageous, that he proposed an accommodation.

This was what *Nezam*, of all things, wanted most to avoid; and hostilities went forward, but still to the disadvantage of the *Indians*, who lost seventeen thousand men and some of their best officers. *Nezam*, however, far from appearing to be discouraged by the advantages gained by the enemy, encouraged his master to fight the *Persians*, that he might the more securely betray him; which he did so effectually, that the *Mogul* found himself abandoned by the greatest part of his army.

**Their interview.** This, at last, brought on an accommodation; and *Nezam*, with another great officer of state called *Azem*, went to the camp of *Nadir Shah*, who did particular honours to *Nezam*. The preliminaries being settled, and twenty-five millions sterling agreed to be paid, the *Mogul*, next day, being the eighteenth of *February*, had an interview with *Nadir Shah's* son, and afterwards with the father himself, attended only by three of his great lords.

It was a mortifying circumstance for the *Great Mogul* of *India* to be introduced, in the manner of a suppliant, into the tent of an upstart prince, or usurper, as *Nadir Shah* was. He did *Mohammed* the honour to desire he would be seated upon the same bench of state with himself; and then he began to reproach him for his being wanting in point of prudence and decency, by rejecting all terms of accommodation, and by never sending a bare compliment to him even after he had advanced to *Labor*. He then mentioned *Mohammed's* mismanagements



mismanagements in government; his indolence, and his being obliged to pay tribute, as he called it, to infidels; meaning the *Maharattas*, who had over-run his empire. *Shah Nadir* then complained that one of his ambassadors had been killed in the *Mogul's* dominions; which had happened to be done by some rebellious *Rajaputs*. He next reproached him for his obstinacy and indolence, though, in consideration that his house had nothing to complain of from that of *Tamerlan*, he told him that he would not deprive him of his crown, but that he was obliged to march his army to *Delhi*, to give it some repose, and there receive the twenty-five millions sterling (twenty khors of rupis) and he would then march back to *Persia*.

*Mohammed* heard this schooling with that confusion which Humilia- a man never used to reflection, and who never knew a supe- tion of the rior or equal, must experience in being thus reduced to re- *Mogul*. ceive law. It is probable that *Nadir Shah* did not chuse to exasperate him too far at that time, for he suffered him to return to his camp. He likewise made presents of vests to some of the chief *Mogul* omras, but continued to distinguish *Nezam* over all the rest, by giving him a *Persian* horse. All this, however, was only to gain time, and to preserve the effeminate *Indians* from seeking safety in despair.

The *Mogul's* army continued to be encamped and very numerous; but the *Persian* troops, particularly that part of them which are called *Kuzlbash*, took every opportunity to cut them off; which they did to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand, besides those who fell in the battle. The *The Per-* *Hindows*, or *Indians*, in and about the chief cities of *India*, *fians* of which *Mohammed's* army was chiefly composed, were, slaughter perhaps, the most cowardly and undisciplined troops in the and plun- world. The very looks of the *Persians* put them to flight; der the and the œconomy of *Mohammed's* camp was so bad, that, *Hindows*. notwithstanding the natural plenty of the country, his troops began to stand in need of provisions; so that he was obliged to remove it; which gave the *Persians* an opportunity of carrying off twenty-four of his elephants, of plundering the country, and of massacring the inhabitants.

The army of *Mohammed* still continuing in a body, gave such offence to *Nadir Shah*, that *Nezam* was put under a kind of an arrest in the *Persian* camp; and *Mohammed*, himself, with *Surbilind Kan*, and two other of his chief omras, were ordered to attend *Nadir Shah* the next day in his tent, being the twenty-third of *February*. As they did not know Consultation in the night, called a grand council of his chief omras to deliberate *Mogul's* how to proceed. It was proposed to make one desperate ef- camp, fort, and to fight the enemy next day. The emperor said he had no other course to follow, unless he should dispatch himself by a dose of poison, or submit; which last resolution



he had, in fact, determined on before the former was proposed. The *Mogul* was ashamed of owning his resolution; and, though *Sirbulind*, and the other generals, next day offered to lead on all their troops against the enemy, yet the *Mogul* found means to evade an engagement, for which *Nadir Shah* did not appear to be very forward.

As the latter had intelligence of all that passed in the emperor's council, he invited *Surbulind*, in very courteous terms, to repair immediately to his camp; which *Sirbulind*, ashamed, perhaps, of his master's pusillanimity, accordingly did.

who submits and is imprisoned.

The emperor made this defection, and that of many other of his chief officers, a pretext for putting himself immediately into the hands of *Nadir Shah*; where he was directly imprisoned in a tent, erected for that purpose in the front of the *Persian* camp; and guarded by one thousand horse, but still with some appearance of respect, because he was waited upon by his own domestics, and he had permission to visit *Nadir Shah*, with whom he conferred three hours. Towards midnight he returned to his prison-tent, where he understood that none of his great men were to have access to him. To soften this disgrace, that favour was granted to his son and his empress; and such of the omras and others as were his old domestics, were continued in their places about his person. But all his ordnance, with the money and rich effects of his omras, were seized by the rapacious *Persian*.

Rapaciousness of *Nadir Shah*, who advances to *Delhi*,

*Nadir Shah's* way being now smooth to *Delhi*, he sent two parties of horse, which took possession of a castle and the gates of the city, with the rich plunder of the omras who were there; and, on the second of *March*, *Nadir Shah* himself began his march at the head of twenty thousand horse, being preceded by four thousand, who had the charge of the imperial mahl, or the ladies of the palace. At the distance of a mile, *Mohammed* himself followed, guarded by twelve thousand horse, and after him his chief omras with their divisions, each of which was intersected by bodies of *Persian* horse, that they might be kept separate. Thus the procession, which marched very slow, formed, on the whole, a column of about six miles in length, and about three in breadth.

which he enters.

The *Persians* plundered and murdered all the inhabitants who fell in their way; and it was the seventh of *March* before *Nadir Shah* reached the suburbs of *Delhi*. There his first care was to lodge *Mohammed* in the castle, under an escort of four thousand men, and this too by night. Next morning, affecting great circumspection, for fear of the treachery and inconstancy of the inhabitants, he entered the city at the head of twenty thousand horse, ordering the rest of his troops to hold themselves in readiness in their camp without the gates. He alighted at the castle, where he had

an



an interview with *Mohammed*, with the greatest appearance of friendship, and promised to punish even such of the *Persians* as should plunder his subjects. Upon their parting, *Nadir Shah* ordered *Saadit*, one of *Mohammed's* chief officers of state, to attend him; and sternly told him, That he expected the immediate payment of the five and twenty millions sterling; but either fear or poison killed *Saadit* before the morning.

His fate obliged *Sirbilind*, *Nezam*, and the other great *Mogul* officers, to deliberate, in good earnest, about raising of the money. But, notwithstanding *Nadir Shah's* real, or *Persians* seeming, tenderness for the *Mogul* subjects, *Thamasp*, one of the *Mogul's* generals, in endeavouring to fix the price of corn, inflaming the proprietors of it (for all the *Hindows*, or *Indians*, are excessively covetous) raised a tumult; which was fomented, as is usual in those cases, on both sides, by numbers of terrifying, yet groundless, reports; and, among others, that of *Nadir Shah's* death, who immediately shewed himself on horseback to his army. By this time, the *Indians*, in prodigious numbers, had attacked the castle, and cut in pieces some of *Nadir Shah's* men. He would have been willing, at first, to have quelled the tumult by gentle means, and he gave his troops orders accordingly: but this served only to render the insurgents more furious and intractable; and, at last, a musquet-ball, discharged at *Nadir Shah*, killed one of his generals by his side.

Upon this he lost all temper; and ordered the *Hindows*, without exception, to be massacred, and all their effects plundered. This order was executed with a severity surpassing any thing of that kind which has happened for some centuries past. Every quarter of that great city, in an instant, was filled with flames, blood, and rapine; the *Hindows*, men, women, and children, were put to the sword; nor can we express the cruelty of the execution better than by informing the reader, that, according to the account of the *Europeans* then at *Delhi*, many of whom are now living, no fewer than one hundred and ten thousand *Hindows* were put to the sword, though some make the number of the slain amount to one hundred and fifty thousand. But, besides those who fell by the swords of the *Persians*, vast numbers of the *Hindows* fell by their own hands. Ten thousand women are said to have precipitated themselves into draw-wells; and numbers of men, from a mistaken point of honour, shut their women up in their harans, and burned them alive. In short, the slaughter did not fall upon the idle rabble, who had begun the riot, but amongst the harmless industrious *Hindows* who kept houses and shops.

During the slaughter, *Nadir Shah* retired into the castle, where he was prevailed upon, by the intercession and representations of *Mohammed* and *Nezam*, to order a stop to be put



be put, by beat of drum, to the massacres and rapine; which was done about three o'clock in the morning; and the prisoners which the sword had not had time to dispatch, were sent home; but with orders, which extended to all the inhabitants in general, that they should continue to exercise their several callings; though none were to leave the city without permission. This occasioned a new kind of massacre upon vast numbers of fakirs, or begging *Mahometan* friars, who subsist by going about for alms; and who, attempting to go out of the city, were driven back with the loss of their noses and ears.

Though the *Persians* had spilt so much blood, yet that was far from being *Nadir Shah's* principal object, which was treasure. In this he was unremitting, and nothing but the greatness of the spoils of that court and city could have given the world an adequate idea of its richness: for, notwithstanding the prodigious plunder which had been already made by the *Persians*, and the vast devastation of rich commodities by fire, *Nadir Shah* insisted that none of the treasure and booty he had already made, tho' the value of diamonds, jewels, and gold plate, that was in it, was inestimable, should be accounted as part of the twenty-five millions sterling: and, though he had seized effects and money, belonging to the great omras, amounting to above ten millions more, he ordered they should likewise be excluded from the account.

At last, commissioners, at the head of whom was *Sirbilind* (who, though one of the greatest officers in the empire, was so poor that he was excused from contributing to the general tax) were appointed to consider of ways and means to raise it. The money in the imperial treasury did not amount to above ten millions; and *Nezam's* own proportion, which he contributed, came to above eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. Other omras paid as much, as if their treasures had been inexhaustible by the most cruel rapine.

Farther  
cruelties  
of the  
*Persians*.

The proportions of the sum to be raised being fixed, it was collected with such severity, from the third of *April*, that many, who were unable to pay, killed themselves rather than to undergo the punishments inflicted upon the deficient; while others, leaving the whole of their effects, made their escape out of the city, because they were insufficient for the demands upon them. It is remarkable, that some others of the great officers of state, besides *Sirbilind*, had the virtue to be poor; but neither that, nor the greatness of their quality, exempted them from feeling the most cruel indignities from *Thamasp*, the *Persian* general; and several of them murdered not only themselves but their families.

A marriage  
between the  
two royal  
families.

The politic *Nadir Shah* having thus left all the disagreeable *Tartar* disorders to the execution of his officers and soldiers, affected, in other respects, wonderful moderation, and even a kind of an intimacy, with *Mohammed*. His son *Nezir* married



married a princess of *Mohammed's* blood, being the granddaughter of *Auringzib*; on which occasion great rejoicings were made at court; and the princess received magnificent presents both from *Mohammed* and *Nadir Shah*.

In the mean while, *Sirbilind*, who continued at the head of the commission for collecting the money, though he wished well to his country, was extremely assiduous in obliging all parties to pay their contributions, as being the only way to deliver her from her oppressions. The proportions assessed appeared, however, to be so unequally calculated, that *Sirbilind*, with all the assistance of *Persian* cruelty, which every day increased, found it almost impracticable to make up the sum, according to the rates by which it was to be paid. This being represented to *Nadir Shah*, he remitted to the indigent clais of great men about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds of the sum they were to furnish. The unhappy *Hindows*, besides all other merciless exactions, were cheated by the very collectors, who appropriated great sums to themselves, which the *Hindows* were obliged to make good to *Nadir Shah*; and, to compleat their misfortunes, the *Persians* put what value they pleased upon all their commodities they bought from them. *Nadir Shah* could not be insensible of those oppressions, but we know of none of his *Persians* who were punished for them; though we are told the *Kuzelbashes* plundered all the country of *Delhi*, and massacred twenty-five thousand of the inhabitants.

The whole sum, at last, demanded by *Nadir Shah* was *Nadir* raised by the indefatigable *Sirbilind*; and *Nadir Shah* ordered *Shah* preparations to be made for his departure. It is astonishing takes how vanity is oftentimes connected with avarice. The late leave of *ter* undoubtedly was the motive of *Nadir Shah's* invasion: the *Mo-* but, before he departed, he was resolved to gratify his vanity to the utmost. *Mohammed*, on the first of *May*, 1739, according to an order he had received from *Nadir Shah*, assembled his great omras in his own apartment, where forty-two of them received vests of state sent them by *Nadir Shah*. They then set out in procession, with *Mohammed* at their head, to *Nadir Shah's* court, or divan, where the two emperors breakfasted together, with great appearance of friendship. Presently after, *Nadir Shah* ordered a magnificent crown, a turban band, two swords, and a dagger, all of them richly set with diamonds, to be brought him; and he himself put the crown upon *Mohammed's* head, as if he wore one by his grace only. Upon taking leave of *Mohammed*, he gave His advice him excellent advice, particularly, that he should always to him. keep sixty thousand horse on foot; never suffer one man to be too long at the head of one province, or one army; to resume the grants of all royal lands, and to be aware of *Nezam*.

*Mohammed* seemed penetrated with what his conqueror had said, and entreated him to name the chief officers and servants



servants he should employ. But *Nadir Shah*, with wonderful moderation and wisdom, told him, That, should he do that, those officers and servants would look upon him, and not *Mohammed*, as their master; and, when once he withdrew his army, would pay no regard to his person or authority. He gave *Mohammed*, however, his royal word, that, during his absence, if any of his great men should treat him ill, he would send troops, nay come himself in person, to punish them. He made this declaration to *Nezam* and *Sirbilind*; and was so zealous in the cause of sovereignty, that he gave them, and all the other omras, lectures upon their duty and obedience to their master. In short, he himself, upon reflection, thought he overacted his part; and that he ought not to have bestowed the crown of *India* upon so mean-spirited a prince as *Mohammed*; or given life and liberty to so dangerous a minister as *Nezam*. But, in excuse, he pleaded the obligation of his own royal word, which he had passed.

Leaves  
*Deibi*.

In all other respects, *Nadir Shah* behaved with equal justice and magnanimity; for, on the fourth of *May*, he signified to his troops his intention to leave *India*; and ordered that none of them should carry along with them any *Hindows*, but their wives, and the slaves they paid for; and not even them, contrary to their inclinations; and all this upon pain of death. This order was afterwards rigorously executed.

Having mustered his army, in order to begin his march, and missing four hundred deserters of his men, he charged the magistrates of *Delhi* to search for and apprehend them. Sixty were found, and he ordered their heads to be struck off. Upon his march, the *Indians*, equally faithless as foolish, attacked his detached parties; upon which he put twelve thousand of them to the sword.

Amount  
of his  
booty.

The riches and acquisitions he made in *India*, during this expedition, are almost incredible. He obtained, or rather extorted, from *Mohammed*, a surrender of all the lands to the west of the rivers *Attock* and *Synd*, comprehending the provinces of *Peyshor*, *Kabul*, and *Gazna*, with many other rich and populous principalities. The whole of them almost equal in value to the crown of *Persia* itself. Upon a moderate computation, it was judged that he himself carried out of *India* eighty-five millions, five hundred thousand pounds sterling, without reckoning the loss of twenty-five millions more, which the inhabitants sustained by fires, devastations, and contributions for the support of the *Persian* army. The money that came to the army's share was twelve millions, five hundred thousand pounds.

After his departure, the affairs of government returned to their former channel; but, so stupidly insensible was the *Mogul* and his ministers, that, instead of entering upon any measures for the reformation of the state, or for preventing the like calamities they had suffered, they seemed to forget them all.

As



As to *Nadir Shah*, it has been averred that his troops were He is har-  
 so much harraſſed in their march, by the *Mountain Rajaputs*, rassed i  
 a people who ſeem never to have been reduced under any re- his march.  
 gular government, that he ſometimes had thoughts of return-  
 ing to *Delhi*: but the ſtate of affairs in *Persia* required his  
 preſence there.

Befides all the riches we have mentioned, he carried away  
 with him one thouſand elephants, ſeven thouſand horſes, and  
 ten thouſand camels. The number of *Gentoos* who periſhed  
 by the ſword of the *Persians*, are computed at two hundred  
 thouſand; while the loſs of *Nadir Shah's* army was ſo ſmall  
 as not to be worth mentioning; ſome ſay not above eight  
 hundred men beſides thoſe who died natural deaths.

Thus ended an expedition, the moſt rapid, and one of the Conclu-  
 moſt important, of any that appears in hiſtory; and the ſums ſion.  
 which it brought in to the coffers of the conquerors, are  
 greater than any, well vouched, that hiſtory mentions to have  
 been acquired by one man. But, after all, the difficulty of  
 the conqueſt lay entirely in the march, which was bold and  
 well executed; for, when that was accompliſhed, *Nadir*  
*Shah* may be ſaid to have fallen upon his prey rather than his  
 enemy.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.